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Arnold Bennett

DOMINICAN COLLEGE
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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICKS,

AND

LITERATURE,

Of the YEAR 1762.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE SAN RAFAEL

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THE reader will obſerve, that, though the negotiations by which the war has been ſo happily terminated, were not entirely cloſed until the beginning of the preſent year, we have nevertheleſs brought all theſe tranſactions into the Regiſter for 1762. We thought it more adviſeable to delay our publication for ſome days, than leave incomplete an object, which appeared to us ſo extremely intereſting. Accordingly, the reader has before him, in this volume, every thing of moment relative to the laſt year's part of the war, except the taking of the Manilas, the account of which came very late.

We return our thanks to thoſe gentlemen, who have been ſo obliging as to favour us with hints, towards rendering our work more complete. Of ſome we have been already in a condition to profit; of others we ſhall take advantage hereafter; ſome few, though

though very judicious in themſelves, coul not be ſerviceable in the plan we had adop ed.

The peace, which has contributed much to the happineſs of Europe in genera has taken ſomething from the entertainme of the curious and idle part of it. We a now deprived of thoſe mighty events, of the aſtoniſhing revolutions of fortune, of the matters of anxious hope and fear, whi diſtinguiſhed the late troubled and gloric period. We do not, however, deſpair, the continuance of our former induſtry, a the continuance of the public indulgence it, of furniſhing, from the occaſional poli cal tranſactions of each ſucceeding year b foreign and domeſtic, ſomething, which n not prove altogether unworthy of the reade attention; and which may ſupply the l of the military materials.

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ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1762.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PRESENT WAR.

CHAP. I.

State of Europe in the beginning of this year. Ill ſtate of the Britiſh alliance. Condition of the northern powers. War reaches to the ſouthern. Family compact. Some articles from it. Obſervations upon them. Conſequences of this treaty to Europe. War declared againſt Spain. State of Spain and Great Britain at the beginning of the war between them. Advantages and diſadvantages on each ſide.

THE cloſe of the year 1761 left the affairs of all Europe, both military and political, in the moſt intereſting ſituation, in which they have ſtood, at perhaps any period of our modern hiſtory. The endeavours which had been made to bring about peace amongſt the belligerent powers, ſerved only to increaſe their animoſity. And at the ſame time they brought into light and exertion, thoſe latent motives and diſpoſitions to war, which had long lurked in other powers under the veil of a neutrality; and had only been kept down ſometimes by irreſolution of temper in perſons, and ſometimes by want of ſyſtem in politics. Theſe ineffectual endeavours for peace produced alſo many occaſions of quarrel and debate, that were abſolutely new.

To the north there was no appearance of relenting in any one of the powers engaged. It was

not to be expected, that the confederacy, which had held together so long, and under such difficulties and disappointments, should now break to pieces, just at the moment when the states which composed it seemed in a condition to reap the mature fruits of their unanimity and perseverance. The king of Prussia was not in a state either to allure or to intimidate. Great Britain could not increase his subsidy, nor reinforce his armies. The allied army in Westphalia played a defensive, and, on the whole of the campaign, a losing game; and there was no body so sanguine as to think that Great Britain could increase her strength in Germany, where she paid already one hundred thousand men, and expended five millions annually.

Although nothing seems more certain in a general view of the political system, than that the king of Prussia is not the natural and necessary ally of this nation; yet his fortune neither was, since the beginning of the war, nor is it now, a matter of indifference to us.

The late Mr. Shippen was of opinion, that the power of France was become an object of much less terror since the growth of the power of Russia. But he never imagined it possible, that all the great continental powers of Europe should ever be united with France; and that they should conspire to load her scale instead of balancing it. He never could foresee, what has actually happened in this war, that this very power of Russia could co-operate with France, and even with Sweden; and, what is full as extraordinary, that both these latter could co-operate with Austria to destroy in effect the system, which had been established by the treaty of Westphalia; that system, which it had been the great drift of policy, and the great object of war to both France and Sweden in the last century to establish and to confirm, and to the house of Austria constantly to oppose. The destruction of the king of Prussia seemed to include the destruction of the treaty of Westphalia; because he is the only power in the empire capable of asserting the independency of its members, and supporting the declining credit of the Protestant cause.

The total ruin of Saxony, with such circumstances of unpardonable cruelty by that prince himself, and the exhausted state of all the other Protestant members of the empire, have narrowed that interest more and more to the single object of Prussia. As this interest was first formed in the empire, so its condition there cannot fail of having the most sensible influence on all the potentates of the same communion. Even in this light, England had an interest that the king of Prussia should not be entirely crushed by the prevalence of a combination composed in so extraordinary a manner, that its success must necessarily produce a total revolution in the system of Europe, and draw on a series of consequences, which, though it is impossible to particularize, must have undoubtedly been of the most important and alarming nature.

But there was an interest yet nearer to us, the fate of our own army in Germany, which could not survive the destruction of the king of Prussia for an hour. These circumstances rendered the prospect of the campaign in Germany very gloomy; as there was no sort of ground to suppose that this prince, upon whose fate so many important interests

intereſts immediately depended, could hold out to the middle of ſummer. Beſides, Denmark ſhewed no favourable diſpoſitions towards us; and Holland diſcovered evident marks of coldneſs, if not of abſolute alienation. Such was the diſpoſition of the powers in the north.

The ſouthern powers of Europe, whoſe total unconnection with the cauſes, and whoſe great remoteneſs from the ſeat of war might appear ſufficient to enſure their tranquility, began to enter into action with a ſpirit equal to that of any of the parties, who had from the beginning acted as principals; new fewel was heaped upon the fire of contention, which had waſted ſo many nations, juſt as it ſeemed to be on the point of expiring.

That alliance between the branches of the houſe of Bourbon, of which we have ſpoken laſt year, and which is ſo well known by the name of the Family Compact, is one of the moſt extraordinary tranſactions of this, or, perhaps, of any time. It has already produced ſome effects anſwerable to its deſign; it may produce others ſtill more important; and on the whole muſt be conſidered as an event of the moſt extenſive, laſting, and alarming influence.

The treaty of Vienna in 1756, between France and Auſtria, has certainly contributed not a little to give that new turn to affairs, by which almoſt all the diſcourſes, that have hitherto been written on the intereſts of princes, are rendered erroneous, and of little uſe in future ſpeculations. That treaty, however, tho' it ſeems entirely to have disjointed the ancient ſyſtem of alliance by which France was formerly counterpoiſed, may, poſſibly, not be ſo much a laſting change, as a temporary and excentric deviation from the ſphere in which the houſe of Auſtria had formerly moved, and into which it ſeems ſo ſuitable to her natural and permanent intereſt to return. The Bourbon compact is of a different nature; and it ſeems to have at length produced that entire union between the French and Spaniſh monarchies, which was ſo much dreaded on the death of Charles II. and which it was the great purpoſe of the treaty of partition, and the war of the grand alliance to prevent. We have ſeen it take place in our days, comparatively with very little notice; ſo much greater is our preſent ſtrength; or ſo much greater was the apprehenſion in thoſe days, than the danger of the actual event in the preſent.

It was a bold puſh in France to attempt, and an uncommon ſucceſs to procure, towards the cloſe of an unfortunate and diſgraceful war, an alliance of this kind. France could not have expected from the moſt fortunate iſſue of her affairs, an advantage ſo great as that which ſhe derived from her uncommon diſtreſſes. It is ſome time ſince the jealouſy of her power has began to abate. But in fact her ſecurity, and probably too her power, will be greatly increaſed by this very circumſtance. Inſtead of forming ſuch an object as alarmed mankind, and againſt which all Europe uſed to unite, ſhe is herſelf become the center of an alliance, which extends from the northern to the ſouthern extremity of Europe; and ſhe was, in this war, actually united with Ruſſia, Sweden, Auſtria, the empire, Spain, and Naples; to ſay nothing of Den-

mark, with which he had alſo ſome connections.

With other nations, however, her ties are comparatively ſlight: but the engagements of the Bourbon compact form rather an act of incorporation than an alliance. It contains ſtipulations hitherto unheard of in any treaty. By the 23d and 24th articles, the ſubjects of the ſeveral branches of the houſe of Bourbon are admitted to a mutual naturalization, and to a participation of ſuch privileges and immunities, as if they were natural born ſubjects of the countries of their reſpective ſovereigns. The direct trade to America forms the only exception to this comprehenſive community of intereſts. The tenor of this article is of infinite conſequence to the general trading intereſt of Europe; all the ſtates of which, by the 25th article of the ſame alliance, are excluded from any proſpect of obtaining ſimilar advantages.

This forms a civil union in almoſt the ſtricteſt ſenſe; the political union is even more perfect. By the 1ſt and 16th articles, the two monarchs of France and Spain agree to look upon every power as their enemy, which becomes an enemy of the other; that a war declared againſt either, ſhall be regarded as perſonal by the other; and that, when they happen to be both engaged in a war againſt the ſame enemy or enemies, they will wage it jointly with their whole forces; and that their military operations ſhall proceed by common conſent, and with a perfect agreement.

By the 26th article, they agree reciprocally to diſcloſe to each other their alliances and negotiations.

By the 17th and 18th, they formally engage not to make, or even to liſten, to any propoſal of peace from their common enemies, but by mutual conſent; being reſolved, in time of peace as well as in time of war, *each mutually to conſider the intereſts of the allied crown as its own; to compenſate their ſeveral loſſes and advantages, and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the ſame power.* The king of the Sicilies, and the infant duke of Parma are comprehended in this treaty.

Here is the model of the moſt perfect confederacy. There is but one reſtriction to the extent of this ſcheme; but this particular reſtriction is a key to the whole treaty; as it ſhews, in the moſt ſatisfactory manner, againſt what object it was principally directed. For by the 8th article it is provided, that Spain ſhall not be bound to ſuccour France, when ſhe is engaged in a war in conſequence of her engagements by the treaty of Weſtphalia, or other alliances with the princes and ſtates of Germany and the north, *unleſs ſome maritime power take part in thoſe wars*, or France be attacked by land in her own country. This exception of the maritime powers indicates ſufficiently that the tendency of this article is to affect England, and ſerves to point out clearly, though obliquely, to the other powers of Europe, that their connection with England is the great circumſtance which is to provoke the enmity of Spain.

It ſhould ſeem that this treaty alone, when once its true nature came to be diſcovered, if no other cauſe exiſted, would have been ſufficient to juſtify Great Britain in a declaration of war againſt a monarchy, which had united itſelf in ſo intimate

intimate a manner with her enemy, that it was rendered impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the one from the other. In this point, however, prudence was to interpoſe, and circumſtances to direct. It was not, therefore, until every attempt to bring Spain to a clear declaration of pacific intentions had been tried without ſucceſs, in the manner we have already ſeen, that war was actually declared againſt her. This declaration was made, on our part, in London, the 2d of January of the preſent year.

Since Great Britain was a kingdom, ſhe never was in ſuch a doubtful and dangerous ſituation; for at this time ſhe was engaged, directly or indirectly, in a war, not only with all the great continental powers, but, what is more material, with the moſt conſiderable part of the maritime ſtrength of Europe. According to the ordinary computations, the navy of Spain conſiſted of more than an hundred men of war; and though the French navy was greatly reduced, it became of conſideration when added to the Spaniſh. Great efforts were made to render it reſpectable. Several communities in France engaged to fit out men of war at their own expence; and in general that whole people felt, after having been ſunk under a long deſpondency, a momentary glow of hope and animation from this alliance, ſo powerful in its real ſtrength, and in its principles ſo flattering to the national vanity. The glory of their royal houſe was, on this occaſion, united with the ſafety of their country. They were reinforced by the moſt cordial amity of a power untouched in its reſources of men, money, and ſtores; whilſt Great Britain was exhauſted of men by her many victories, and her reſources were ſinking under a debt of more than one hundred millions.

Beſides, a rude ſhock had been lately given to the ſyſtem of the Engliſh miniſtry, which might be ſuppoſed, in ſome degree, likely to affect public credit. The part which Mr. P. might finally take, and the conſequences which might reſult from his actions, were extremely undetermined; nor was it at all clear, what degree of harmony and real confidence continued amongſt the ſeveral parts of the ſubſiſting adminiſtration. All theſe conſiderations could not fail of inſpiring France with great confidence.

Great Britain, under theſe circumſtances, had, however, ſome things in her favour. The hope of plunder which always attends a Spaniſh war, diſpoſed the minds of many towards the preſent; and was ſure to call forth a very vigorous exertion both of public and private ſtrength. This circumſtance alſo inſured the ſupplies.

With regard to the adminiſtration, their delay in entering into this Spaniſh war, contrary to the ideas of Mr. P. his reſignation in conſequence of this delay; the neceſſity, which ſo ſoon after appeared, of engaging in hoſtilities, and which, to the bulk of the people, ſeemed to juſtify the ſentiments of that miniſter, together with a recollection of the ſingular ſpirit with which the French war had been carried on, muſt neceſſarily have excited them to the moſt ſtrenuous efforts, and to every act of laudable emulation. There was a neceſſity of ſhewing, that the ſpirit of the nation, and the wiſdom of its coun-

cils, were not confined to a ſingle man; and it was ſhewn effectually.

We had alſo, to ballance the great ſtrength derived from the extraordinary combination of our enemies, that uniform tenor of ſucceſs on our ſide, which made our people believe themſelves invincible. This was not an ungrounded preſumption, or a dream of enthuſiaſm: their juſt opinion of ſuperior courage, together with the ſolid experience derived from ſuch a variety of ſervices, and ſo many ſharp conflicts by ſea and land, all combined to make our forces ſeem, and be, almoſt irreſiſtible.

Spain, on the other hand, had, in the very conſtitution of her power, an eſſential defect, which expoſed her on this, as upon all other occaſions. Her reſources, though very great, are not within herſelf; and conſequently are not always at her command, being ſubject not only to be intercepted by the operations of the war, but to be deſtroyed or loſt by the caſualty of long voyages; and, in every event, are liable to delay and diſappointment.

CHAP. II.

Portugal threatened. Melancholy ſtate of that kingdom. Arrogant propoſition of the French and Spaniſh miniſters to the court of Liſbon. Anſwer of that court. Several memorials. Reſolution of the king of Portugal. French and Spaniſh miniſters depart. War declared by thoſe powers againſt Portugal.

SUCH was our ſituation, both at home and abroad, at the breaking out of this new war. Something extraordinary was to be expected from the confederacy of the houſe of Bourbon. It was not, however, altogether certain where the ſtorm, that was gathering, would fall. There were apprehenſions for the peace of Italy; Holland had ſome cauſe of dread; and menaces were uſed in that quarter. But Portugal ſeemed to be moſt endangered, on account of her cloſe and natural connection with Great Britain, her internal weakneſs, the ancient claims of the catholic king, and the opportunity of invaſion; that kingdom being on all ſides, except to the ſea, in a manner incloſed by Spain.

Public conjecture was not miſtaken in fixing upon Portugal. No mention was made, indeed, of the Spaniſh pretenſions to that crown; but a reſolution was taken not only to oblige her to renounce all friendſhip, but to violate her neutrality with Great Britain.

No attempt was ever deſigned with leſs appearance of juſtice; no propoſition was ever made with more arrogance and deſpotiſm to an independent ſovereign; and no ſcheme ſeemed, according to every human appearance, ſo certain of ſucceſs.

The kingdom of Portugal, on the recovery of her liberty, which happened in the year 1640, found herſelf ſtripped of the greateſt part of thoſe acquiſitions, in both Indies, which had been the principal ſources of her power, and the great monuments

ments of the capacity of her former kings and commanders. During the interval of her ſubjection, new commercial powers had riſen, ſome on the ruins of her fortune, and others upon different but notleſs ſubſtantial foundations. Though the Brazils were recovered, and Goa and ſome other places in India remained ſtill to Portugal, her maritime power, and the ſhare of trade, on which it depended, were not recoverable. Contrary to the fate of other nations, who have ſhaken off a foreign dominion, ſhe did not owe her liberty to great abilities. Whilſt the United Provinces were firſt freed, and afterwards aggrandized, by the capacity of the princes of Orange, and whilſt Pruſſia, from an inconſiderable and dependent principality, grew into a formidable monarchy by the genius of her ſovereigns, Portugal continued to languiſh in a ſtate of mediocrity. Without any ſymptoms of danger to her exiſtence, ſhe ſuffered a gradual decay of her power and conſideration. The character of her government was narrow and bigoted, and the whole ſyſtem of her commerce prepoſterous. If, on the one hand, a long peace added to the reſources of her revenue, it, on the other, abſolutely annihilated her military; and no country in the world had an army ſo incomplete in numbers, ſo ill furniſhed with arms, ſo deficient in diſcipline, and ſo wholly unprovided of able and experienced officers.

In this condition ſhe ſuffered a fatal blow from the earthquake in 1756. The wealthy and flouriſhing city of Liſbon was laid level with the ground; near thirty thouſand of the inhabitants were buried in the ruins; and thoſe who remained, with the court itſelf, were reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs and miſery.

As if this earthquake, which overturned their capital, had alſo ſhaken and diſtracted the frame of their government, and the temper of their minds, the moſt dreadful diſtempers broke out in the ſtate. A ſeries of horrid crimes, and of cruel puniſhments, ſucceeded to this calamity. The moſt noble and wealthy family of Portugal, having engaged itſelf in a ſacrilegious attempt on the life of their ſovereign, was cut off at once, with little diſtinction of ſex or age, by a bloody and dreadful exertion of juſtice. Many others, who were accuſed or ſuſpected, ſuffered death, or exile, or impriſonment. Amongſt theſe, and from the ſame cauſes, one of the moſt conſiderable religious orders for wealth, influence, and policy, was ſtripped of its poſſeſſions, and intirely driven out of the country.

All theſe circumſtances left this unhappy kingdom in the utmoſt weakneſs and confuſion. All thoſe, and they were not a few, who were attached by connection of blood or intereſt to the nobles that had ſuffered, or by religious prejudice to the Jeſuits who had been expelled, could never be cordially relied upon by the crown, and were probably as little inclined to any extraordinary efforts in favour of a government, which their reſentments muſt have repreſented to them as no better than a bloody tyranny.

The Bourbon confederacy had ſome ground to ſuppoſe that Portugal, in this ſituation, would not have courage to withſtand their menaces, and much leſs ability for any long time to reſiſt their efforts. The Spaniſh army over-

ſpread the frontiers of Portugal; the commerce of corn between the two kingdoms was prohibited, and every thing threatened a ſudden invaſion. In the midſt of theſe hoſtile preparations, the French and Spaniſh miniſters preſented a joint memorial to the court of Liſbon which was followed by ſeveral others. The purport of theſe memorials was to perſuade his moſt faithful majeſty to enter into the alliance, and co-operate in the meaſures of the two crowns, againſt Great Britain.

6th Mar.

It was not eaſy to find very convincing arguments to induce Portugal to adopt ſo extraordinary a change of ſyſtem. The united crowns, in a memorial which was ſigned by the ambaſſadors of both, inſiſted largely on the tyranny which Great Britain exerted upon all powers, eſpecially the maritime, and upon Portugal among the reſt; on the particular inſult which had been offered to her juriſdiction, by Boſcawen's attack on de la Clue's ſquadron in a Portugueſe harbour; on that affinity, by which the two monarchs of Spain and Portugal are as cloſely connected by the ties of blood, as all powers are by a common intereſt, to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of the Engliſh.

Whatever theſe arguments were deficient in reaſon, was made up by a ſtrong inſinuation of force. The memorial concluded with a declaration, that, as ſoon as his moſt faithful majeſty had taken his reſolution, which they doubted not would prove favourable, their army was ready to enter Portugal, and to garriſon the principal ports of that kingdom, in order to prevent the dangers to which they might be expoſed from the attempts of the Engliſh.

The two miniſters added to this extraordinary memorial, that they were ordered by their courts to demand a categorical anſwer in four days; and that any delay, beyond that time, ſhould be conſidered as a negative.

The ſituation of Portugal was at this time certainly worthy of compaſſion. If, contrary to her known intereſts, contrary to her ancient connections, and to the faith of treaties, ſhe ſhould engage in this offenſive alliance, ſhe muſt expect to ſee her territories and her colonies expoſed to the formidable navies of England. This however dangerous condeſcenſion was not to ſecure her, by her own act, ſhe would have put herſelf, bound hand and foot, into the power of the Bourbon alliance; and having received foreign garriſons into all her places of ſtrength, would have reduced herſelf to the condition of a province to Spain. On the other hand, if ſhe adhered to her faith, and attempted to maintain her independency, an army of ſixty thouſand men was ready to enter her territories, which contained no place of real ſtrength, and which had not twenty thouſand troops, and thoſe ill armed, and worſe diſciplined, to defend it.

In this emergency, the firmneſs of the king of Portugal was eminent, and ſuch as muſt deliver his name to poſterity with the moſt diſtinguiſhed advantage. He reſolved ſteadily to adhere to his ancient and natural alliance, and ſo brave all dangers and difficulties, that he might preſerve his fidelity inviolable; following that generous maxim of king John of France, that

that if good faith were to be baniſhed from all other parts of the world, it ought to be found in the breaſt of ſovereigns.

His anſwer to this inſulting propoſition was humble and moderate, but firm: he obſerved, that the ties, which equally united him to Great Britain and the two crowns, rendered him as proper a mediator to them all, as they made it improper for him to declare himſelf an enemy to any of them; that his alliance with England was ancient, and therefore could give no offence at this conjuncture; that it was purely defenſive, and therefore innocent in all its circumſtances; that the late ſufferings of Portugal diſabled her (in caſe ſhe were willing) from taking part in an offenſive war, into the calamities of which, neither the love his faithful majeſty bore to his ſubjects as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, could ſuffer him to plunge them. Finally, he reminded the catholic king of his pacific diſpoſitions, by which, on former occaſions, he had yielded ſo much, to preſerve peace between the two kingdoms.

This reaſonable and moderate anſwer drew on replies, which more and more diſcloſed the true character and ſpirit of the Bourbon confederacy. They denied that the alliance with England was purely defenſive, or intirely innocent; and for this unheard-of reaſon, that the defenſive alliance is converted into an offenſive one, *from the ſituation of the Portugueſe dominions, and from the nature of the Engliſh power:* the Engliſh ſquadron, ſaid they, cannot keep the ſea in all ſeaſons, nor cruize on the principal coaſts for cutting off the French and Spaniſh navigation, without the ports and the aſſiſtance of Portugal; that theſe iſlanders could not inſult all maritime Europe, if all the riches of Portugal did not paſs into their hands; that therefore Portugal furniſhes them with the means to make war; and their alliance with the court of Great Britain is offenſive.

Certainly, the *ſituation* of a country was never before given as a reaſon, however it might have ſerved as a ſecret motive, for declaring war againſt it. Nor was it before heard, that the common advantages of trade, derived from a neutral nation, could be deemed an act of hoſtility. Theſe were rather inſults than arguments. And the whole proceedings of the united crowns was in the ſame ſtrain: they undertook to judge for Portugal of the pretended yoke which was impoſed upon her by England, and which ſhe could not herſelf diſcover; to reſent injuries for her, for which ſhe had received and accepted ſatisfaction; and, as if this had not been indignity ſufficient, they inſultingly inform the king of Portugal, that *he ought to be glad of the neceſſity which they laid upon him to make uſe of his reaſon, in order to take the road of his glory, and the common intereſt.* This neceſſity was the immediate march of their army to take poſſeſſion of his dominions.

So extraordinary a treatment neither intimidated the king from the firmneſs of his reſolution, nor provoked him to change from the moderation of his language. He maintained, that the treaties of league and commerce, which ſubſiſted between Portugal and Great Britain, are ſuch as the law of God, of nature, and of nations, have always deemed innocent. He intreated

ed their moſt chriſtian and catholic majeſties to open their eyes to the crying injuſtice of purſuing againſt Portugal, the war kindled againſt Great Britain: he deſired them to conſider, that they were giving an example, which would produce the deſtruction of mankind; that there was an end of the public ſafety, if neutral nations were to be attacked, becauſe they have defenſive treaties with the belligerent powers; that a maxim ſo deſtructive would occaſion deſolation in all Europe, the moment a war was kindled between any two ſtates; that, therefore, if their troops ſhould enter his dominions, he would, in defence of his neutrality, endeavour to repulſe them with all his forces, and thoſe of his allies; and he concluded with this magnanimous declaration, that *it would affect him leſs, though reduced to the laſt extremity, of which the Great Judge is the ſole arbiter, to let the laſt tile of his palace fall, and to ſee his faithful ſubjects ſpill the laſt drop of their blood, than to ſacrifice, together with the honour of his crown, all that Portugal holds moſt dear; and to ſubmit, by ſuch extraordinary means, to become an unheard-of example to all pacific powers, who will no longer be able to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war ſhall be kindled between other powers, with which the former are connected by defenſive treaties.* When this final reſolution was thus ſpiritedly declared, paſſports were demanded for the ambaſſadors of the two crowns, who immediately departed; and, in a little time after, France and Spain jointly declared war againſt Portugal.

27 April.

We have dwelt ſome time upon this tranſaction: we hope the reader will not think the narrative drawn into a blameable length. The ſubject is intereſting, the procedure uncommon, and the example alarming. This war againſt Portugal was the firſt fruit of the Bourbon compact: they ſhewed very early to the world, what it was to expect from the maturity of this league; when they were ſo elevated by the ſuperiority they imagined they had attained, even in forming it, that they thought themſelves diſpenſed from thoſe decorums, and plauſible appearances, which the moſt ambitious princes commonly make uſe of, in the execution of their moſt ambitious deſigns. If they had invaded Portugal without any declaration at all, it might, perhaps, be condered as a piece of convenient injuſtice, which they left the previous neceſſity, and ſubſequent ſucceſs of their affairs, to juſtify as they could; but ſo many memorials and reaſonings on the ſubject, ſhew that this oppreſſion was deliberate, and that they had not been driven to it by a ſudden emergency, but that it became a regular and avowed part of their political ſyſtem.

Having laid open the manner in which the ſouthern part of Europe ſo ſurpriſingly became engaged in this war, it is now our buſineſs to relate in what manner ſome of the northern parts were as ſurpriſingly extricated out of it.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Death of the empreſs Elizabeth of Ruſſia. Her character. State of the power of Ruſſia on her deceaſe. Her nephew, Peter III. *ſucceeds. Intire change of ſyſtem. Peace with Pruſſia. Peace between Pruſſia and Sweden. Pruſſian conqueſts reſtored. The czar enters into an alliance with the king of Pruſſia. War with Denmark threatened. Its cauſe. Extorted loan from Hamburgh. Campaign between Pruſſians and Auſtrians opens. Pruſſians obtain advantages in Saxony and Sileſia. Sudden revolution in Ruſſia.*

WE have ſeen, in the cloſe of the laſt year, that, by the taking of Colberg, on one hand, and Schweidnitz, on the other, the king of Pruſſia's dominions were intirely at the mercy of his enemies: his forces were worn away, and even his efforts had gradually declined: a complete victory, tho' this was an event not at all probable, could not ſave him. The Ruſſians, by wintering in Pomerania, and by the poſſeſſion of Colberg, which inſured them ſupplies by a ſafe and expeditious channel, were in a condition to commence their operations much earlier than uſual, as well as to ſuſtain them with more ſpirit and uniformity. No reſource of policy could be tried with the leaſt expectation of ſucceſs. After ſuch a reſiſtance for five years, of which the world never furniſhed another example, the king of Pruſſia had nothing left but ſuch a conduct as might cloſe the ſcene with glory, ſince there was ſo little appearance of his concluding the war with ſafety.

In the midſt of theſe gloomy appearances, his inveterate and inflexible enemy, the empreſs of Ruſſia, died, in the ſixty-third year of her age, and the twenty-ſecond of her reign.

Jan. 2.

This princeſs was ſecond daughter to Peter the Great, and a deſcendant not altogether unworthy of that illuſtrious founder of the Ruſſian empire. From being little better than a priſoner, ſhe became in a moment a deſpotic ſovereign. At the acceſſion of this princeſs, the Ruſſian power, ſo newly created, ſeemed to be in danger of a decline, from the many revolutions to which the empire had been ſubject; and the inſtitutions of Peter the Great, by which that extenſive part of the world was drawn out of barbariſm, began perceivably to decay, until her acceſſion to the throne, when the former was put out of all queſtion by the vigour of her government, and the latter cheriſhed and promoted by the encouragement which ſhe gave to every valuable art and ſcience. The academy at Peterſburgh is at preſent one of the moſt flouriſhing in Europe, and has already enriched the learned world with conſiderable diſcoveries.

In fact, ſhe governed the Ruſſian empire with more lenity than any of her predeceſſors; and, perhaps, carried this amiable diſpoſition to an impolitic exceſs. She regulated and increaſed her finances; kept alive, and even increaſed, the diſcipline of her armies; and in all her tranſactions with foreign ſtates, and in the

the various faces which her politics assumed, she always supported the dignity and importance of her country at the highest point. For her private pleasures, indeed, she has been much censured; but as they were merely pleasures, and of such a nature that sentiment had little share in them, they had little influence on her public conduct, which was always manly and firm.

The part she took in this war, though it might in some measure have been dictated by resentment, was at the same time the result of the soundest policy. No power, but that of the king of Prussia, was capable of checking hers. He was, not only from his strength and character, but from the situation of his dominions, the only prince in Europe from whom it could be materially her interest to make conquests. By the retention of Prussia, and by the dominion which, in another name, she held over the dutchy of Courland, she possessed a very great share of the Baltic coast, and thereby possessed the means of becoming a maritime power of the first order. With these advantages, she might easily complete all that had been wanting, towards establishing an uncontroulable power over Poland. By the same means she might intirely over-awe Denmark and Sweden; and also, by her vicinity, she would be enabled to interpose in the concerns of Germany, with much more authority than she had hitherto possessed; although her intervention had always been of consequence.

In reality, the house of Austria seemed to make far greater sacrifices of her interest to her resentment than Russia did, with whom those two principles went hand in hand, and supported each other. For nothing is more evident, than that Russia would set up for a defender of the liberties of Germany, if ever she got any footing in its neighbourhood; that she would animate the powers there to assert a greater degree of independence than they do at present; that she would render, by her machinations, the empire in the Austrian family very precarious; and might even find means of setting some feeble prince on the imperial throne, in order to embroil the whole Germanic body, and to keep it in intire dependence upon Russia. On the whole, if the projects of Austria had succeeded in their full extent, she would have very soon found in Russia a more powerful restraint, than ever she had either in France or Sweden, even in the greatest heights of their power and credit in Germany. She would, indeed, have ruined the king of Prussia; but she would have purchased his ruin with her own independency.

These were the prospects that lay before all political reasoners at the time of the death of the empress Elizabeth. Charles Peter Ulric, of the house of Holstein, who had been created grand duke of Russia, and appointed heir apparent to that vast empire by the late czarina, succeeded, under the name of Peter III. None but those who were intimately acquainted with the character and disposition of the new czar, could have any reason to imagine that he would abandon the system of his predecessor, which was certainly founded on the true interests of the country he governed. The king of Prussia himself seemed for some time to have entertained no great hopes from this change. The czar had, however, sometimes dis-

diſcovered marks of eſteem for the character of this monarch. He had the black eagle, of which order the king of Pruſſia is grand maſter. But the king of Pruſſia could place very little confidence in this: however, with that air of pleaſantry, which never entirely forſook him in all his misfortunes, he ſaid in a letter to Mr. Mitchel, the Britiſh miniſter at the Ruſſian court, "Is not this a very extraordinary knight, to feed 80,000 men at my expence? He is the only one of my knights that takes that liberty. If every knight of the garter did the ſame, your England (England though it is) would be devoured by them. I beg you would endeavour to make my knight more tractable, and tell him it is againſt the inſtitutes of the order, for a knight to eat up his grand maſter."

The eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon the ſteps which the czar might take. With regard to the government of his country, nothing could be more popular and auſpicious than his firſt meaſures. The earlieſt uſe he made of his abſolute power, was, to ſet the Ruſſian nobility and gentry free, and to put them on the ſame footing with thoſe of their rank in the other more moderate governments of Europe. Almoſt all the exiles were recalled to court, and amongſt the reſt the unfortunate count Biron, who, from a ſovereign prince, had been reduced to the moſt wretched condition, in the moſt wretched country on the globe. He had been many years a peaſant of Siberia, and may very probably once more become a ſovereign prince. It is in thoſe deſpotic governments we ſee the moſt ſtriking exceſſes, and diſmal reverſes of fortune; in which one day a perſon is raiſed to ſomething almoſt above man, and the next is perhaps in a moment degraded to the loweſt ſtation of humanity.

The new emperor proceeded in his reformation to aboliſh ſome ſevere and tyrannical juriſdictions, and intending the ſame benign diſpoſition to all degrees of his ſubjects, he leſſened the tax upon ſalt, to the very great and univerſal relief of the poor.

Theſe beginnings gave the moſt favourable impreſſions of his domeſtic government. But Europe was principally concerned in his foreign politics. It was not long before his diſpoſitions to peace became apparent. What aſtoniſhed the world, was the high rate at which he valued this bleſſing. In a memorial, which he cauſed to be delivered on the 23d of February, to the miniſters of the allied courts, he declared, that, *in order to the eſtabliſhment of peace, he was ready to ſacrifice all the conqueſts made by the arms of Ruſſia in this war, in hopes that the allied courts will on their parts equally prefer the reſtoration of peace and tranquility, to the advantages which they might expect from the continuance of the war, but which they cannot obtain but by a continuance of the effuſion of human blood.*

The allies praiſed the diſintereſtedneſs, ſpirit, and humanity of this declaration; but recommended to his attention the fidelity to treaties, which conſtitutes a no leſs valuable part of the royal character, and a no leſs conſiderable branch of the duty of a monarch to his ſubjects. They ſhewed a diſpoſition to imitate his deſire for peace, but by no means to follow his example in purchaſing it by a ceſſion of all the

the advantages, which they had acquired, or hoped to acquire by the war.

The czar having thus far complied with decency, and being of a character little fitted to wait the slow procedure of a joint negotiation, gave way to his ardent desires for peace, and to the sentiments of that extravagant admiration, which he had conceived for the king of Prussia. A suspension of hostilities was concluded between them on the 16th of March; and it was followed not long after by a treaty May 5. of peace and alliance. Nothing was stipulated by the czar in favour of his former confederates, whom he entirely abandoned. He even agreed to join his troops to those of the king of Prussia to act against them. In a little time a Russian army was seen in conjunction with one of Prussia, to drive out of Silesia those Austrians, who had been a few months before brought into that province by the Russian arms.

This was a miraculous revolution. Fortune, who had so long abandoned the king of Prussia to his genius, after having persecuted him for near five years, and overpowered him with the whole weight of her anger, at length made amends by a sudden turn, and did for him at one stroke the only thing, by which he could possibly be saved.

Sweden, who since she has recovered her liberty has lost her political importance, and for a long time acted entirely under the direction of Russian councils, followed on this, as on all other occasions, the example of the court of Petersburgh, and signed a treaty of peace with the king of Prussia on the 22d of May.

In order to account for whatever was not the result of mere personal character in this extraordinary revolution of politics in Russia, it will be necessary to remind the reader, that the czar Peter the third was duke of Holstein; and that the dukes of Holstein had pretensions to the dutchy of Sleswick. These pretensions were compromised by a treaty in 1732. But as the cession made by the house of Holstein in this treaty was the effect of necessity, it had been always apprehended that she would make use of the first safe opportunity of reclaiming her ancient rights. The czar seised eagerly on the great one, which the possession of the whole Russian power afforded him, and he resolved to enter into an immediate war for this object, to which his predilection for his native country gave in his eyes a far greater importance than to all the conquests of his predecessor. As long as this war with the king of Prussia subsisted, it was impossible that his designs against Denmark could be prosecuted with any hope of success. Wholly indifferent therefore to all others, and passionately fond of this object, as soon as he came to the throne, without any dispute or negotiation, he offered the king of Prussia in his great distress every thing he could have hoped from a series of victories, and whilst he joined his arms to those of that monarch in Silesia, he caused an army to march towards Holstein.

Thus the peace with Russia, far from conducing to the general peace of Europe, did very little more than change the face of the war. It brought in new subjects of dispute, and new parties, and by threatening Denmark, left not a single

ſingle power in the north in a ſtate of aſſured tranquility.

The king of Denmark, though threatened by ſo formidable a power engaged in purſuit of a favourite object, was not terrified into any mean conceſſions. He recruited his army, repaired his fortifications, and prepared for his defence, with temper and magnanimity. As money muſt be much wanting for the ſervices of ſo important a war, as his country could furniſh no great ſupplies, and the borrowings in every part of Europe, together with the ſudden invaſion of his dominions, could enable him to form no ſanguine hopes of public credit, he turned his eyes towards the city of Hamburgh, which had enriched itſelf by its induſtry and neutrality during the whole war, and by the number of wealthy perſons who had fled there for refuge from the calamities, which all the neighbouring countries had ſuffered.

His Daniſh majeſty had always kept alive a claim of ſovereignty over that city, which (however founded) he exerciſed whenever he found himſelf able. He thought the preſent one of thoſe conjunctures. Therefore without any previous notice he appears with a ſtrong army before Hamburgh, June 18. ſeizes the ſuburbs, threatens the city with an immediate ſiege, if they did not immediately ſubmit to a loan of 1000,000 of rixdollars. The magiſtrates of this trading city, little prepared for, or accuſtomed to war, having no ally at hand, and who would be equally endangered by the ſtrength of any ally able to protect them, prudently ſubmitted, and furniſhed the king with ſuch a ſupply as his affairs required.

The king of Pruſſia loſt no time to profit of this great and unexpected revolution in his favour. The neutrality of the Ruſſians ſtill left the Auſtrians much ſuperior to him. Their alliance brought him to an equality. Two Auſtrian armies in Sileſia, and one in Saxony, were prepared to act, and it was not clear which ſide would begin to act on the offenſive: the Auſtrian armies threatened Glogau and Breſlaw with a ſiege, and the king of Pruſſia's threatened Schweidnitz.

The active character of the king of Pruſſia, and the caution of marſhal Daun, ſoon determined the part, which the ſeveral armies were to take, and the ſpirit of the ſeveral operations. Very early in May 12. the campaign prince Henry made a vigorous puſh on the imperial poſts towards the frontiers of Saxony. The Imperialiſts were obliged to evacuate Dippolſwalda with ſome loſs in killed. About four thouſand men were taken priſoners; 365 waggons were alſo taken, and ſeveral military trophies.

By this ſignal advantage, all the part of Saxony, poſſeſſed by the Pruſſians, was effectually ſecured; and any attempt which might hereafter be thought proper for the recovery of Dreſden, was much facilitated. Although the Auſtrians, ſenſible of the conſequence of this loſs, and largely reinforced from the armies in Sileſia, attempted to recover theſe poſts by ſeveral lively efforts, they were repulſed with no ſmall ſlaughter on both ſides; and prince Henry remained ſo much maſter of Saxony, that it was neceſſary to keep a large army from the war in Sileſia, to prevent if poſſible his making irruptions into the very heart of Bohemia.

His Pruſſian majeſty derived advantages from the conduct of his brother, which he did not neglect to

to improve. It was not until the latter end of June that he was joined by his new Ruſſian allies. As ſoon as this junction was formed, he reſolved to make a tryal of what thoſe men could do in his favour, who had acted ſo ſtrenuouſly againſt him. Marſhal Daun's army occupied ſeveral ſtrong, but detached eminencies, which enabled him to communicate with and protect Schweidnitz from all attempts of the enemy.

July 21. The king of Pruſſia undertook to diſlodge him from thoſe advantageous poſts. In ſome of his attempts he ſucceeded, in others he was baffled with ſome loſs.

This was no regular battle; but the king of Pruſſia, though he did not ſucceed immediately in his attack, yet by his judicious manœvres he attained all the advantages he propoſed from his enterpriſe. For marſhal Daun, apprehenſive from the motions of his army, that the king of Pruſſia intended to ſeize upon his principal magazine, and even to cut off his communication with Bohemia, abandoned thoſe important poſts which he had hitherto maintained with ſucceſs, fell back to the extremities of Sileſia, and left Schweidnitz entirely uncovered.

The king of Pruſſia immediately prepared to inveſt that city whilſt different detachments of Pruſſians, ſome on the ſide of Saxony, others on the ſide of Sileſia, penetrated deep into Bohemia, laid many parts of the country under contribution, and ſpread an univerſal alarm. It was about five years ſince they had been driven from thence by the victorious arms of marſhal Daun, who now found himſelf unable to protect that kingdom from their ravages. A conſiderable body of Ruſſian irregulars alſo made an irruption into Bohemia, and began there to retaliate on the Auſtrians thoſe exceſſes, which they had themſelves ſo often before committed on the Pruſſian dominions.

Whilſt the king of Pruſſia was thus playing with ſpirit the great game which fortune had put into his hands, he was all at once threatened with a ſudden reverſe, by another revolution in Ruſſia, which bore all the appearance of being as unfavourable to him, as the former had been beyond all hopes beneficial. That variable political climate of Ruſſia, under whoſe influence all his fortune decayed or flouriſhed, was covered with a ſudden cloud by the depoſition, followed cloſe by the death, of his faſt friend, and faithful ally, the czar of Muſcovy.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Cauſes of the revolution in Ruſſia. Czar irritates the clergy and ſoldiery. Differences with the czarina. Conſpiracy againſt him. Czar depoſed by the ſenate. Attempts an eſcape. His impriſonment and death. The czarina declared empreſs. Her politic conduct. Ingratiates herſelf with the people.

FROM the moment of the late czar's acceſſion to the throne of the Ruſſias, ſomething extraordinary was expected. His diſpoſition ſeemed to lead him to make alterations in every thing, and having ſet before himſelf two great examples, that of the king of Pruſſia and of his predeceſſor Peter I. it was expected that this vaſt empire was going once more, almoſt within the life of a man, to aſſume a new face; a circumſtance which could not fail of having a ſerious influence on the affairs of Europe. Peter III. made more new regulations in Ruſſia in a few weeks, than wiſe and cautious princes undertake in a long reign. It was to be feared that his actions were rather guided by a raſh and irregular turn of mind, and the ſpirit of innovation, than by any regular and well digeſted plan, for the improvement of his extenſive dominions.

His firſt actions on coming to the throne, it is true, were laudable, and ſeemed well calculated to acquire him the affections of his people. But if in ſome inſtances he conſulted their intereſts, in many he ſhocked their prejudices; and he loſt thereby that opinion, which is on all occaſions neceſſary, but is particularly ſo for carrying ſuch uncommon deſigns as his into execution.

The power of the czars, though abſolute and uncontroulable in its exerciſe, is extremely weak in its foundation. There is not perhaps in Europe a government, which depends ſo much on the good will and affection of thoſe that are governed; and which requires a greater degree of vigilance and a ſteadier hand. The regular ſucceſſion which has been ſo often broken, and the great change of manners, which in leſs than a century has been introduced, have left in Ruſſia a weakneſs amidſt all the appearance of ſtrength, and a great facility to ſudden and dangerous revolutions.

Peter III. paid little attention to thoſe difficulties, which to him were the greater, as he was a foreigner born. They were augmented by the ſuperior and invidious regard he ſeemed to pay to foreign intereſts, and foreign perſons. The preference he ſo manifeſtly gave to the uncertain hope of inconſiderable conqueſt in Holſtein over the ſolid and valuable poſſeſſions which the fortune of his predeceſſor had left him, muſt have diſguſted all the politicians of his country. His intimate connection with, and boundleſs admiration of that prince, with whom Ruſſia had been ſo lately, and ſo long, in a ſtate of the moſt violent hoſtility, could not add to the opinion of his prudence. They did not think he ſufficiently conſulted his dignity, in ſolliciting

with great anxiety a command in the Pruſſian ſervice. When he received it, he dreſſed himſelf in the Pruſſian uniform, made a grand feſtival, and diſplayed all the marks of an immoderate and puerile ſatisfaction. He puſhed his extravagance in this point ſo far, that he made preparations in this immature ſtate of his government to quit Ruſſia, and to go into Germany for the ſake of an interview with that great monarch, whoſe genius, principles and fortune he ſo greatly admired.

Although this proceeding was, almoſt in every reſpect, extremely impolitic, it did not threaten ſo dangerous conſequences as the other ſteps, which he took about the ſame time. Nothing requires ſo much judgment, and ſo nice a hand, as to effect a change in the ſettled eſtabliſhments of any country. Above all, there muſt be ſomething favourable in the conjuncture; or ſomething ſo uncommon and over-ruling in the genius of the conductor of thoſe changes, as will render him ſuperior to all difficulties. This latter was the caſe of Peter I. who had indeed very little favourable in the conjuncture; but he did every thing by his capacity, courage, and perſeverance. The ſoldiery and the eccleſiaſtics are the great ſupports of all abſolute rule, and they are certainly the laſt bodies, upon which a prince of this kind would chuſe to exert any invidious act of authority. But the czar was indiſcreet enough, very early in his reign, highly to provoke both theſe bodies; the ſoldiery, by the manifeſt preference he gave to his Holſtein guards, and to all officers of that nation; and by the change he made in favour of the Pruſſian uniform to the excluſion of that, in which the Ruſſians believed they had ſo often aſſerted the honour of their country, and gained many ſignal advantages over the troops, diſtinguiſhed by thoſe regimentals which were now preferred.

Theſe trifles had very important conſequences. But what he did in matters of religion was ſtill more dangerous. This prince had been educated a Lutheran; and though he conformed to the Greek church, in order to qualify himſelf for the ſucceſſion, he never ſhewed much reſpect to that mode of religion, to the rites and doctrines of which his ſubjects had been always extremely attached. He ſeized upon the revenues of the clergy, whether monks or ſeculars, whether biſhops or inferiors, and for compenſation allowed them ſome mean penſions, in ſuch a proportion as his fancy ſuggeſted. His capricious order that the clergy ſhould be no longer diſtinguiſhed by beards, was in itſelf of leſs moment, but it was hardly leſs offenſive. He made alſo ſome regulations concerning the images and pictures in their churches, which gave them reaſon to apprehend his intention of accompliſhing a total change in the religion of the empire, and introducing Lutheraniſm.

Whilſt he was taking theſe meaſures to alienate the minds of his people in general, and eſpecially of thoſe bodies, with whom it was the moſt his intereſt to be well, he had not the good fortune to live in union with his own family. He had long ſlighted his conſort, a princeſs of the houſe of Anhalt Zerbſt, a woman of a maſculine underſtanding, and by whoſe councils he might have profited. He lived in a very public manner with the counteſs of Woronzoff, niece to the

chancellor of that name, and seemed devoted to her with so strong a passion, that it was apprehended he had some thoughts of throwing his empress into a monastery, and raising this lady to the throne of all the Russias. What seemed to confirm this opinion, was his omitting formally to declare his son the grand duke Paul Petrowitz the successor. This omission in a country, where the succession is established and regular, would have been of no consequence; the punctual observance of such a ceremony would rather have betrayed some doubt of the title. But the nature of this government, as well as positive constitutions, had made it necessary in Russia, and the omission was certainly alarming.

That unfortunate prince, having in this manner affronted his army, irritated his clergy, offended his nobility, and alienated his own family, without having left himself any firm ground of authority, in personal esteem or national prejudice, proceeded with his usual precipitation to new changes. In the mean time a most dangerous conspiracy was forming against him. The cruel punishments inflicted in Russia on state criminals, have only an effect to harden the minds of men already fierce and obdurate, and seldom deter them from the most desperate undertakings. Rosamouski, Hetman or chief of the Cossacks, a person of importance by that command, Panin governor of the great duke Paul, marshal Butterlin, the chamberlain Teplow, the attorney general Glebow, baron Orlow major of the guards, and many others of the great officers and first nobility of the Empire, engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone the czar, who was now universally hated; and, what was more fatal to him, universally despised.

They assured themselves that their action could not be disagreeable to the empress; whose conduct had always been the very reverse of that of her consort. This princess finding that the affections of her husband were irrecoverably alienated, endeavoured to set up a separate and independent interest in her own favour, and for asserting the rights of her son. She therefore assiduously cultivated the affections of the Russian nation, and paid a respect to their manners and religion, in the same degree that her husband seemed to contemn them.

So ill was the czar served, that this conspiracy was grown general, without his receiving the least notice of it, and he remained in perfect security, whilst the senate and the clergy were assembled to pass the sentence of his deposition. June 28. At this time the empress and he were both absent from the capital at different country seats. The empress, as soon as she found that the design was declared, got on horse-back, and with all possible speed arrived at Petersburg. She immediately harangued the guards, who chearfully and unanimously declared in her favour, and proclaimed her empress of Russia independently of her husband. She then addressed herself to the clergy, and the chief of the nobility, who applauded her resolution; and all orders immediately took the oath of allegiance to her as sole empress. She was no sooner acknowledged in this manner, than, without losing a moment's time, she marched from Petersburg towards the emperor at the head of a body of troops.

This prince was indulging himself in indolent amusements, and

lulled in the moſt profound ſecurity at a houſe of pleaſure, called Oranie-baum on the ſea ſhore, when a ſoldier brought him an account that his kingdom was taken away from him.

Aſtoniſhed, and wholly unprepared for this event, he was ſome time ſenſeleſs, and entirely at a loſs what part to take. When he was rouzed from this trance by the approaching danger, his firſt ſuggeſtion was to defend the place with his Holſtein guards; but tho' ſatisfied of their attachment, he doubted their ſtrength, and he knew it was in vain to hope for any effort in his favour from the Ruſſians.

Nothing then remained but flight, by which he might eſcape to Holſtein, and wait ſome favourable turn of fortune. This late lord of powerful fleets and armies embarked in a ſmall veſſel, and with a few attendants, and rowed towards Cronſtadt; but he had not proceeded very far, when he was informed that this fortreſs was in the hands of his enemies, and that every avenue for eſcape was ſhut againſt him. Dejected and deſponding he returned to Oranie-baum. After ſome ſhort and tumultuous deliberation, he reſolved to abandon all thoughts of defence, and to throw himſelf on the compaſſion of the empreſs.

On her march ſhe met his meſſengers, who brought letters containing a renunciation of the empire, and ſtipulating no other terms than leave to return to Holſtein, and the ſatisfaction of taking with him, as the companion of his retreat, the counteſs of Woronzoff and one ſingle friend.

Reaſons of ſtate could not permit the empreſs to conſent to the firſt of thoſe terms, and the laſt could not be very flatterring to her. His terms were rejected; and he was required to ſign an unconditional reſignation of his crown, according to a form that was prepared for him. Not ſatisfied with depriving him of his crown, it was thought fit to make him the murderer of his own reputation; and this unfortunate prince, moved with the vain hope of life, ſigned a paper declaring his conviction of his inability to govern the empire, either as a ſovereign, or in any other capacity, and his ſenſe of the diſtreſs, in which his continuing at the head of affairs would inevitably involve it. After he had ſigned this abdication, he gave up his ſword, and was conducted to priſon, where in a ſhort time, but according to what had been univerſally expected, he died. The diſorder, which killed him, was called an hemorrhoidal cholic. July 6.

Thus was a revolution of ſuch immenſe importance effected in a ſingle day, and without ſhedding a ſingle drop of blood. The unfortunate emperor enjoyed the power, of which he had made ſo imprudent and unpolitic an uſe, no longer than ſix months. His wife, without any hereditary title, is ſovereign miſtreſs of the Ruſſian empire; and the moſt abſolute power on earth, is now held by an elective monarch.

Immediately on this revolution a number of manifeſtoes appeared, in which the conduct of the late czar was ſeverely condemned, the weakneſs of his perſonal character expoſed, and deſigns of the blackeſt kind, even that of murdering his conſort, attributed to him. Thoſe manifeſtoes at the ſame time were filled

filled with the ſtrongeſt declarations of affection from the empreſs to the ſubjects of Ruſſia, of regard to their intereſts, and of attachment to their religion; and they are all filled with ſuch unaffected and fervent ſtrains of piety, as muſt needs prove extremely edifying to thoſe who are acquainted with the ſentiments of pure religion, by which great princes are generally animated on occaſions of this nature.

Nothing could be more able than the conduct of the empreſs, ſince her acceſſion to the throne. In almoſt all reſpects it was the very reverſe of that of her huſband. She diſmiſſed all foreigners from her confidence and ſervice; ſhe ſent away the Holſtein guards, and choſe Ruſſian, whoſe ancient uniform was revived with new luſtre, the empreſs herſelf frequently condeſcending to appear in it. The clergy were reſtored to their poſſeſſions, and their beards. She conferred all the great poſts of the empire on native Ruſſians, and entirely threw herſelf on the affections of that people to whom ſhe owed her elevation.

CHAP. V.

Effect of the revolution in Ruſſia on the king of Pruſſia's affairs. Situation of the new empreſs. She adopts a neutrality. Ruſſian conqueſts reſtored. Ruſſians quit the Pruſſian camp King of Pruſſia draws marſhal Daun from Buckerſdorff. Schweidnitz beſieged. Marſhal Laudohn attacks the prince of Bevern. Is repulſed. Diſpoſition of the French and allied armies. Broglio removed. Battle of Grabenſtein. French defeated. Lord Granby drives the French from Hombourg. Prince Xavier of Saxony defeated. Gottingen evacuated. French army called from the Lower Rhine.

THIS great change in the government of Ruſſia, it was univerſally feared, would be followed by a total change of ſyſtem with regard to foreign affairs. The peace and alliance with the king of Pruſſia were very unpopular meaſures in Muſcovy. It was not probable that the cloſe and intimate connection which had ſubſiſted between the king of Pruſſia and the late czar, could greatly recommend him to the ſucceſſor. And as it was imagined that this revolution muſt have been in a great degree owing to the machinations of thoſe courts, whom the czar had irritated by withdrawing from their alliance, there was the greater reaſon to apprehend that the power, which was now ſet up, would be exerted in their favour.

There were alſo great advantages on the ſide of Ruſſia, if the empreſs ſhould not hold the peace concluded by her late huſband to be binding on her, as none of the conqueſts were at this time evacuated. Every thing ſeemed to conſpire towards plunging the king of Pruſſia into the abyſs of his former diſtreſſes, after he had emerged from them, only for ſuch a time, and in ſuch a manner, as to make them more bitter and inſupportable.

Fortunately, however, for this wonderful man, the empreſs, who had come to the Ruſſian throne in the extraordinary manner that we have ſeen, could not look upon herſelf as ſufficiently ſecure to undertake again a war of ſo much importance as that which had been

juſt concluded. It was neceſſary, for ſome time at leaſt, that ſhe ſhould confine her attention ſolely to her own ſafety. Therefore it was expedient to collect, within itſelf, all the force of the empire, in order to oppoſe it to the deſigns of the many malcontents, with which that empire always abounds, and who, though not attached to the intereſt of the late czar, and little inclined to revenge his fate, would find now both inducement and opportunity for raiſing troubles and attempting new changes. Very plauſible pretences for ſuch attempts exiſted from the time of Peter the Great; who, whilſt he improved and ſtrengthened his kingdom, left in it, at the ſame time, the ſeeds of civil wars and revolutions.

Theſe conſiderations, whatever her deſires might be, induced the czarina to continue ſo much of the ſyſtem of her predeceſſor, as coincided with her ſituation. She therefore declared to the king of Pruſſia's miniſters, "that ſhe was reſolved to obſerve inviolably, in all points, the perpetual peace concluded under the preceding reign, that nevertheleſs ſhe had thought proper to bring back to Ruſſia, by the neareſt roads, all her troops in Sileſia, Pruſſia, and Pomerania."

It was not the critical ſituation alone of the czarina which produced this moderation; the prudent behaviour of his Pruſſian majeſty, during the time of his connection with the late czar, had a conſiderable ſhare in reconciling the mind of this empreſs to him, and of perpetuating ſomething like the ſame friendſhip, with intereſts ſo very different. The Ruſſian ſenate, flaming with reſentment againſt this monarch, and againſt their late ſovereign; and the empreſs, full of ſuſpicion that the conduct of the latter might have been influenced by the councils of the former, ſearched eagerly amongſt the papers of the late emperor for elucidation or proofs of this point. They found indeed many letters from the king of Pruſſia; but in a ſtrain abſolutely different from what they apprehended. The king of Pruſſia had, as far as prudence would admit, kept a reſerve and diſtance in regard to the raſh advances of this unhappy ally. Too experienced to be carried away by his inconſiderate impetuoſity, he gave him much ſalutary, though fruitleſs, advice; he counſelled him to undertake nothing againſt the empreſs his conſort; to deſiſt from the war with Denmark; to attempt no changes in the religion and fundamental laws of the country; and not to think of coming into Germany.

On hearing theſe letters read, the empreſs is ſaid to have burſt into tears of gratitude, and made in conſequence the ſtrongeſt declarations in favour of this prince. They were not without effect. Orders had been given with relation to Pruſſia, which threatened a renewal of hoſtilities. They were ſoon ſuſpended. The army of the Ruſſians was indeed ſeparated from that of Pruſſia; but all the important places, which the Ruſſians had, with ſo much bloodſhed, and through ſo many difficulties acquired, and which gave them the command of every thing elſe that remained to the king, were faithfully reſtored.

This change from a ſtrict alliance to a cold neutrality, though it made no ſmall difference in the Pruſſian affairs, yet, all things conſidered, muſt be regarded as an eſcape, and as a deliverance almoſt

as

as wonderful as his former. However, this circumſtance could not fail of inſpiring ſome degree of confidence into his enemies, which the king of Pruſſia endeavoured above all things to prevent.

On the 21ſt of July, the orders arrived at the allied camp from Peterſburg, for the Ruſſians to ſeparate themſelves from his army, and return without delay to their own country. The king, without being confounded by this ſudden order, and inſtead of ſlackening his efforts on account of this deſertion, reſolved to fall with vigour, and without delay, upon marſhal Daun, and to attack him before the news of this change could reach him. Since he could no longer profit by the arms of the Ruſſians, he endeavoured to profit at leaſt by their appearance in his camp. The very next day therefore he attacked the Auſtrian army, whoſe right wing occupied the heights of Buckerſdorff, drove them from that eminence, and from ſome villages where they were advantageouſly poſted. The ſucceſs was not owing only to the ſpirit of the actual attack, but to an apprehenſion of the Auſtrians, that the whole united army of the Pruſſians and Muſcovites was on the point of engaging them. The king of Pruſſia made an uſe of thoſe allies, in the moment they deſerted him.

This lively attack was made with a loſs of only three hundred men on the ſide of the Pruſſians; the number of the Auſtrians killed is not known. The priſoners amounted to one thouſand; and fourteen pieces of cannon were taken. It was indeed no more than an affair of poſts; but its conſequences were important; for the communication of the Imperialiſts with Schweidnitz was now entirely and finally cut off; they could not attempt any thing conſiderable for the relief of that place. Prince Henry held them in continual alarm for Bohemia, and a great part of their attention, and no ſmall part of their forces were kept continually engaged upon that ſide.

The king of Pruſſia having thus puſhed back marſhal Daun, inveſted Schweidnitz, and laid ſiege to that important fortreſs before his face. This was the fourth time which that place had been beſieged ſince the beginning of this war; and this circumſtance alone might ſuffice to ſhew the many and extraordinary changes of fortune which diſtinguiſhed theſe campaigns. We apprehend no inſtance has happened before of any place like this of real ſtrength being ſo often ſucceſſively taken and retaken in the courſe of a ſingle war.

As Schweidnitz is the key of Sileſia, and, though not quite a regular place, is notwithſtanding well ſituated and well fortified; as the garriſon amounted to nine thouſand men, commanded by a good officer, and aſſiſted by a very experienced engineer, and as two great armies of the enemy obſerved all his motions, it was neceſſary to make the diſpoſitions for the ſiege with uncommon care. His infantry were encamped on the heights behind Schweidnitz. His cavalry formed a chain in the plains of Keintzerdorf, to be nearer the camp of the prince of Wirtemberg, which was ſituated ſo as to prevent any enterprize from the county of Glatz. The prince of Bevern commanded a ſtrong corps, which poſted itſelf advantageouſly near Coſel. One under general Werner did the ſame at Neiſſa.

By theſe diſpoſitions the Pruſſian convoys were protected, the principal places in Sileſia guarded, the ſiege of Schweidnitz covered, and an eaſy communication preſerved between all the detached corps employed in theſe ſeveral ſervices.

The effects of this wiſe diſpoſition were ſoon felt. Marſhal Daun, deſpairing to ſucceed againſt the army, which, under the king in perſon, covered the ſiege of Schweidnitz, endeavoured to break this chain, and by that means diſtreſs the Pruſſians who were carrying on the ſiege. Laudohn was therefore detached, with a very ſuperior force, to attack the prince of Bevern, and to drive him from the advantageous poſt he occupied. This attack was made with all the celerity and reſolution, which diſtinguiſh the operations of this brave officer. But the prince, mindful of the diſgrace he had formerly ſuffered in this province, oppoſed him with ſuch conſtancy and perſeverance, that the king of Pruſſia had time to come to his relief. The Auſtrians were then put between two fires, routed, and purſued with a terrible ſlaughter.

This attempt being defeated, the king of Pruſſia met with no diſturbance in his preparations for the ſiege, and the trenches were opened on the night of the 8th of July.

Whilſt the king of Pruſſia was making this advantageous uſe of his fortune, the armies of the French and the allies in Weſtphalia were not inactive. Among the commanders of the former a great diſunion had long prevailed. The marſhals de Broglio and de Soubize had mutually accuſed each other; the camp and the court were for ſome time entirely diſtracted with the cabals of the partizans of theſe officers. The reſult was not favourable to marſhal Broglio. In him the French court was obliged to recal, and in ſome meaſure to diſgrace, one of the very beſt of their officers. A ſuſpicion, and that not weakly founded, prevailed againſt this general, that unable to bear a competitor in fame, or an aſſociate in command, he had often, in order to diſgrace thoſe with whom he was to act, neglected to improve his favourable opportunities; and that in ſome inſtances, by his conduct, he had purpoſely occaſioned ſome failures, and even defeats. This was a fault which no great qualities in an officer could compenſate. He was therefore removed from his command, and the conduct of the army left to the prince de Soubize, who was infinitely beloved by the ſoldiers for his generous and benevolent diſpoſition; and marſhal d'Etrees, who has been ſo often mentioned in the courſe of this hiſtory, was aſſociated with him.

The plan of the campaign, on the part of the French, did not differ much from that which had been formerly purſued. They had, as before, two armies; this under the prince de Soubize and marſhal d'Etrees on the Weſer, and another under the prince de Condé on the Lower Rhine.

The diſpoſition of the allies was alſo but little varied. The hereditary prince was poſted in the biſhopric of Munſter, to watch the latter of theſe armies; and prince Ferdinand in perſon, with the body of the army, lay behind the Dymel to make head againſt the former. So little had the French profited by their ſuperior numbers, and ſuperior reſources in this continental war, and ſo little deciſive uſe had they made even of ſome advantages in the field, that this

campaign commenced very nearly in the ſame place, and they contended for pretty much the ſame objects, which they had ſtruggled for in the two preceding years.

So ſuperior was the genius of prince Ferdinand, that under many diſadvantages he was the firſt to commence offenſive operations. The ſtroke he ſtruck on this occaſion would ſuffice alone to rank him with the firſt commanders of his age. His abilities throughout the war have never ſhone out with more luſtre than in this campaign, which concluded it.

The French army was moſt advantageouſly poſted, both for command of the country, and for ſtrength, near a place called Graebenſtein, in the frontiers of Heſſe; their center occupied an advantageous eminence; their left wing was almoſt inacceſſible by ſeveral deep ravines, and their right was covered by the village of Graebenſtein, by ſeveral rivulets, and a ſtrong detached body under one of their beſt officers, monſieur de Caſtries.

In this ſituation they imagined they had nothing to fear from the attempts of prince Ferdinand, whoſe army, beſides the inferiority of its numbers, was ſeparated in ſuch a manner, and in ſuch diſtant places, that they judged it impoſſible it could unite in any attack upon their camp. But whilſt they enjoyed themſelves in full ſecurity, the ſtorm was preparing to fall upon them from all quarters.

A conſiderable corps of the allied army, under general Luckner, was poſted to the eaſtward of the Weſer, near Eimbecke, on the Leine. He lay there to obſerve prince Xavier of Saxony, who was encamped between the Werra and Gottingen. But if he watched the prince, the prince alſo watched him. When, therefore, he had orders to quit this poſt, that he might cooperate in the grand deſign, he left a ſmall party of his corps in his ſtation, by which he deceived the prince of Saxony; and marching in the night with the utmoſt ſpeed, he croſſed the Weſer, turned the right of the French army, and, without being diſcovered, placed himſelf upon their rear. General Sporken at the ſame time placed himſelf ſo as to attack the ſame wing in flank. Prince Ferdinand croſſed the Dymel, in order to fall upon their center. The attack on the enemy's left was commanded by lord Granby.

Theſe preparations were made with ſo much judgment, celerity, and good order, that the French had not perceived the approach of the allies, when they found themſelves attacked with infinite impetuoſity in front, flank, and rear. The battle was ſcarcely begun, when they thought of nothing but flight. The corps under monſieur de Caſtries had time to retreat in tolerable order, and without any great loſs. But it did not fare ſo well with their center, and their left, which were oppoſed by the calm reſolution of prince Ferdinand, and the generous courage of Granby. June 24.

As the French placed all their hopes rather in retreat than combat, an entire rout muſt have enſued, if monſieur Stainville, who commanded on the left, had not thrown himſelf with the flower of the French infantry into a wood, which enabled him, at the expence of the beſt part of it, to cover the retreat of the army. Here this brave and accompliſhed officer made a re-

a reſolute ſtand, and for a long time ſuſtained the whole weight of the allies. His corps was a devoted ſacrifice. All but two battalions were cut to pieces or made priſoners. The other bodies, covered by this reſolute manœuvre, made a ſhift to ſhelter themſelves under the cannon of Caſſel, or precipitately eſcaped to the other ſide of the Fulda.

Thus did the French army, by the virtue of monſieur de Stainville, eſcape a total defeat; but the conſequences of the action were not recovered during the whole campaign. They loſt much credit both in point of reſolution and generalſhip. Their infantry, in this engagement, conſiſted of one hundred battalions, when that of the allies was compoſed but of ſixty. The common men made priſoners by the allies on this occaſion were two thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty, and no leſs than one hundred and ſixty-two officers were taken. The Engliſh loſt but a few men killed, and no officer of rank but lieutenant-colonel Townſhend *, who fell with great glory to himſelf, and to the regret of the whole army.

Every thing in the conduct of prince Ferdinand appears the effect of a well-digeſted plan; and one great action completed always helps to diſcloſe a ſeries of bold, maſterly, and connected deſigns.

As ſoon as the enemy was diſlodged from their ſtrong poſt, uſe was made of this advantage (whilſt the French, under the hurry and confuſion of their late misfortune, were unable to provide againſt unexpected accidents) to puſh forward a body of the Engliſh under lord Granby and lord Frederick Cavendiſh. The French could ſcarcely imagine, that, whilſt they were in poſſeſſion of ſo ſtrong a place as Caſſel, and commanded an army ſo ſuperior in numbers to the allies, that, whilſt prince Ferdinand braved them in front, they ſhould find one of his detachments upwards of thirty miles behind them. In this emergency, monſieur de Rochambeau perceiving their motions, haſtily collected ſome brigades of infantry and cavalry at Hombourg, to prevent, if poſſible, the communication of the grand army with Francfort from being cut off. But they were charged with ſo much vigour by the two Engliſh commanders, that, though they defended themſelves with ſpirit for ſome time, they were in the iſſue diſperſed with conſiderable loſs. They were obliged to evacuate that tract of country. Fritzlar, Feltzberg, and Lohr; and almoſt all the important poſts in the ſouth part of Heſſe were occupied by the allies. The communication with Francfort, from whence the French drew their whole ſubſiſtence, was abſolutely intercepted. July 6.

To the north of Heſſe alſo the allies were not leſs active, nor leſs ſucceſsful; they obliged prince Xavier, with his Saxon detachments, to abandon his advanced poſt on the Leine, and unite himſelf to the grand army. They got between him and Gottingen, by

* This col. Townſhend was ſecond ſon to the hon. Thomas Townſhend, Eſq; He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on ſeveral occaſions. At Guadaloupe he was puſhed overboard in the landing of the troops, but his black ſaved his life by jumping after him. In the laſt campaign in Germany, he was ſhot through the arm, and in this engagement he loſt his life, ſeeking the poſt of honour that his duty did not require.

which

which the French garrison there was left without support. This garrison, seeing its communication interrupted, blew up a part of the fortifications, and attempted a retreat; but finding no avenue open, they were obliged to return in confusion. Despairing of their ability to hold this important place, they thought themselves happy, when at length, with much management and difficulty, they were able to evacuate it without opposition.

Aug. 16.

Prince Xavier, after having, as we said before, quitted his advanced situation at Morungen in the territories of Hanover, united himself to the right of the principal army, which was posted to the eastward of the Fulda, not far from the place where that river forms an angle in its junction with the Werra. In this angle stands the town of Munden, a fortified place, in which the French had a garrison. Full of confidence from this situation, they were under no apprehensions: but the generals Zastrow, Gilsac, and Waldhausen, passed the Fulda in their sight, and under a heavy fire of their cannon. The corps of the two former officers possessed themselves of a wood on the enemy's right flank. General Waldhausen, in the mean time, had seized the village of Bonnevert, which enabled him to keep the garrison of Munden in check, and gave him also an opportunity, whenever the occasion required it, of falling on the enemy's rear.

July 23.

The bold passage of the Fulda, and the judgment of the subsequent dispositions, insured the victory. Prince Xavier, for a good while, defended himself with an obstinate resolution; but finding his flank gained, he began to give way. In this instant Waldhausen, who had hitherto only watched the issue of the engagement, threw in his horse upon their rear, and compleated the defeat.

General Stainville, who occupied a strong intrenched camp in the neighbourhood, seeing the party of the prince of Saxony in danger of being totally cut to pieces, quitted his intrenchments with his whole army of ten thousand men, and hastened to their relief. Prince Frederick of Brunswick, attentive to this movement, with great quickness seized this critical opportunity, entered their camp the moment they had left it, and entirely destroyed all their works. In this action eleven hundred of the enemy were made prisoners.

The French finding their communication destroyed, their army surrounded and harrassed on every side, and without intermission, were neither able to advance with a prospect of success, or to retreat with any hope of safety. In this distress they had nothing left but to call their army from the Lower Rhine to their assistance. No time was to be lost. Express after express was sent to hasten them. In consequence of these dispatches, the prince of Condé advanced by forced marches; the hereditary prince stuck close to him, and kept himself in readiness to fall upon his corps, when a favourable opportunity should offer.

In the mean time prince Ferdinand pressed upon Soubize's army. Advantageously as they were situated, he offered them battle for a whole day. Rather than risque an engagement they decamped in the night, and quitted, without an action, those advantageous grounds called the heights of Mulsingen, where

where they could not be attempted without the greateſt difficulty and hazard; and the quitting of which gave prince Ferdinand the moſt important advantages over them.

Never were military operations puſhed with more vivacity, whilſt the negotiation for peace was in great forwardneſs. The two great contending courts had opened conferences, whilſt their armies were cutting one another in pieces: but prince Ferdinand, on that account, rather ſtrained than ſlackened his efforts. He knew that the negotiation for peace is always much forwarded by the operations of the campaign, and that a ſucceſsful action often haſtens the deciſion of a conteſted article. Perhapt too he was willing to ſhew in England, that the neceſſity of making peace ought not to be attributed to the circummſtances of that part of the war which had been committed to his care. People imagined they could diſcern ſomething like coldneſs towards this great commander in the new Britiſh miniſtry; and that he, on his ſide, ſeemed rather to favour that party in England which was for prolonging the war.

CHAP. VI.

War in Portugal. Plan of the campaign. Miranda, Braganza, and Chaves taken. Almeida beſieged and taken. Count of La Lippe arrives in Portugal. Surprize of Valentia d'Alcantara, by general Burgoyne. Affair of Villa Velha. Spaniards retire.

THE events of the war in Germany, tho' its object was not more intereſting than that in Portugal, ſeem to rank far before the actions of the latter in dignity and importance. They naturally occupy the firſt place, and juſtify a more minute detail in an hiſtory of military operations. It is in Germany that the great efforts of all the great powers in Europe were made from the beginning. Here the moſt conſiderable armies were maintained; here the great battles were fought; and on this theatre the great commanders gave a full ſcope to their genius. Germany ſeems, as it were, the natural ſoil of hoſtility; but Portugal, which had long languiſhed in a tranquil obſcurity, could ſcarce furniſh out a faint image of war.

Of the ſtate of the military in that country we have ſpoken in a preceding chapter. The marine was not on a much more reſpectable footing. About ſix or ſeven ſhips of the line, and a very few frigates, compoſed all the naval force of Portugal that was fit for ſervice; of that Portugal which had formerly been one of the firſt maritime powers in Europe. The fortifications in that kingdom had been alſo long neglected, and ſcarce any of them were in a condition to ſuſtain a regular ſiege.

Portugal, however, poſſeſſed ſome advantages; but they were only ſuch as ſhe derived from her weakneſs. The extreme barrenneſs and poverty of the country, made it very difficult for an army, either of friends or enemies, to ſubſiſt in it. The badneſs of the roads, and the frequency and ſteepneſs of the mountains, which occupy the greateſt part of that kingdom, made it no leſs difficult to advance with rapid marches, and to improve the advantages of the campaign with proper

per expedition. The nature of the country alſo rendered it not unfit for that ſpecies of defence, which the beſt force it had was beſt qualified to make; that is, in the way of an irregular war, by its armed peaſantry; for the defiles in many places are of ſuch a nature, as to be capable of being maintained by a ſmall and undiſciplined body, againſt very numerous and very regular forces. And the Portugueſe, from the higheſt to the loweſt, were animated with ſuch a ſincere and inveterate hatred to the Spaniſh name, and were filled with ſo much terror at the proſpect of falling a ſecond time under the government of that nation, that great hopes were entertained of their exerting themſelves to the utmoſt on this occaſion, and of their rouſing that natural courage in which the Portugueſe are not deficient.

Theſe advantages, however, did by no means balance the dangers to which that kingdom was expoſed, from the joint hoſtility of France and Spain. All the hope of Portugal was centered in England, for whoſe ſake, and in whoſe quarrel ſhe had been drawn into this unequal conteſt. The greater the weakneſs of Portugal was, the more conſpicuous were the magnanimity and reſources of Great Britain, who made, in the cloſe of ſo expenſive and ruinous a war, ſuch aſtoniſhing efforts, and who was in a condition by her ſtrength to prop up, at leaſt for a time, ſo very feeble a ſyſtem. She ſent to Portugal, officers, troops, artillery, arms, military ſtores, proviſions, and money, every thing which could enable the Portugueſe to exert their natural ſtrength, and every thing which could ſupply that ſtrength where it it was deficient.

When the Bourbon courts made war againſt Portugal, the declared object was to prevent Great Britain from the military and commercial uſe of the ports of that kingdom. As it was impoſſible to attain this object by naval operations, they attempted it by military ones, and aimed their principal endeavours at the two great ports, to which the Engliſh principally reſort, Oporto and Liſbon. The poſſeſſion of theſe two objects would probably have finiſhed the war in their favour; the poſſeſſion of either of them would have given them the moſt deciſive advantages in it. With this view three inroads were to be made, one to the north, another was propoſed more to the ſouth, whilſt the third was made in the middle provinces, in order to ſuſtain theſe two bodies, and preſerve the communication between them. The reader muſt conſider this, as what appears from their deſigns, and from the ſteps they took to execute them, to have been their general plan; not that it was ever perfectly executed in all its parts, or at the ſame time.

The firſt body which commenced hoſtilities was commanded by the marquis de Sarria. This army entered into the north-eaſt angle of Portugal, and marched towards Miranda. This town, though in no good ſtate of defence, might have delayed them in their progreſs; but a powder magazine having blown up by accident, the fortifications were ruined, and the Spaniards, before they had raiſed their firſt battery, marched into the town by the breaches in the wall. May 9.

Animated by this eaſy and fortunate ſucceſs, they proceeded to Braganza, a conſiderable city, from whence the royal family of Portugal derived

derived its ducal titles. This town made no greater defence than Miranda. From thence a detachment marched to Moncorvo, which was ſurrendered in the like manner; and every thing was cleared before them to the banks of the Douro. A party under count O Reilly made a forced march of fourteen leagues, in two days, to the city of Chaves, which was immediately evacuated. By theſe ſucceſſes they became maſters of almoſt the whole of the extenſive province of Tralos Montes, and their progreſs ſpread a general alarm. Oporto was almoſt given up as loſt; and the admiralty of England prepared tranſports to carry off the effects of the Britiſh factory. However, the body which had traverſed this province without reſiſtance, attempting to croſs the Douro, had its progreſs checked on that ſide. The peaſants, animated and guided by ſome Engliſh officers, and ſeizing a difficult paſs, repulſed and drove them back to Torre de Moncorvo. They are ſaid to have been guilty of ſome cruelties to the Spaniſh priſoners who fell into their hands. Theſe cruelties were afterwards ſeverely retaliated upon them. Theſe people, on both ſides naturally ferocious, had not been ſufficiently inured to war, to moderate its fury, and reduce it under laws; they hated mutually, and they gave a full ſcope to their hatred: they did not ſee each other as ſoldiers, but as enemies.

May 15.

May 24.

The ſecond body of the Spaniards, which we have mentioned as the connective link between the two others, entered into the province of Beira, at the villages called Val de Mula and Val de Coelha. They were joined by ſtrong detachments, amounting to almoſt the whole army in Tralos Montes, and immediately laid ſiege to Almeida, which, though in no good order, was the ſtrongeſt and beſt provided place upon the frontiers of Portugal. Beſides, it was of the greateſt importance from its middle ſituation, as the poſſeſſion of it would greatly facilitate the operations upon every ſide, and would eſpecially tend to forward an attempt upon Liſbon, which was the capital object, towards which, at this time, all the endeavours of the Spaniards ſeem to have been directed.

Almeida was defended with ſufficient reſolution; but its fate was foreſeen as ſoon as it was attempted, there being no means of affording relief to any of the places beſieged. It ſurrendered, however, upon terms honourable to the garriſon.

Aug. 25.

The Spaniards, having made themſelves maſters of this place, overſpread the whole territory of Caſtel Branco, a principal diſtrict of the province of Beira, making their way to the ſouthward, until they approached the banks of the Tagus. During the whole of their progreſs, and indeed during the whole campaign, the allied troops of Great Britain and Portugal had nothing that could be called a body of an army in the field, and they could not think of oppoſing the enemy in a pitched battle. All that could be done was by the defence of paſſes, by ſkirmiſh, and by ſurprize.

By this time the count of la Lippe Buckeburg had arrived in Portugal. Lord Tyrawly, who had been ſent, at the deſire of the court of Liſbon, thither before the breaking out of the war, being diſguſted by the behaviour of ſome perſons at court, and much diſappointed in his expectations of the

the exertion they had promiſed to make of their own force, and even of the uſe they had made of the ſuccours from England, had been recalled very early in the campaign, and probably not contrary to his own inclination.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the joy which filled the whole nation at the arrival of ſo celebrated an officer as the count la Lippe to their aſſiſtance. More unanimity was now expected, as the count had nothing to complain of, and came an entire ſtranger to all the ſubjects of debate, which had hitherto exiſted between the Britiſh general and the court of Liſbon.

That army, which we have mentioned as the third corps deſtined for the invaſion of Portugal, aſſembled on the frontiers of Eſtremadura, with an intention of penetrating into the province of Alentejo. Had this third body been joined to the others already in Portugal, it would probably have formed ſuch an army as might, in ſpite of any obſtruction, have forced its way to Liſbon: had it acted ſeparately, it might have greatly diſtracted the defence, ſo as to enable ſome other body to penetrate to that city. It was neceſſary to prevent, if poſſible, their entrance into Portugal; ſince their mere entrance would have been almoſt equal, in its conſequences, to a victory on their ſide.

The count la Lippe, therefore, formed a deſign of attacking an advanced body of the Spaniards, which lay on their frontiers, in a town called Valentia de Alcantara, as he heard that they had here amaſſed conſiderable magazines. The conduct of this important enterprize was committed to brigadier general Burgoyne. This gallant and able officer, though at a diſtance of five days march, and in ſpite of all the diſappointments and obſtructions to which ſervices of this kind are ſo liable, when they cannot be executed immediately; yet effected a complete ſurprize on the town of Valentia de Alcantara; took the general, who was to have commanded in the intended invaſion, one colonel, two captains, and ſeventeen ſubaltern officers. One of the beſt regiments in the Spaniſh ſervice was intirely deſtroyed. Aug. 27.

Although they were diſappointed in their expectations of finding magazines in this place, the effect of this well-conducted enterprize was not loſt. The taking of this general was probably the cauſe which prevented the Spaniards from entering into the province of Alentejo. This ſeemed to have been for ſome time the deſtination not only of that particular body, but alſo the great object of the Spaniſh army, which had hitherto acted in Beira. The former of theſe provinces is a plain, open, fertile country, where their cavalry, in which conſiſted the chief of their army, and in which lay their moſt marked ſuperiority, might have acted, and acted deciſively; whereas the latter was a rough mountainous region, in which the horſe were ſubſiſted with difficulty, and could be of little ſervice. To prevent, therefore, the entry of the Bourbon army from any quarter, into Alentejo, ſeemed to be the great and ſingle object of the campaign on our ſide. General Burgoyne, by his expedition into the Spaniſh territories, had already prevented it on one part; and the vigilance and activity of the ſame officer had no ſmall ſhare in preventing it alſo on the other.

That

That part of the Bourbon army, which acted in the territory of Caſtel Branco, had made themſelves maſters of ſeveral important paſſes, which they obliged ſome bodies of the Portugueſe to abandon. They attacked the rear of the combined army, which was paſſing the river Alveito, with the appearance of a retreat; but, in reality, with a view to draw them inſenſibly into the mountainous tracts: here they were repulſed with loſs; but ſtill they continued maſters of the country; and nothing remained but the paſſage of the Tagus, to enable them to take up their quarters in Alentejo.

Burgoyne, who was poſted with an intention to obſtruct them in their paſſage, lay in the neighbourhood, and within view of a detached camp, compoſed of a conſiderable body of the enemy's cavalry, which lay near a village called Villa Velha. As he obſerved that the enemy kept no very ſoldierly guard in this poſt, and were uncovered both on their rear and their flanks, he conceived a deſign of falling on them by ſurprize. He confided the execution of this deſign to colonel Lee, who turned their camp, fell upon their rear in the night, made a conſiderable ſlaughter, diſperſed the whole party, deſtroyed their magazines, and returned with ſcarce any loſs. Burgoyne, in the mean time, ſupported him by a feint attack in another quarter, which prevented the enemy's being relieved from the adjacent poſts.

Oct. 6.

This advantage, being obtained in a critical moment, was attended with important conſequences. The ſeaſon was now far advanced; immenſe rains fell at this time; the roads were deſtroyed; the country became impracticable; and the Spaniards, having ſeized no advanced poſts in which they could maintain themſelves during the winter, and being eſpecially unprovided with magazines for the ſupport of their horſe, every where fell back to the frontiers of Spain, where their ſupplies were at hand, and where they were not liable to be harraſſed by the efforts of the combined army.

In this manner Portugal was ſaved, at leaſt for that campaign, by the wiſe conduct of count la Lippe, and the diſtinguiſhed valour of the Engliſh commanders and ſoldiery: all that was wanting towards their deliverance was accompliſhed by the ſucceſs of the Engliſh army in more diſtant quarters, and by the peace, in which ſo valuable and ſo expoſed an ally was not neglected. There never was probably ſo heavy a ſtorm of national calamity, ready to fall upon an unprovided people, ſo happily averted, or ſo ſpeedily blown over. Every thing, at the beginning of this campaign, bore the moſt louring and ominous aſpect to the affairs of Great Britain. As it advanced, the ſky continually cleared up; and the fortune of no nation, towards the cloſe of it, was enlivened with a more brilliant and more unclouded proſperity. We ſhall now proceed in the relation of thoſe ſucceſſes, and of the progreſs of the Engliſh arms in other parts of the world, where new ſcenes of danger and honour were now opened to them.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Expedition againſt Martinico. Force ſent thither. Troops land at Cas Navire. Nature of the country. Attack of the poſts near Fort Royal. Fort Royal ſurrendered. St. Pierre and the whole iſland capitulate. St. Lucie, the Grenades, and St. Vincent taken. Preparations for war againſt the Spaniſh Weſt Indies.

TOwards the cloſe of the laſt year it was determined to reſume the ſcheme of operations in the Weſt Indies; where nothing had been attempted ſince the year 1759. Diſtreſſed as the French trade to their iſlands had been, it ſtill continued a reſource to that nation. On the other hand, nothing could poſſibly furniſh us with places of more importance, either to retain, or to exchange upon a peace, than our ſucceſs in this part of the world. Another conſideration had probably no ſmall ſhare in directing our arms towards that quarter. From the time that the diſpoſitions of Spain had become equivocal, it was neceſſary to take ſuch ſteps, as would put us in a reſpectable ſituation, in caſe a war with that kingdom ſhould become unavoidable. It was therefore very proper to have a ſtrong armament in the Weſt Indies, that ſide on which Spain is moſt vulnerable, and in which every wound affects a part of the quickeſt ſenſibility. Accordingly the force which was ſent into the Weſt Indies on this occaſion, was very great; and, if we take the naval and military together, it was ſuch an armament as had never been before ſeen in that part of the world. It was certainly very right to leave as little to hazard as poſſible; and when, in the moſt frugal method of proceeding, a great many men muſt have been employed, and a great deal of money ſpent, it would have been an unpardonable error, from a conſideration of almoſt any ſaving, to have left any thing imperfect; eſpecially at a time, when the effect of every operation became, almoſt hourly, more and more critical and deciſive.

Every thing which had been an object of war in North America, was by this time completely acquired. It was therefore eaſy to draw a very conſiderable part of the army from thence. Eleven battalions were drawn from New York; a draught was alſo made from the garriſon of Belleiſle. Theſe were reinforced by ſome troops which had been ſcattered among the Leeward iſlands; ſo that the whole land armament did not fall very ſhort of twelve thouſand men. General Monkton, who had acquired ſo much reputation in North America, and had received a very grievous wound at the taking of Quebec, commanded the land forces in this expedition. The marine was under rear-admiral Rodney.

The failure in 1759 did not diſcourage our adminiſtration from making Martinico the object of another attempt. The Engliſh fleet, after having rendezvouzed at Barbadoes, came before this iſland on the 7th of January, 1762. The troops landed at a creek called *Cas Navire*, without the loſs of a

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man; the fleet having been disposed so properly, and having directed their fire with such effect, that the enemy was obliged in a short time to abandon the batteries they had erected to defend this inlet.

When the landing was effected, the difficulties were far from being at an end. It is true, that neither the number nor the quality of the enemy's regular troops in the island was very formidable. But the militia was numerous, well armed, and not unqualified for service in the only kind of war, which could be carried on in their country. Besides, the whole country was a natural fortification, from the number of ravines with rivulets between them, which lay from distance to distance. Wherever these grounds were practicable, the French had posted guards and erected batteries. It is easy from hence to discern what obstructions the progress of an army was liable to, particularly with regard to its artillery. These obstructions were no where greater than in the neighbourhood of the place, against which the first regular attack was proposed.

This town and citadel is overlooked and commanded by two very considerable eminences, called *Morne Tortenson* and *Morne Garnier*. Whilst the enemy kept possession of these eminences, it was impossible to attack the town; if they lost them, it would prove impossible to defend it. Suitable to the importance of those situations were the measures taken to render them impregnable. They were protected, like the other high grounds in this island, with very deep ravines; and this great natural strength was improved by every contrivance of art. The *Morne Tortenson* was first to be attacked. To favour this operation, a body of regular troops and marines were ordered to advance on the right along the sea-side, towards the town, in order to take the redoubts which lay in the lower grounds. A thousand sailors, in flat-bottomed boats, rowed close to the shore to assist them. On the left, towards the country, a corps of light infantry, properly supported, was to get round the enemy's left; whilst the attack in the center was made by the British grenadiers and the body of the army, under the fire of batteries, which had been erected on the opposite side with great labour and perseverance; the cannon having been dragged upwards of three miles by the seamen.

The dispositions for the attack of this difficult post having been made with so much judgment on the part of the commander, it was executed with equal spirit and resolution by the soldiery. The attack succeeded in every quarter. With irresistible impetuosity the enemy's works were successively carried. They were driven from post to post; until our troops, after a sharp struggle, remained masters of the whole Morne: some of the enemy fled precipitately into the town, to the very entrance of which they were pursued. Others saved themselves on the Morne Garnier, which was as strong, and much higher, than Morne Tortenson, overlooked and commanded it. Thus far had they proceeded with success; but nothing decisive could be done, without the possession of the other eminence, our troops being much molested by the enemy from that superior situation.

It was three days before proper dispositions could be made for driving

driving them from this ground. Whilſt theſe diſpoſitions were making, the enemy's whole force deſcended from the hill, ſallied out of the town, and attacked the Engliſh in their advanced poſts; but they were immediately repulſed: and the ardour of the Britiſh troops hurrying them forward, they improved a defenſive advantage into an attack, paſſed the ravines, mingled with the enemy, ſcaled the hill, ſeized the batteries, and poſted themſelves on the ſummit of Morne Garnier. The French regular troops eſcaped into the town. The militia diſperſed themſelves in the country.

All the ſituations which commanded the town and citadel were now ſecured; and the enemy waited no longer than until the batteries againſt them were completed to capitulate, and to ſurrender this important place, the ſecond in the iſland. Feb. 4.

The capital of the iſland, St. Pierre, ſtill remained to be reduced: this is alſo a place of no contemptible ſtrength; and it was apprehended that the reſiſtance here might be conſiderable, if the ſtrength of the garriſon in any degree correſponded with that of the fortifications, and with the natural advantages of the country. Our troops therefore were ſtill under ſome anxiety for the final ſucceſs of their work, and feared, if not diſappointment, at leaſt delay. But the reduction of Fort Royal had ſo greatly abated the enemy's confidence, that the militia deſpaired of making any effectual defence. The planters alſo, ſolicitous for their fortunes, were apprehenſive of having their eſtates ruined by a war too long continued, or perhaps of loſing all by paſſing the opportunity of a favourable capitulation. Influenced by theſe motives, and diſheartened by the train of misfortunes which had attended the French arms here and in all other parts of the world, they reſolved to hold out no longer; and general Monkton, juſt as he was ready to embark for the reduction of St. Pierre, was fortunately prevented by the arrival of deputies, who came to capitulate for the ſurrender of that place, and of the whole iſland. Feb. 12.

The ſurrender of Martinico, which was the ſeat of the ſuperior government, the principal mart of trade, and the center of all the French force in the Caribbees, naturally drew on the ſurrender of all the dependent iſlands Grenada, a fertile iſland, and poſſeſſed of ſome good harbours, was given up without oppoſition. St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, the right to which had ſo long been objects of contention between the two nations, followed its example. The Engliſh were now the ſole and undiſturbed poſſeſſors of all the Caribbees, and held that chain of innumerable iſlands which forms an immenſe bow, extending from the eaſtern point of Hiſpaniola almoſt to the continent of South America. And though ſome of theſe iſlands are barren, none of them very large, and not many of them well inhabited, they boaſt more trade than falls to the lot of many reſpectable kingdoms.

The time, in which Martinico was reduced, was a circumſtance of almoſt as much conſequence as the reduction itſelf; for the war againſt Spain having been declared in the beginning of the year, it became adviſeable to ſtrike early ſuch an effective blow againſt that nation as

might incline them to a ſpeedy peace, or might influence the fortune of the whole war, if, contrary to our wiſhes, the war ſhould continue. It was, on this plan, neceſſary to employ a very great force, and, of courſe, to call away a very conſiderable part of that which had been employed at Martinico, whilſt the ſeaſon permitted them to act.

When the Britiſh adminiſtration determined to transfer the war into the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, with great judgment they fixed their eyes at once upon the capital object; and reſolved to commence their operations where others of leſs ability would have choſen to conclude them. In an attack upon ſubordinate places, the conqueſt would not have been much more certain; when obtained, it would be far from deciſive; and a failure would have been fatal, as it would include a loſs of reputation. The failure of an armament in a ſubordinate attack is a bad preparative for a greater attempt. The plan, therefore, of the war of 1740 in the Spaniſh Indies, in which we began with Porto Bello, and ſo proceeded to Carthagena, &c. was mean, becauſe the ſucceſs in one of theſe attempts did nothing towards inſuring ſucceſs in the other; and if we had ſucceeded in both attempts, our advantage would have had but little influence on a third. But the plan of the war, juſt now concluded, was great and juſt; becauſe we began with the Havannah, in which the whole trade and navigation of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies centers, and without which it cannot be carried on. If we ſhould acquieſce in this conqueſt, this conqueſt alone would almoſt have finiſhed the war; becauſe it would have utterly intercepted the enemy's reſources. If we choſe to purſue our advantage, it expoſed the whole Spaniſh America.

CHAP. VIII.

Commanders in the expedition againſt the Havannah. Fleet ſails from Portſmouth. Paſſage through the old ſtreights of Bahama. Town and harbour of the Havannah deſcribed. Troops land. Diſpoſition of the troops. Siege of Fort Moro. Captain Harvey cannonades the Moro. Engliſh battery fired. Diſtreſs of the Engliſh forces. Succours arrive from North America. A ſally. The fort ſtormed. Operations againſt the town. The Havannah ſurrenders. Advantages of this acquiſition.

IT being determined to commence with this enterprize, ſuch commanders were to be choſen, as could be ſafely intruſted with the conduct of an undertaking ſo weighty, and on the ſucceſs of which ſo much depended. Lord Albemarle, the friend and diſciple of the D. of C. commanded the land forces. Admiral Pococke, who having contributed by his valour towards that ſovereignty which his country had obtained in the Eaſt Indies, was now choſen to extend its empire and its honour in the Weſt.

They ſailed from Portſmouth on the 5th of March, the day on which the Grenades were ſurrendered. A fleet had ſailed from Martinico under the command of that ſpirited and

and intelligent officer, Sir James Douglas, in order to reinforce them. The ſquadrons very happily met, without delay or diſperſion, at Cape Nichola, the north-weſt point of Hiſpaniola, on the 27th of May. After this junction, the armament amounted to nineteen ſhips of the line; eighteen ſmall veſſels of war; and near one hundred and fifty tranſports, which conveyed about ten thouſand land forces. A ſupply of four thouſand had been ordered from New York, and was expected to join them very near as early as they could be ſuppoſed able to commence their operations.

There were two choices before the admiral for his courſe to the Havannah. The firſt and moſt obvious was the common way, to keep to the ſouth of Cuba, and fall into the track of the galleons. But this, though by much the ſafeſt, would prove by far the moſt tedious paſſage; and delays, above all things, were to be avoided, as the ſucceſs of the whole enterprize would probably depend upon its being in forwardneſs before the hurricane ſeaſon came on. He therefore reſolved to run along the northern ſhore of that iſland, purſuing his career from eaſt to weſt through a narrow paſſage, not leſs than ſeven hundred miles in length, called the old ſtreights of Bahama.

This paſſage, through almoſt the whole of its extent, is bounded on the right and left by the moſt dangerous ſands and ſhoals, which render the navigation ſo hazardous, that it has uſually been avoided by ſingle and ſmall veſſels. There was no pilot in the fleet whoſe experience could be depended on to conduct them ſafely through it. The admiral, however, determined on this paſſage; and being provided with a good chart of lord Anſon's, he reſolved to truſt to his own ſagacity, conduct, and vigilance, to carry ſafely through thoſe ſtreights a fleet of near two hundred ſail. So bold an attempt had never been made; but every precaution was taken to guard this boldneſs from the imputation of temerity. A veſſel was ſent to reconnoitre the paſſage, and, when returned, was ordered to take the lead; ſome frigates followed; ſloops and boats were ſtationed on the right and left on the ſhallows, with well adapted ſignals both for the day and the night. The fleet moved in ſeven diviſions. And being favoured with pleaſant weather, and ſecured by the admirable diſpoſitions which were made, they, without the ſmalleſt loſs or interruption, got clear thro' this perilous paſſage on the 5th of June, having entered it the 27th of May.

The Havannah, the object of their long voyage, and of ſo many anxious hopes and fears, was now before them. This place is not denominated the capital of Cuba; St. Jago, ſituated at the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland, has that title: but the Havannah, though the ſecond in rank, is the firſt in wealth, ſize, and importance. The harbour, upon which it ſtands, is, in every reſpect, one of the beſt in the Weſt Indies, and perhaps in the world. It is entered by a narrow paſſage, upwards of half a mile in length, which afterwards expands into a large baſon, forming three *cul de ſacs*; and is ſufficient, in extent and depth, to contain a thouſand ſail of the largeſt ſhips, having almoſt throughout ſix fathom water, and being perfectly covered from every wind. In this bay the rich fleets from the ſeveral parts of the

Spaniſh Weſt Indies, called the Galleons and the Flota, aſſemble, before they finally ſet out on their voyage for Europe.

This circumſtance has rendered the Havannah one of the moſt opulent, flouriſhing, and populous cities in this part of the world. Great care was taken to fortify and ſecure a place, which, by being the center of ſo rich a commerce, would naturally become the faireſt mark for the attempts of an enemy. The narrow entrance into this harbour is ſecured on one ſide by a very ſtrong fort, called the Moro, built upon a projecting point of land: on the other, it is defended by a fort called the Puntal, which joins the town. The town itſelf, which is ſituated to the weſtward of the entrance of the harbour, and oppoſite to the Moro fort, is ſurrounded by a good rampart, flanked with baſtions, and covered with a ditch.

The Spaniards, who had been for ſome time preparing for war, had formed a conſiderable navy in the Weſt Indies: this fleet, which was near twenty ſail, moſtly of the line, lay at this time in the baſon of the Havannah; but they had not, when our armament appeared before the port, received, it ſeems, any authentic account from their court concerning the commencement of hoſtilities between the two nations.

Whether the Spaniards were rendered inactive by the want of inſtructions, whether all their ſhips were not in fighting condition, or whatever elſe was the cauſe, this fleet lay quiet in the harbour. If ſome of the above reaſons did not oppoſe, it may be very rationally ſuppoſed, that their beſt part would have been to come out, and fight our ſquadron. They were not very far from an equality; and though the iſſue of a battle might have proved unfavourable to them, yet a battle tolerably maintained would have much diſabled our armament, and perhaps have been a means of preventing the ſucceſs of the whole enterprize. The loſs of their fleet in this way might poſſibly have ſaved the city; but, the city once taken, nothing could poſſibly ſave the fleet. It is true, they much truſted, and not wholly without reaſon, to the ſtrength of the place, and to thoſe aſtoniſhing difficulties which attend any military operation, that is drawn out to length in this unhealthy climate. In other reſpects, they were very far from being deficient in proper meaſures for their defence. They made a ſtrong boom acroſs the mouth of the harbour; and almoſt the only uſe they made of their ſhipping, in the defence of the place, was to ſink three of them behind this boom.

When all things were in readineſs for landing, the admiral, with a great part of the fleet, bore away to the weſtward, in order to draw the enemy's attention from the true object, and made a feint, as if he intended to land upon that ſide; while commodore Keppel and captain Harvey, commanding a detachment of the ſquadron, approached the ſhore to the eaſtward of the harbour, and effected a landing there in the utmoſt order, without any oppoſition, having previouſly ſilenced a ſmall fort, which might have given ſome diſturbance. June 7.

The principal body of the army was deſtined to act upon this ſide. It was divided into two corps; one of which was advanced a conſiderable

derable way in the country, towards the ſouth-eaſt of the harbour, in order to cover the ſiege, and to ſecure our parties employed in watering and procuring proviſions. This corps was commanded by general Elliot. The other was immediately occupied in the attack on Fort Moro, to the reduction of which the efforts of the Engliſh were principally directed, as the Moro commanded the town, and the entrance of the harbour. This attack was conducted by general Keppel. To make a diverſion in favour of this grand operation, a detachment, under colonel How, was encamped to the weſtward of the town. This body cut off the communication between the town and the country, and kept the enemy's attention divided. Such was the diſpoſition, and it was impoſſible to find a better, of the land forces during the whole ſiege.

The hardſhips which the Engliſh army ſuſtained, in carrying on the ſiege of the Moro, are almoſt inexpreſſible: the earth was every where ſo thin, that it was with great difficulty they could cover themſelves in their approaches. There was no ſpring or river near them; it was neceſſary to bring water from a great diſtance; and ſo precarious and ſcanty was this ſupply, that they were obliged to have recourſe to water from the ſhips. Roads for communication were to be cut through thick woods; the artillery was to be dragged for a vaſt way over a rough rocky ſhore. Several dropped down dead with heat, thirſt, and fatigue. But ſuch was the reſolution of our people, ſuch the happy and perfect unanimity which ſubſiſted between the land and the ſea ſervices, that no difficulties, no hardſhips, ſlackened for a moment the operations againſt this important, ſtrong, and well defended place. Batteries were, in ſpite of all difficulties, raiſed againſt the Moro, and along the hill upon which this fort ſtands, in order to drive the enemy's ſhips deeper into the harbour, and thus to prevent them from moleſting our approaches.

The enemy's fire, and that of the beſiegers, was for a long time pretty near on an equality, and it was kept up with great vivacity on both ſides. The Spaniards in the fort communicated with the town, from which they were recruited and ſupplied: they did not rely ſolely on their works; they made a ſally with ſufficient reſolution, and a conſiderable force, but with little ſucceſs. They were obliged to retire, with a loſs of two or three hundred men left dead on the ſpot. June 29.

Whilſt theſe works were thus vigorouſly puſhed on ſhore, the navy, not contented with the great aſſiſtance which they had before lent to every part of the land ſervice, reſolved to try ſomething further, and which was more directly within their own province, towards the reduction of the Moro. Accordingly, the day the batteries on ſhore were opened, three of their greateſt ſhips, the Dragon, the Cambridge, and the Marlborough, under the conduct of capt. Harvey, laid their broadſides againſt the fort, and began a terrible fire, which was returned with great conſtancy. This firing, one of the warmeſt ever ſeen, continued for ſeven hours without intermiſſion. But in this cannonade the Moro, which was ſituated upon a very high and ſteep rock, had great advantages over July 1.

the ſhips, and was proof againſt all their efforts. Beſides, the fire from the oppoſite fort of Puntal, and the batteries of the town, galled them extremely. Inſomuch that, in order to ſave the ſhips from abſolute deſtruction, they were obliged at length, and unwillingly, to bring them all off. Even this retreat was not effected without difficulty, as the ſhips were very much ſhattered in this long and unequal conteſt. They had one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded; and one of the captains, captain Gooſtrey of the Marlborough, a brave and experienced officer, was alſo killed. The captains Harvey and Burnett gained, with better fortune, an equal honour, by their firm and intrepid behaviour throughout the whole operation.

This bold attempt, though it had very little effect upon the works on that ſide of the fort which the ſhips attacked, was nevertheleſs of conſiderable ſervice. The enemy's attention being diverted to that ſide, the other was a good deal neglected: our fire was poured in the mean time with redoubled fury from the batteries; it became much ſuperior to that of the enemy, and did no ſmall damage to their works. But the moment the Spaniards were releaſed from their attention to our men of war, they returned again to the eaſtward face of the fort: their defence was revived with as much vigour as before; on both ſides a conſtant unremitted fire was kept up, with a fierce emulation, for ſeveral days. It now became evident, that the reduction of this fortreſs was to be a work of time. Never, from the beginning of the war, had the Engliſh valour been ſo well matched. Here was at length an adverſary worthy of our arms, and our whole military ſkill and ſpirit was put to the ſevereſt trial.

In the midſt of this ſharp and doubtful contention, the capital battery againſt the fort unfortunately took fire; and being chiefly conſtructed of timber and faſcines dried by the intenſe heats and continual cannonade, the flames ſoon got a-head, and became too powerful for oppoſition. The battery was almoſt wholly conſumed. The labour of ſix hundred men, for ſeventeen days, was deſtroyed in a moment; and all was to begin anew. July 3.

This was a mortifying ſtroke. It was felt the more ſeverely, becauſe the other hardſhips of the ſiege were become by this time almoſt inſupportable. The ſickneſs, ſomething of which the troops had brought with them from Martinico, and which increaſed infinitely in this unwholeſome country and rigorous ſervice, had reduced the army to half its number, at the ſame time that it doubled the fatigue of thoſe few who ſtill preſerved ſome remains of ſtrength. Five thouſand ſoldiers were at one time down in various diſtempers; no leſs than three thouſand of the ſeamen were in the ſame miſerable condition. A total want of good proviſions exaſperated the diſeaſe, and retarded the recovery. The deficiency of water was of all their grievances the greateſt, and extremely aggravated all the reſt of their ſufferings. The procuring from a diſtance this wretched ſupply, ſo unequal to their wants, exhauſted all their force. Beſides, as the ſeaſon advanced, the proſpect of ſucceeding grew fainter. The hearts of the moſt ſanguine ſunk within them, whilſt

whilſt they beheld this gallant army waſting away by diſeaſes; and they could not avoid trembling for that noble fleet, which had rid ſo long on an open ſhore, and which muſt to all appearance be expoſed to inevitable ruin, if the hurricane ſeaſon ſhould come on before the reduction of the place. A thouſand languiſhing and impatient looks were caſt out for the reinforcement from North America. None however as yet appeared; and the exhauſted army was left to its own endeavours. Many fell into deſpair, and died, overcome with fatigue, anguiſh and diſappointment.

But in the midſt of theſe cruel delays and diſtreſſes, the ſteadineſs of the commanders infuſed life and activity into their troops, and rouſed them to incredible exertions. The rich prize, which was before them; the ſhame of returning home baffled; and even the ſtrenuous reſiſtance which was made by the enemy; all theſe motives called loudly on their intereſt, their honour, and their pride, and obliged them to the exertion of every nerve. Nobody could imagine that it was this reduced and ſlender army, by which theſe aſtoniſhing efforts were made, and this extenſive ſphere of duty ſo perfectly filled. New batteries aroſe in the place of the old; the fire ſoon became equal, and then ſuperior to that of the enemy. They by degrees ſilenced the cannon of the fort, beat to pieces all the upper works, and made at length a lodgment in the covered way. Their hopes were now become more lively. Some days before they had gained this grand advantage, the Jamaica fleet appeared in its paſſage to Europe, with ſeveral conveniencies for the ſiege. Not many days after this they received a conſiderable part of the New York reinforcement. Some of the tranſports in their paſſage thro' the old Bahama Streights were loſt, but the men were ſaved on the adjacent iſlands.

July 20.

July 12.

July 28.

Theſe favourable events infuſed double life into their operations, in this advanced ſtate of the ſiege; but a a new and grand difficulty appeared, juſt at the ſeeming accompliſhment of their work. An immenſe ditch yawned before them, for the greater part cut in the ſolid rock, eighty foot deep, and forty foot wide. To fill it up by any means appeared impoſſible. Difficult as the work of mining was in thoſe circumſtances, it was the only expedient. It might have been an impracticable one, if fortunately a thin ridge of rock had not been left, in order to cover the ditch towards the ſea. On this narrow ridge, the miners wholly uncovered, but with very little loſs, paſſed the ditch, and ſoon buried themſelves in the wall.

July 20.

It now became viſible to the governor of the Havannah, that the fort muſt be ſpeedily reduced if left to its own ſtrength. At all events ſomething muſt be done in this exigence for its immediate relief. Accordingly before break of day a body of twelve hundred men, moſtly compoſed of the country militia, Mulattoes and Negroes, were tranſported acroſs the harbour, climbed the hills, and made three attacks upon our poſts. But the ordinary guards, though ſurpriſed, defended themſelves ſo reſolutely, that the Spaniards made little impreſſion, and were not able to ruin any part of the approaches. The poſts

July 22.

posts attacked were speedily reinforced, and the enemy, who were little better than a disorderly rabble, and not conducted by proper officers, fell into terror and confusion. They were driven precipitately down the hill with great slaughter; some gained their boats, others were drowned, and they lost in this well imagined, but ill executed sally, upwards of four hundred men.

This was the last effort for the relief of the Moro; which, abandoned as it was by the city, and while an enemy was undermining its walls, held out with a sullen resolution, and made no sort of proposal to capitulate. The mines at length did their business. A part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch; leaving a breach, which tho' very narrow and difficult, the general and engineer judged practicable. The English troops, who were commanded on this most dangerous of all services, rejoiced that it was to be the end of labours much more grievous to them. They mounted the breach, entered the fort, and formed themselves with so much celerity, and with such a spirited coolness of resolution, that the enemy, who were drawn up to receive them, and who might have made the assault an affair of great bloodshed, astonished at their countenance, fled on all hands. About four hundred were slaughtered on the spot, or ran to the water, where they perished. Four hundred more threw down their arms, and obtained quarter. The second in command, the marquis de Gonsales, fell whilst he was making brave, but ineffectual efforts to animate and rally his people. Don Lewis de Velasco, the governor, who had hitherto defended the fort with such obstinate bravery, seemed resolved in this extremity to share the same fate with it. He collected an hundred men in an intrenchment he had made round his colours. But seeing that all his companions were fled from him, or slaughtered about him, disdaining to retire or call for quarter, he received a mortal wound, and fell, offering his sword to his conquerors. The English wept with pity and admiration over that unfortunate valour, which had occasioned them so many toilsome hours, and cost them so many lives.

July 30.

Thus the Moro came into our possession after a vigorous struggle, forty-four days from the time the first operations had been begun against it. No time was lost to profit of this great advantage, notwithstanding that the sickness still raged like a pestilence, and that many new and great works were to be undertaken. Not only the fire of the fort was turned against the town; but a line of batteries was erected along the hill of the Cavannos, on the extremity of which the fort stands. By these batteries, which mounted three and forty pieces of cannon, and twelve mortars, almost the whole eastern side of the city was commanded from one end to the other. Preparations for an attack were also made, and batteries erected to the westward of the town, which on that side had hitherto been only watched. Some time before a part of the second division of the troops from North America had arrived. A part had been taken by a squadron of French men of war; but those who escaped, came very seasonably, and were of signal service.

Aug. 2.

When

When thoſe preparations were perfectly ready to take effect, lord Albemarle by a meſſage repreſented to the governor the irreſiſtible force of the attack, which he was ready to make upon the town, but which, in order to avoid unneceſſary effuſion of blood, he was willing to ſuſpend, that the Spaniards might have leiſure to capitulate. The governor in a reſolute, but a civil manner returned, that he would defend the place committed to him to the laſt extremity, and began inſtantly to fire.

Aug. 10.

To convince the governor that the menaces employed were not an empty boaſt, lord Albemarle the very next morning ordered a general fire from the batteries, which was poured from all ſides, with ſuch continued and irreſiſtible fury, that in ſix hours almoſt all the enemy's guns were ſilenced. To the inexpreſſible joy of the fleet and army, flags of truce appeared from every quarter of the town. A capitulation enſued, in which the eſtabliſhed religion, the former laws, and private property were ſecured to the inhabitants. The garriſon, which was reduced to about ſeven hundred men had the honours of war, and were to be conveyed to Spain. A diſtrict of an hundred and eighty miles weſtward of the Havannah was yielded along with the town. The Spaniards ſtruggled a long time to ſave the men of war; but this was a capital point, and wholly inadmiſſible. They alſo made ſome attempts to have the harbour declared neutral during the war; but this was no leſs eſſential to the completeneſs of the conqueſt, and was ſteadily refuſed. After two days altercation, they gave up theſe points, and the Engliſh troops were put in poſſeſſion of the Havannah on the 14th of Auguſt, when they had been before it two months and eight days.

Although we have not purſued in exact order all the detail of the more minute operations of this memorable ſiege, we have dwelt on it a longer time, than we have on our plan generally allowed to ſuch tranſactions; becauſe it was, without queſtion, in itſelf the moſt conſiderable, and in its conſequences the moſt deciſive conqueſt we have made ſince the beginning of the war; and becauſe in no operation were the courage, ſteadineſs, and perſeverance of the Britiſh troops, and the conduct of their leaders more conſpicuous. The acquiſition of this place united in itſelf all the advantages which can be acquired in war. It was a military advantage of the higheſt claſs; it was equal to the greateſt naval victory, by its effect on the enemy's marine; and in the plunder it equalled the produce of a national ſubſidy. Nine ſail of the enemy's ſhips of the line, ſome of the fineſt veſſels in the world, were taken, with four frigates. Three of their capital ſhips had been, as already mentioned, ſunk by themſelves at the beginning of the ſiege; two more were in forwardneſs on the ſtocks, and theſe were deſtroyed by the Engliſh. The enemy, on this occaſion, loſt a whole fleet. In ready money, in the tobacco collected at the Havannah on account of the king of Spain, and in other valuable merchandizes, the plunder did not perhaps fall ſhort of three millions ſterling.

So

So lucrative a conqueſt had never before been made. But this immenſe capture, though it inriched individuals, contributed nothing directly to the public ſervice. However, it might be ſaid to contribute ſomething to it indirectly; by increaſing the ſtock of the nation, and ſupplying that prodigious drain of treaſure, which for ſeveral years had been made from this kingdom for foreign ſubſidies, and for the maintenance of armies abroad. If it had not been for ſuch pecuniary ſupplies, with which the uncommon ſucceſſes of this war were attended, it never could have been maintained in the extent to which it was carried, notwithſtanding the increaſe of trade, which has been uniformly progreſſive for the laſt three years. It has in a looſe way been computed, that the ſucceſs of our arms in the Eaſt Indies, independently of the great increaſe of valuable merchandize, (which uſed to be formerly the ſole produce and advantage of the Eaſt India commerce,) has brought into England during the war, near ſix millions in treaſure and jewels.

The capture of the Spaniſh re-
May 21. giſter ſhip, the Hermione, which happened ſoon after the commencement of the war with Spain, and juſt as ſhe was on the point of entering one of the ports of Old Spain, muſt be added to theſe reſources; this capture was little ſhort of a million. The taking of this ſingle ſhip is not altogether unworthy of a place in hiſtory; becauſe it had no ſmall influence on the affairs of the Bourbon alliance, and conſiderably ſunk thoſe reſources of money, which were the principal objects to France, when ſhe formed that famous treaty. All theſe advantages were without any conſiderable allay on the ſide of Great Britain; they would have ſerved to ballance any poſſible ſucceſs, which the enemy might have had in Portugal. But their ſucceſs in that quarter, where they had entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes, was by no means conſiderable, and very far from tending to any thing deciſive. Theſe conſiderations helped to diſpoſe the Bourbon courts to peace, almoſt as ſoon as they had jointly entered into the war; and Europe, after having been deceived in the hopes of tranquillity, which were entertained from the late negotiation, and plunged apparently deeper than ever into war, was in reality approaching faſt to peace, and the public repoſe was preparing, when it ſeemed to be at the greateſt diſtance.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Propoſals for peace. State of the miniſtry and parties. Dukes of Bedford and Nivernois employed in the negotiation. Newfoundland taken and retaken. War in Germany. Hereditary Prince defeated at Iohannisberg. French repulſed. Caſſel inveſted. Remarkable cannonade at Bucker Muhl. French take Amonebourg. Caſſel ſurrendered to the allies. War in Weſtphalia concluded.

WHEN France had found experimentally, that the preſent at leaſt was not the favourable time for drawing from her alliance all thoſe advantages with which ſhe flattered herſelf, ſhe inclined in good earneſt to peace. The ſincerity of her procedure in the former negotiation might be juſtly queſtioned; becauſe ſhe had prepared an after game in caſe of its breaking off. And ſhe ſo much relied on it, that it is very poſſible the negotiation itſelf was but a feint made to cover and to prepare that project. But finding that Great Britain was neither intimidated by the threats of that formidable alliance, nor at all likely to be reduced by the exertion of its forces; ſhe came in good earneſt into theſe pacific ſentiments, which formerly ſhe had only counterfeited. The ſlow progreſs of the Bourbon troops in Portugal, the retrograde motion of the French army in Germany, the taking of Martinico and its dependencies, and the imminent danger in which they beheld the Havannah, all conſpired to humble the pride, and daſh the hopes of the Bourbon alliance.

On the ſide of Great Britain likewiſe, the diſpoſitions to peace became much more cordial. No people were ever leſs intoxicated with their ſucceſſes. Victories were become familiar to us, and made but little impreſſion. The marks of public joy on the moſt conſiderable conqueſts, were become much ſlighter and colder, than were ſhewed at the beginning of the war, upon very trivial advantages. Beſides, the nation had occaſion for peace. Though her trade had been greatly augmented, a circumſtance without example favourable, and though many of her conqueſts, as we have ſeen, were very far from unlucrative, her ſupplies of money, great as they were, did not keep pace with her expences. The ſupply of men too, which was neceſſary to furniſh the waſte of ſo extenſive a war, became ſenſibly diminiſhed, and the troops were not recruited but with ſome difficulty, and at a heavy charge. It was time to cloſe the war, when every end, we could rationally propoſe to ourſelves in carrying it on, was anſwered; we had enough in our hands to anſwer all our demands, and almoſt all our expectations; and as it is grown into a ſort of maxim, that nations greatly victorious, muſt cede ſomething on a peace, the difficulty on our ſide was only what, and how much we ſhould retain. Not that there was a doubt, but whatever choice of acquiſition could be made upon any rational principles, a great deal would ſtill remain

remain to give the fulleſt ſcope to every ſentiment of equity and moderation.

All theſe were ſufficient inducements to peace. But other things operated as cauſes. An alteration in the ſyſtem of the Britiſh miniſtry had begun this war; another alteration put an end to it.

The whole council had been almoſt unanimous to oppoſe Mr. P. in his ſcheme for precipitating the declaration of war againſt Spain. They thought his principles too violent, and they did not perfectly like his perſon. When he retired from public buſineſs, it ſeemed as if they breathed more freely, and had got rid of a burthen that oppreſſed them. But he was not long removed, when it appeared that the remaining part of the ſyſtem, was framed upon principles ſo very diſcordant in themſelves, that it was by no means likely to ſtand.

The D. of N——, firſt lord of the treaſury, by his early zeal in favour of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, by the liberal and politic uſe he had made of a great fortune, by the obligations which in a courſe of many years, and in a ſucceſſion of great employments, he was enabled to confer on ſome of the moſt conſiderable people in the kingdom, had attached a great number to his fortunes, and formed an intereſt in the parliament and the nation, which it was extremely difficult to overturn, or even to ſhake. He came to be conſidered as the head of the whigs; and he was in reality well qualified in many reſpects for the chief of a party, from his unbounded liberality, from his affability, magnificence, and perſonal diſintereſtedneſs. Even the defects and faults, which might have appeared in his character, were rather of ſervice to him, as they often tended to ſoften reſentments, and helped to give that great power, of which he was poſſeſſed, an appearance leſs formidable.

During a great part of the late king's reign, his family had directed all things without controul. On the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, his ſituation ſeemed more doubtful. But in a little time he appeared outwardly as well eſtabliſhed as ever, not only in his former high employments, but in that ſhare of influence which is commonly ſuppoſed to attend it. There was, however, very little reality in this ſpecious appearance; for he did not poſſeſs the r— confidence, upon which all the eſſential of power depends. Neither his age, nor his ſituation in the former reign, had allowed him the opportunity of cultivating an intereſt with the preſent K. Another noble perſon had been in an employment near his perſon; and having formed his mind with much attention and ſucceſs to thoſe virtues which adorn his ſtation, deſerved and obtained a very uncommon ſhare of his confidence.

This nobleman was firſt groom of the ſtole: afterwards, taking a more open ſhare in the conduct of affairs, he accepted the ſeals as ſecretary of ſtate. On the removal of Mr. P. who preſerved a ſort of union in the adminiſtration by their common dread of him, the only competition was between the D. of N. and L. B. The former could not well endure that decay of influence, which, on a thouſand occaſions, he muſt have ſenſibly felt, and which the great rank he held muſt have rendered only more painful. L. B. on the other hand, could not

not bear to see the treasury board, which, under whatever limitations, was attended with so much power, in the hands of his rival. It is indeed a department, the intire conduct of which is absolutely essential to the person who has any pretensions to be at the head of the British administration.

These principles soon produced their natural effect. In a short time the D. of N. thought himself obliged to resign, and L. B. became first commissioner of the treasury. This resignation was followed by that of others of great consideration for their rank and influence. No one was surprised at the ferment which ensued; in which personal resentment, party violence, and national, or rather local prejudices, were all united, to throw every thing into confusion.

May 26.

In this condition of parties, a number of those called Whigs, who had lost their places, being highly irritated at the late changes, and even many of those who still continued in employments, being supposed attached to the interest of the D. of N. and therefore not to be depended on by the new administration, it became necessary to have recourse to those called Tories, or country gentlemen.

From the beginning of this reign it had been professed, with the general applause of all good men, to abolish those odious party distinctions, and to extend the royal favour and protection equally to all his majesty's subjects. The persons called Tories had, besides, been before active in support of some of those, who now clamoured at the very measures which they had themselves, more than once, adopted. However, occasion was taken from thence to endeavour at the revival of this almost exploded distinction. There were great heats, which were blown into a combustion by every art of, and every instrument of party, that had ever proved effectual upon similar occasions.

Whilst the nation was thus distracted, the conduct of a war became difficult; its continuance unsafe; and its supplies uncertain. If the administration failed, their failure would be construed into incapacity; if they succeeded, their success would be converted into an argument for such terms of peace, as it would be impossible for them to procure. Above all, the ancient and known connection between the chiefs of the moneyed interest and the principal persons in the opposition, must have been a subject of great anxiety to the administration.

These causes co-operated to render the intentions of the British ministry towards peace altogether cordial and sincere; and they thought themselves abundantly justified in their wishes for it at this juncture, both from the successes and the burthens of the nation; from the flourishing state of some of their allies, and the doubtful state of others; and in general, from those arguments of humanity, which made it high time that Europe should enjoy some interval of repose.

Both courts thus concurring in the same point, all difficulties were speedily smoothed. It is said, that the first overtures were made under the mediation of his Sardinian majesty. As soon as terms were proposed, in order to give a pledge to each other of their mutual sincerity, it was agreed that this treaty should not be negotiated, as the former had been, by subordinate persons;

but that the two courts ſhould reciprocally ſend to London and Verſailles a perſon of the firſt conſequence and diſtinction in either kingdom. Accordingly the duke of Bedford was ſent to negotiate on the part of England, and the duke de Nivernois on that of France; the great outlines of the treaty were very ſoon explained and adjuſted. The detail of ſome articles took up more time.

During this mixed interval of war and treaty, the French obtained a temporary advantage; but which neither ſuſpended nor influenced the negotiation. It was the laſt offenſive effort, which they made; and though this enterprize was attended with a temporary ſucceſs in the execution, it was in the deſign not ſuperior to any of thoſe that had failed. Monſieur de Ternay, with a ſquadron of four men of war and a bomb ketch, and M. d' Hauſonville, with a proportionable number of land forces, arrived the 24th of June at the bay of Bulls in Newfoundland, and finding the iſland little prepared to reſiſt them, took without difficulty, the forts of St. John, Trinity, and Carbonear, deſtroyed the two laſt, and likewiſe the ſtages and implements of the fiſhery, to a conſiderable value. The immenſe extent of our military operations, rendered it little wonderful or blameable, that this particular part was found weak.

The French preſumed by far too much on the ſupineneſs of the nation, when they hoped ſuch an advantage could have any great effect on the negotiation. In fact, as ſoon as the news arrived in England, a force was fitted out to retake thoſe places. But ſuch was the vigilance and readineſs of general Amherſt, our commander in America, that it ſuperſeded the neceſſity of this armament. He detached colonel Amherſt with a body of forces, and lord Colville with a ſmall, but ſufficient ſquadron, to recover this valuable iſland. The land forces attacked ſome detachments of the French, advantageouſly poſted in the neighbourhood of St. John's, and prepared to attack St. John's itſelf, with ſo much vigour and activity, that M. d' Hauſonville, who had remained there as governor, thought proper to deliver up that place, and ſurrender himſelf and garriſon priſoners of war, Sept. 18. before lord Colville could arrive from the place where the troops had been landed, to co-operate with them. M. de Ternay eſcaped with the fleet, partly by having gained a conſiderable diſtance, before they were diſcovered, by means of a thick fog; and partly becauſe lord Colville, after their having been diſcovered, did not apprehend that they really were the enemy's ſhips.

It was in Germany that the greateſt efforts were made. Even after the negotiations had been conſiderably advanced, the military operations were in that country no way ſlackened. The body under the marſhals d'Eſtrees and Soubiſe, being ſtreightened, in the manner we have ſeen, by the incomparable judgment of prince Ferdinand's meaſures, had been obliged to call that under the prince of Condé from the Lower Rhine to their aſſiſtance. In order to complete their junction with this corps, the grand army uncovered Caſſel, quitted the banks of the Fulda, and fell back to a conſiderable diſtance. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick, who had attended this corps all along, thought at length a fair opportunity had

had occurred of ſtriking a deciſive blow againſt it. With this aid he attacked, with his uſual vivacity, that part of the French army, which was poſted at a place called the heights of Johanniſberg, near the banks of the Wetter. At firſt his ſucceſs was anſwerable to his own expectations, and the courage of his troops. He drove the enemy intirely from the high grounds into the plain; but whilſt he purſued his advantage, the body he attacked was reinforced by the main army. The action, which began ſo favourably for the allies, ended in a defeat. They loſt above three thouſand men in killed, wounded, and priſoners. The hereditary prince, who had, through the whole action, made the moſt powerful efforts, and expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, received a wound from a muſket-ball in his hip-bone, from which his life was a long time doubtful, and his recovery lingering and tedious. Whilſt his life continued in danger, the concern was unuſual, and common to both armies; both taking an intereſt in the preſervation of a prince, as much endeared by his humanity, as admired for his valour and military genius. Aug. 30.

A victory of the greateſt importance could not have more fully diſplayed the ſuperiority of prince Ferdinand's capacity, in the conduct of a war, than his meaſures after this defeat. The French were not ſuffered to derive the ſmalleſt advantage from their victory; nor did the allies loſe a foot of ground. The communication with Caſſel was ſtill at the mercy of the allies. The French, in their retreat, had thrown a garriſon of ten thouſand men into that place; and the prince made immediate and vigorous preparations to beſiege it.

When the prince had adjuſted his army to cover the ſiege, the French took advantage of his movement for that purpoſe, to repaſs the Lahne near Gieſſen, and advanced towards Marpurg. But as they advanced, the prince drew his army from the ſiege, and made ſuch diſpoſitions as enabled him to fall at once upon their flank and rear, drove them from all their poſts, and obliged them once more to fly with precipitation behind the Lahne. Sept. 26.

After this ſucceſsful affair, the body of the army reſumed their preparations for the ſiege of Caſſel, which was now become the grand object of the campaign; and the great purpoſe of the endeavours of both armies was, of the one to open the communication with Caſſel, of the other to cut it off.

A number of ſkirmiſhes happened in theſe movements. The moſt remarkable among them was the affair of Bucker Muhl, not ſo much for the conſequences, which were not extraordinary, but for the uncommon ſteadineſs of the two parties engaged. It was a poſt of ſome moment, the forcing of which would facilitate to the French the reduction of Amonebourg, a ſmall fortreſs, but of importance, as it commanded a paſs which led into the country which they propoſed to enter. This poſt was nothing more than a bridge over the Ohme, defended by a ſlight redoubt on one ſide, and by a mill on the other. The allies had no cover, except the redoubt; nor the French, except the mill. The engagement began at firſt between two ſmall bodies, and an artillery proportionably ſmall; but as the action warmed, Sept. 30.

ed, the artillery was gradually augmented, until it amounted to about five and twenty heavy cannon on a ſide. The allies had originally but one hundred men in this poſt; but before the buſineſs ended, ſeventeen complete battalions were engaged, who ſucceſſively relieved each other, after each detachment had made ſixty diſcharges. The artillery fired at a diſtance of three hundred paces, and the muſquetry at thirty. Beſides, the allied troops, as they paſſed to and from the redoubt, were, for a length of four hundred paces, expoſed to all the enemy's cannon loaded with grape ſhot.

The ſituation of the French was nearly the ſame. A dreadful fire was ſupported between theſe reſolute bodies, without a moment's intermiſſion, or the leaſt ſlackening on one ſide or the other, for near fifteen hours, from the dawn of day to dark night. Neither ſide gave way; and this moſt bloody conteſt for a moſt trifling object in the end left the allies in the poſſeſſion of their redoubt, and the French of their mill. The whole compaſs of military hiſtory furniſhes no inſtance of ſo obſtinate a diſpute. The allies loſt ſix hundred men in killed and wounded; towards the cloſe of the day, the dead bodies ſerved to raiſe a parapet for the redoubt, in the place of that which had been beat to pieces by the cannonade.

The French are thought to have ſuffered more in this action than the allies. However, though they did not ſucceed in their attack upon the bridge, they battered at the ſame time the caſtle of Amonebourg with ſo much fury, that in a ſhort time they effected a breach, and obliged the garriſon to ſurrender. By this advantage they gained a good deal of ground, and even got on the rear of the allied army. But with this advantage, conſiderable as it was, they were able to do nothing deciſive: they were able neither to raiſe, nor materially to diſturb the ſiege of Caſſel, which went on without interruption; nor were they able to throw the leaſt relief into this place, where their garriſon already began to ſuffer for want of proviſions.

This capital of an unfortunate principality, which has ſo often been taken and retaken during the courſe of this war, deſpairing of relief, at length ſurrendered to the victorious arms of the allies, after a ſiege of fifteen days open trenches. The garriſon made an honourable capitulation. And now prince Ferdinand might conſider himſelf as maſter of Heſſe, no place of ſtrength in that country remaining in the enemy's hands, except Ziegenhayn. Advanced as the ſeaſon was, the prince prepared to lay ſiege to that fortreſs; and as he was now able to draw down his whole army into that quarter, there was no queſtion but he would have made himſelf maſter of the place without any difficulty. But the ſigning of the preliminaries of peace, at this time notified in the two armies, put an happy concluſion to all military operations. Nov. 1. Nov. 15.

Theſe preliminaries had very little to do towards completing the relief of our allies; except that they ſet the ſeal on their good fortune, and prevented their being expoſed any longer to the chances of war. This campaign, though it was not diſtinguiſhed by any great deciſive victory,

victory, was not the leſs honourable to the commander or the troops. A connected ſeries of judicious and ſpirited operations produced all the effects, which could be propoſed from a ſingle and brilliant ſtroke. At this period, the French, after having for ſix years exerted almoſt the whole undivided ſtrength of their monarchy upon this ſingle object, were, in the end, very little more advanced than they were the day they firſt ſet their foot in Germany. The poſſeſſion of three or four poor unimportant places was all they had purchaſed by many millions of treaſure expended, and poſſibly near two hundred thouſand lives thrown away.

The whole body of the allies acquired great and juſt glory in this war; but the Engliſh had all along the poſt of honour, and obtained the higheſt reputation. As to their commander, the duke of Brunſwick, having begun his operations almoſt without an army, having continued the war with an army always inferior in numbers, having experienced every variety of fortune, his capacity and his firmneſs carried him with credit through all; and enabled him to conclude the war with a triumphant ſuperiority. He may now enjoy, in the honourable repoſe which his exploits have purchaſed for himſelf and his country, the beſt of rewards, the conſciouſneſs of public ſervice. Poſterity will conſider him as the Deliverer of Germany.

The Engliſh troops, after ſo many fatigues and dangers, at length enjoyed the proſpect of a ſpeedy return to their country; but a general damp was caſt ſuddenly on their joy by the illneſs of lord Granby; who was attacked by a very dangerous and long continued fever. It is impoſſible to expreſs the concern of the whole army during this anxious interval, or the joy which enlivened every breaſt on his recovery. No commander had ever been more diſtinguiſhed for an enterpriſing and generous courage; and none half ſo much for an unlimited benevolence. The ſick and wounded ſoldier, the officer whoſe income was unequal to his rank or his neceſſities, in him found a never failing and never burthenſome reſource. Whatever could be done to animate the ſoldiery, to make them chearful in the ſervice, to alleviate the hardſhips of war, was exerted beyond what could be thought poſſible in the limits of a private fortune; and the ſatisfaction of the receiver went always beyond the actual benefit, becauſe, in his greateſt liberality, it was evident that he wiſhed to do a thouſand times more. By his whole conduct he inſpired foreigners with a favourable idea of the Engliſh nobility. His character is, indeed, ſuch as we are apt, in romantic ideas, fondly to conceive of our old Engliſh barons. It is with pleaſure we attempt, however feebly, to do juſtice to the merit of thoſe men, living or dead, who, in this memorable war, have contributed to raiſe this country to a pitch of glory, in which it has not been exceeded by any other in ancient or modern times. Future hiſtory will pay them a reward more adequate to their merits.

CHAP. XI.

Siege and surrender of Schweidnitz. War transferred to Saxony. Austrians defeated at Freyberg. Prussians ravage the Empire. Preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France. Disputes concerning them. Mr. F. comes into administration. Preliminaries approved by parliament. Peace of Hubertsbourg between Austria and Prussia. Conclusion.

WHILST the courts of London and Versailles were making so considerable a progress towards peace, those of Vienna and Berlin seemed to remit nothing of their ancient animosity. The king of Prussia, deprived of the assistance, but at the same time freed from the hostilities of the Russians, directed his whole force and attention towards the single object of driving the Austrians out of Silesia.

Prince Henry, who commanded in Saxony, contented himself with acting upon the defensive. The king in person carried on the siege of Schweidnitz, almost in the presence of marshal Daun, who scarce made any attempt to relieve it. But whatever deficiency there might have been in the spirit of the grand army of the Austrians, it was amply compensated by the obstinate bravery of the garrison, which resisted all the attacks of the Prussians for near two months from the opening of the trenches. It is said that the attack was conducted, and the defence made, by two engineers, who had written on the subject of the Attack and Defence of Places; and they were now practically engaged to prove the superiority of their several systems.

However this may be, Schweidnitz cost the king of Prussia a great deal of time, many laborious efforts, and a number of men. The brave garrison, to the number of eight thousand men, were at length obliged to surrender prisoners of war. Oct. 9. Their ill fortune pursued them every where. A great part of this body of gallant prisoners were drowned at the mouth of the Oder, on their passage to their intended confinement at Konigsberg: only nine men of the whole number escaped.

The king of Prussia, now master of Schweidnitz, and consequently of Silesia, turned his attention to Saxony, where he considerably reinforced his brother's army, and made preparations which indicated a design of laying siege to Dresden.

In Saxony also the Austrians began to exert themselves with great spirit; and made some progress under the generals Stolberg and Haddick. They obtained considerable advantages, in several encounters, over the army of prince Henry; and even pushed them back to Freyberg; the possession of which place they prepared to dispute with the Prussians.

But here fortune, which has sel-

dom proved long constant to their arms, intirely forsook them. The united army of Imperialists and Austrians was attacked by prince Henry, (who took advantage of the absence of general Haddick,) in the neighbourhood of Freyberg, and totally routed. Great numbers were slain. The Prussians took near six thousand prisoners, among whom were about two hundred and forty officers of all ranks, thirty pieces of cannon, and several standards. The victory was complete, and, as far as regarded the event of the campaign, decisive. Oct. 29.

The Austrians attributed this defeat to the treachery of one of their superior officers, who was soon after taken into custody. But whilst they were inquiring into the cause of their disaster, and preparing to punish the author of it, the Prussians were pushing the advantages which their victory afforded them with all imaginable alacrity. And this they were enabled to do with the greatest effect, by means of a partial cessation of hostilities, which the Austrians were so imprudent as to conclude with the king of Prussia for Silesia and the electoral Saxony only, without foreseeing the danger, or providing for the safety, either of their own immediate dominions, or of those members of the Empire, which were the most attached to their interests, and which were now exposed to the attempts of a bold, rapacious, and exasperated enemy.

One body of the Prussian army broke into Bohemia, pushed on almost to the gates of Prague, and destroyed a capital magazine. Another fell upon the same country on another quarter, and laid the town of Egra almost in ashes, by a bombardment and a cannonade of red hot bullets. Some extended themselves all over Saxony; others penetrated into the furthest parts of Franconia, and even as far as Suabia, ravaging the country, exacting the most exorbitant contributions, and spreading dismay and confusion upon every side. The Diet of the Empire sitting at Ratisbon did not not think themselves in safety; but were beginning to fly and preparing to remove their records.

The free city of Nuremberg, so famous for the ingenious industry, and pacific disposition of its inhabitants, suffered the most by this invasion; having been obliged to pay contribution to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds of our money. It has been supposed, that in this expedition the Prussians raised a sum equal to the annual subsidy, which had formerly been paid by Great Britain to their sovereign. Many of the states found themselves obliged to sign a neutrality, in order to save their territories from further ravages.

And now, a great part of the Empire being already included in the peace between Great Britain and France, and the rest, tied down by this neutrality, intirely disabled by the late defeat, or exhausted by the subsequent incursions, were no longer in a conditien to furnish an army under the imperial name and authority. After the whole alliance had been thus gradually dissolved, the affair was, at length, left to be decided as it was begun, by the single arms of Austria and Prussia; so that there was great reason to hope, as the war in Germany had succeeded immediately to the rupture between Great Britain and France, the peace between

theſe powers would alſo lead to the ſpeedy pacification of the Empire.

The preliminaries had been ſigned by the Britiſh and French miniſters at Fountainbleau, on the third of November, and it is neceſſary for the completion of our deſign, that we ſhould here give ſome account of the definitive treaty which was built upon them.

The reader will recollect that, in the negotiation of 1761, it was laid down as a principle by the two courts, that their reſpective propoſitions, in caſe the treaty ſhould by any accident be broken off, were to be conſidered as retracted or never made. At that time we remarked, that theſe propoſitions would probably have their influence, notwithſtanding this proviſion; becauſe, as we then obſerved, things once ſettled and agreed to, unavoidably ſtamp their own impreſſion upon any future negotiation relative to the ſame ſubject. It happened very nearly, as was then foreſeen; for, as far as we can judge, the negotiation did not ſet out upon any new or peculiar principle of its own, but ſeemed to aſſume as a baſis thoſe points, which were neareſt to an adjuſtment in the preceding treaty; and to commence where that tranſaction concluded.

The ſpirit of the two negotiations, ſo far as regarded the peculiar intereſt of Great Britain, ſeems to have been perfectly ſimilar. There was ſcarcely any other difference, than that Great Britain, in conſequence of her ſucceſſes ſince that time, acquired more than ſhe then demanded; but ſtill the general idea, on which ſhe acquired, was nearly or altogether the ſame. But with regard to ſome of our allies, the principle was greatly varied; and we imagine that this change was ſufficiently juſtified by the alteration, which happened in the affairs of Germany, during the interval between the two treaties. Thoſe who conducted the negotiation in 1761, were ſteady in rejecting every propoſition, in which they were not left at liberty to aid the king of Pruſſia, with the whole force of Great Britain; thoſe, who concluded the peace in 1762, paid leſs attention to the intereſts, though they did not wholly neglect the ſafety of that monarch. At the beginning of the year, and before they had entered into this negotiation, they refuſed to renew that article of the annual treaty, by which our court had engaged to conclude no peace without the king of Pruſſia; though at the ſame time they declared themſelves willing to aſſiſt him with the uſual ſubſidy. He on his part refuſed the ſubſidy unconnected with that article. Some coldneſs grew between the two courts from this time forward.

The adjuſtment of affairs in the Empire, ſeemed to form no material impediment to the progreſs of the treaty. Both parties readily agreed to withdraw themſelves totally from the German war †. They thought, and rightly, that nothing could tend ſo much to give peace to their reſpective allies, as mutually to withdraw their aſſiſtance from them; and to ſtop that current of Engliſh and French money, which, as long as it ran into Germany, would be ſure to feed a perpetual war in that country.

Circumſtanced as affairs then were, this conduct on our ſide was as defenſible as the conduct which we held in 1761. At that time the affairs of the king of Pruſſia were at the

† Def. trea. art. xv.

the loweſt ebb; he was overpowered by the whole weight of Auſtria, of Sweden, of the Empire, and of Ruſſia, as determined as ever in her enmity, and then ſucceſsful; to ſay nothing of France. Neither generoſity, nor perhaps ſound policy, ought to have permitted us to deſert him in that ſituation. But when the laſt treaty was made, the condition of his affairs was abſolutely reverſed. He had got rid of the moſt powerful, and one of the moſt implacable of his enemies. He had concluded a peace with Sweden. The treaty itſelf freed him from all apprehenſions of France. He had then none to contend with, but a nominal army of the Empire, and one of Auſtria, which, though ſomething more than nominal, was wholly unable to oppoſe his progreſs. His ſituation, from being pitiable, was become formidable. It was good policy to prevent the ballance of Germany from being overturned to his prejudice. It would have been the worſt in the world to overturn it in his favour.

Theſe principles ſufficiently explain and juſtify the different conduct of this nation, at theſe two periods, towards the king of Pruſſia. The demand of the evacuation of Weſel, Cleves, and Gueldres, which had been made in the firſt negotiation, was then juſtly excepted to, becauſe we refuſed to put an end to the German war. In this laſt the French agreed to it, and with reaſon, becauſe we agreed in common with them to be neutral in the diſputes of the Empire. And on theſe principles, the peace of Germany, ſo far as it depended on Great Britain and France, was reſtored. The reſt of Europe was pacified by the ſtipulation for the evacuation of Portugal†. This was, indeed, with regard to the contracting courts, the primary object.

What remained after the concerns of the allies were provided for, was the adjuſtment of what related to the ſettlements and commerce of Great Britain and the Bourbon courts. The difficulty, which prevented this adjuſtment in the preceding negotiation, was the intervention of the claims of Spain. The attempt of the Bourbon powers to intermix and confound their affairs in the preceding negotiation, had a ſhare in making the war more general; on this occaſion it had a contrary effect. As the whole was now negotiated together, it facilitated the peace, by affording eaſier methods of adjuſting the ſyſtem of compenſation, and furniſhing more largely to the general fund of equivalents.

The great object, and the original cauſe of the war, had been the ſettlement of limits in America. This was therefore the firſt object to be attended to in the treaty. And it muſt be obſerved, that this point was much more accurately, as well as beneficially, ſettled, than it promiſed to be in the negotiation of the foregoing year. For the French, not having aſcertained the bounds between their own ſeveral poſſeſſions with greater exactneſs, than they had thoſe between their poſſeſſions and ours, it was not clear in ceding Canada, how much they ceded to us. Diſputes might have ariſen, and did indeed immediately ariſe upon this ſubject. Beſides, the weſtern limits of our ſouthern continental colonies, were not mentioned. And thoſe limits were extremely obſcure and ſubject to many diſcuſſions. Such

† Def. trea. art. xxi.

diſcuſſions contained in them the ſeeds of a new war. In the laſt treaty it was agreed, that a line drawn along the middle of the river Miſſiſipi, from its ſource to the river Iberville, (a ſmall but navigable branch of the Miſſiſipi,) and thence along the middle of this river, and the lakes of Maurepas and Pontchartrain, (which lakes communicate with both rivers) to the ſea, ſhould be the bounds of the two nations in North America*.

Nothing could be more diſtinct than this boundary. It gave us, in addition to what was properly Canada, a very large tract of territory, which the French uſed to include under the name of Louiſiana; to which our claims were never clearly aſcertained, and much leſs eſtabliſhed by any poſſeſſion. The French have had for a long time forts and ſettlements in that country; whereas the Engliſh never had either the one or the other; and this is a conſideration of no ſmall moment in a conteſt concerning rights in a country ſuch as America.

What added alſo to the rounding of our territories, and cutting off the occaſions of limitary diſputes, was the ceſſion of Florida on the part of Spain†. This country indeed makes no great figure in the commercial world; and cannot be therefore put in competition with the other conqueſts. But from the ſituation of its harbours of Penſacola and Mobile, it affords ſome advantages in time of peace, and very conſiderable ones in time of war; by connecting our future ſettlements on the Miſſiſipi with thoſe upon the Atlantick ocean, and by enabling us greatly to diſtreſs, if not wholly to deſtroy the trade of the Spaniards in caſe of a rupture with them. The navigation of the Miſſiſipi was made common to both nations ‖.

By the treaty of Utrecht, which ſettled our northern limits, and by this treaty which aſcertained thoſe to the weſt, our poſſeſſions in America are as well defined, as the nature of ſuch a country can poſſibly admit. They comprehend in their extent the foundation of a vaſt empire; they have many advantages of ſoil and climate; and many of intercourſe and communication, by the number of noble lakes and navigable rivers, with which that part of the world abounds. Theſe circumſtances afford, though a diſtant, a fair proſpect of commerce to Great Britain, when this immenſe country comes to be fully peopled, and properly cultivated. Some advantages alſo we derive from this poſſeſſion, that are not only conſiderable but immediate; among the principal of which muſt be reckoned, the monopoly of the fur and peltry trade of North America, much the greateſt trade of that kind in the world, and which is now, we may ſay, entirely in our hands. Beſides the poſſeſſion of Canada enlarged the ſphere of our fiſhery, and took from the French an opportunity of trade, which ſhe might employ greatly to our detriment.

Such are the advantages fairly, and without any exaggeration, for which we are indebted to this part of the treaty, in which the intereſts of Great Britain were well weighed and ſolidly provided for.

The next point we ſhall conſider, is the arrangement made concerning the Newfoundland fiſhery. This was a point of infinite importance, and a ſubject of much controverſy. In a commercial view it is certainly of great eſtimation. But it has been conſidered as even more material in a po-

* Def. tr. art. vii. † Def. tr. art. xx. ‖ Def. tr. art. vii.

a political light. Every body knows that these extensive fisheries are the life of many maritime places, which would otherwise be of no sort of value; that they are the great nurseries of seamen, and consequently the great resources of the marine. Scarce any object could be of more importance to two nations, who contended for a superiority in naval power.

The more clearly therefore it was the interest of Great Britain, to acquire the exclusive exercise of this fishery, the more strongly and evidently it became the interest of France, to oppose themselves to such a pretension. Not only a large part of her foreign trade depended on this fishery; but a great part of her domestic supply. Besides, every hope of the strength and almost of the existence, of a naval power, must vanish with the cession of this fishery.

The English administration probably saw, that France would rather run all the hazards of war, than totally relinquish this object. Since therefore they despaired of driving the French entirely from the fishery, they endeavoured as much as possible to diminish its value to them. In this respect they followed the plan of the former negotiation, except that some improvements were added.

In the first place, that article of the treaty of Utrecht was established, by which the French were admitted to fish and to dry their fish, on the north-east and north-west parts of Newfoundland, from Cape Bonavista to Point Biche, and excluded from the rest of this island ‡. They were also permitted to fish within the Gulph of St. Lawrence, but with this limitation; that they shall not approach within three leagues of any of the coasts belonging to England.

This precaution was taken, not only with a view of abridging the French fishery of dry cod, but principally in order to prevent their landing, and on that pretence forming settlements on those extensive desarts, which surround the gulph of St. Lawrence. Otherwise this privilege might become a means of exciting new controversies between the two nations.

In compensation for the cession of the isles of Cape Breton and St. John to England, we agreed to surrender to France the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, situated to the south of Newfoundland *. The cession of the two former islands was, unquestionably, more than an equivalent for the two latter, though the latter are by no means either incomodiously situated or ill circumstanced for carrying on the fishery. The French stipulated to erect no fortifications on these islands, nor to keep more than fifty soldiers to enforce the police. In this instance the plan of the former negotiation was pursued. The ideas of a resident commissary, and the occasional visitation by a ship of war were omitted; as regulations, which were in truth more humiliating to France, than in any respect advantageous to our interest

This fishery was, as it had been at the treaty of Utrecht, divided between France and England, but with less equality on this than on that occasion. The French are not wholly deprived of their share; but this share is considerably impaired. Their loss of Cape Breton does not appear to be fully supplied by St. Pierre and Miquelon. The

‡ Def. tr. art. v. * Def. tr. art. vi.

The conſiderable and growing fiſhery, which the French had ſettled at Gaſpé is taken away without hope of recovery. On the whole, we are thus circumſtanced; we have advantages in this fiſhery, which we may certainly improve to a great ſuperiority; but we have ſtill a rival, which makes it neceſſary to exert ourſelves with unremitting induſtry in order to ſecure it.

With regard to Spain, ſhe entirely *deſiſted* from the right ſhe claimed of fiſhing on theſe coaſts †. A more ſatisfactory expreſſion could have been wiſhed; if it had been of great importance, in what terms a right was renounced, which for a long time had never been exerciſed.

When the affairs of the Weſt Indies came to be ſettled, though they cauſed great difference of opinion among the public, they do not ſeem to have raiſed any great difficulty in the negotiation. We had here made great conqueſts, and here alſo we made great conceſſions. We ceded the Havannah, with a conſiderable part of the iſland of Cuba; the iſlands of Martinico; Guadeloupe; Marygalante; Deſirade; and Santa Lucia. We retained in our hands the iſlands of Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and the Grenades *. To the three former, of which (as well as to Santa Lucia, which we ſurrendered), we had an old claim. The laſt only was a new acquiſition; and the three others are at preſent of ſmall value.

Many cenſured with great vehemence and aſperity this part of the treaty. They inſiſted that in this treaty we had loſt ſight of that great fundamental principle, that France is chiefly, if not ſolely, to be dreaded by us in the light of a maritime and commercial power. That therefore we we had, by reſtoring to her all her valuable Weſt India iſlands, and by our conceſſions in the Newfoundland fiſhery, left in her hands the means of recovering her prodigious loſſes, and of becoming once more formidable to us at ſea. That the fiſhery trained up an innumerable multitude of young ſeamen; and that the Weſt India trade employed them when they were trained. That France had long ſince gained a decided ſuperiority over us in this lucrative branch of commerce, and ſupplied almoſt all Europe with the rich commodities, which are produced only in that part of the world. By this commerce, ſaid they, ſhe enriched her merchants, and augmented her finances; whilſt from a want of ſugar land, which has been long known and ſeverely felt by England, we at once loſt the foreign trade, and ſuffered all the inconveniencies of a monopoly at home.

That, at the cloſe of ſo expenſive a war, we might very reaſonably demand ſomething towards our indemnification, as well as towards our ſecurity. It is evident, ſaid they, that our conqueſts in North America, however they may provide for the one, are altogether inadequate to the other of theſe ends. The ſtate of the exiſting trade of theſe conqueſts is extremely low; the ſpeculations of their future are precarious, and the proſpect, at the very beſt, very remote. We ſtand in need of ſupplies, which will have an effect, certain, ſpeedy, and conſiderable. The retaining both or even one of the conſiderable French iſlands, Martinico or Guadeloupe, will, and nothing elſe can effectually anſwer this triple purpoſe. The advantage is immediate. It

† Def. tr. art. xiii.

* Def. tr. art. viii. ix. & xix.

It is a matter not of conjecture but of account. The trade with these conquests is of the most lucrative nature, and of the most considerble extent; the number of ships employed by it are a great resource to our maritime power; the monopoly at home is corrected, and the foreign trade is recovered. And, what is of equal weight, all that we gain on this system, is made fourfold to us by the loss which ensues to France. But our conquests in North America, however advantageous they may prove to us, in the idea of security, (for in that respect alone they are of any moment,) are of very little detriment to the commerce of France. On the West Indian scheme of acquisition, our gain and her loss go hand in hand.

They insisted upon the obvious connection of this trade, with that of our colonies in North America, and with our commerce to the coast of Africa. The African trade, said they, will be augmented, by the demand for slaves. That of North America will all center in ourselves. Whereas if the islands are all restored, a great part of the benefit of the northern colony trade must redound, as it has hitherto done, to those who were lately our enemies, and will always be our rivals.

They observed, that there was nothing extravagant or overbearing in this demand. That though we should retain either Martinico or Guadaloupe, or even both these islands, our conquests were such, that there was still abundant matter left to display our moderation in the cession of the rest. To say nothing of our many concessions in the fishery; on the coast of Africa; and in the East Indies; from all which great provinces of commerce the French had been entirely driven in this war, and to a considerable share of which they were restored by the treaty. But if further concessions must be made (for which however they saw no necessity) let the prodigious demand in North America be somewhat contracted; by this method we lose nothing to our commerce; and we do not hazard our security, as we shall still be infinitely superior in strength; and whenever a war breaks out, that power will be most secure, whose resources are most considerable.

Such are concisely, and, we flatter ourselves, fairly, the principal heads of argument, brought by the best writers upon this side of the question; they were replied to by the best writers on the other, upon the following principles.

That the original object of the war was the security of our colonies upon the continent; that the danger to which these colonies were exposed, and, in consequence of that danger, the immense waste of blood and treasure which ensued to Great Britain, together with the calamities, which were, from the same source, derived upon the four quarters of the world, left no sort of doubt that it was not only our best, but our only policy, to guard against all possibility of the return of such evils. Experience has shewn us, that while France possesses any single place in America, from whence she may molest our settlements, they can never enjoy any repose, and of course that we are never secure from being plunged again into those calamities, from which we have at length, and with so much difficulty, happily emerged. To remove France from our neighbourhood in America, or

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to contract her power within the narroweſt limits poſſible, is therefore the moſt capital advantage we can obtain; and is worth purchaſing by almoſt any conceſſions.

They inſiſted that the abſolute ſecurity derived from this plan, included in itſelf an indemnification. Firſt; by ſaving us, more effectually than any other method could, from the neceſſity of another war, and conſequently by giving us an opportunity of increaſing our trade, and lowering our debt. Secondly; by permitting our colonies on the continent to extend themſelves without danger or moleſtation. They ſhewed the great increaſe of population in thoſe colonies within a few years. They ſhewed that their trade with the mother country had uniformly increaſed with this population. That being now freed from the moleſtation of enemies, and the emulation of rivals, unlimited in their poſſeſſions, and ſafe in their perſons, our American planters would, by the very courſe of their natural propagation in a very ſhort time, furniſh out a demand of our manufactures, as large as all the working hands of Great Britain could poſſibly ſupply. That there was therefore no reaſon to dread that want of trade, which their adverſaries inſinuated, ſince North America alone would ſupply the deficiencies of our trade in every other part of the world.

They expatiated on the great variety of climates, which that country contained, and the vaſt reſources which would thence ariſe to commerce. That the value of our conqueſts thereby ought not to be eſtimated by the preſent produce, but by their probable increaſe. Neither ought the value of any country to be ſolely tried on its commercial advantages; that extent of territory and a number of ſubjects, are matters of as much conſideration to a ſtate attentive to the ſources of real grandeur, as the mere advantages of traffic; that ſuch ideas are rather ſuitable to a limited and petty commonwealth, like Holland, than to a great, powerful and warlike nation. That on theſe principles, having made very large demands in North America, it was neceſſary to relax in other parts. That France would never be brought to any conſiderable ceſſion in the Weſt Indies; but that her power and increaſe there could never become formidable, becauſe the exiſtence of her ſettlements depended upon ours in North America, ſhe not being any longer left a place from whence they can be ſupplied with proviſions; that in loſing ſomething of the ſugar trade, we loſt very little elſe than a luxury; as to the other produce of the Weſt Indies, it might be in a great meaſure, and in part already was ſupplied by our poſſeſſions on the continent, which daily increaſed not only in the quantity but in the kind of its produce.

We do not pretend to paſs any judgment on the merits of the ſeveral ſides of this queſtion, which is certainly a very difficult one. We relate opinions, as well as facts, hiſtorically.

The only point, which remained to be adjuſted in the Weſt Indies, was the logwood trade. Spain conſented not to diſturb the Engliſh in their occupation of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, and to permit them to occupy ſuch buildings as may be neceſſary for them in this occupation. Great Britain, on her ſide, ſtipulated to deſtroy the fortifications

fications which had been erected on that bay*.

By this article the Engliſh acquired a ſolid right in this long conteſted trade; but ſeemed, at the ſame time, to loſe all the means of protecting it. It is, however, difficult to point out a better method of adjuſting a claim of ſuch a peculiar nature. The right we claimed was not a right to the territory, nor directly to the produce; but only a privilege of cutting and taking away this wood by indulgence. To have inſiſted on the right of erecting fortifications, would have been making the ſtrongeſt claim to an abſolute, direct and excluſive dominion over the territory itſelf; a point, to which I do not find that our moſt extenſive claims have ever been carried.

In Africa, Goree was reſtored to France, and Senegal remained to Great Britain†. This regulation ſeems to have divided the trade on this river, and the adjacent coaſt, between the two nations. The Engliſh, as they are now circumſtanced on that part, ſeem to be the moſt advantageouſly ſituated for the trade in time of peace; and the French for carrying away the whole of it in time of war.

With regard to the Eaſt Indies, all the French factories and ſettlements are reſtored to that nation in every part of India‡. Although this muſt be regarded as a very great conceſſion, it does not however afford all thoſe advantages to France, which might be imagined at the firſt view. Firſt, becauſe the fortifications erected at ſuch a vaſt expence in all thoſe ſettlements have been totally deſtroyed; and it cannot be expected, in the preſent ſituation of the French company, that they can, in the courſe of many years, if at all, be reſtored to their former ſtate. In Bengal, (including, by an explanation annexed to the definitive treaty, the kingdom of Orixa,) they have engaged to erect no kind of fortification, nor to keep any number of ſoldiers whatſoever. Secondly, they have agreed to acknowledge the preſent reigning ſubas of Bengal, Decan, and the Carnatick, as the lawful ſovereigns of theſe countries. Theſe princes are the greateſt on the peninſula of India: they are in our intereſt, and moſt of them owe either the acquiſition, or depend for the preſervation of their power on our arms; by which means our company is become, in effect, arbiter of the commerce and politics of that great and opulent coaſt, extending from the Ganges to Cape Comorin; and in a great degree alſo of the other, from the ſame cape to the mouth of the Indus. Thirdly, during the courſe of our ſucceſſes, the traders and the manufacturers have removed from the French to our ſettlements, where they will have at leaſt an equal market, and a ſuperior protection; and it will be difficult, if not impoſſible, to bring them back.

Minorca and Belleiſle were to be reſtored to their former poſſeſſors ||. The fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk were to be demoliſhed agreeable to the ſtipulations of former treaties.×

This is the general outline of the late treaty. Thoſe who chuſe a more minute information, will recur to the treaty itſelf, which is printed among the ſtate papers. The particulars given here will ſerve to point out the ſpirit and the general effect of that tranſaction, which has been

* Def. tr. art. xviii.
† Def. tr. art. ix. ‡ Def. tr. art. xi.
|| Def. tr. art. viii. and xii.
× Def. tr. art. xiii.

been the ſubject of ſo much heat and controverſy; and which nothing but adulation will aſſert to be free from defect, nor any thing but faction can deny to be productive of many very great and eſſential advantages to this kingdom.

This treaty, while it remained in agitation, formed a great criſis, not only in the affairs of the nation, but in the fortune of the new miniſtry. Towards the latter end of the ſummer, Mr F. was called in, and engaged in their ſupport. Though he continued in his old place of paymaſter, he undertook to conduct the affairs of government in the houſe of commons. Mr. Gr. whoſe employment would naturally have engaged him in that taſk, reſigned the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate, and was appointed firſt lord of the admiralty. The great experience and known parliamentary abilities of Mr. F. ſeemed to give new life to the affairs of the adminiſtration. A more vigorous and determined conduct was from that time adopted. Many of thoſe, who were not perfectly attached to the new ſyſtem, were immediately removed from their employments; and meaſures were taken to clear every department of every friend of the D. of N.

The ſpirit of theſe proceedings ſeemed to augment that of the oppoſition. It was apprehended, that the preliminaries would undergo a rigorous ſcrutiny, and might poſſibly incur a heavy cenſure from parliament. The terms of peace peace were criticiſed without mercy. They were declared to be inglorious, inadequate, and unſecure; unequal to the great ſucceſſes of the war, and below the juſt expectations of the nation; that our commerce was neglected, and our allies abandoned. Public expectation was however, intirely diſappointed. The preliminaries were approved, without any qualification, by both houſes; by the lords without a diviſion; by the commons with a very diſproportioned majority. Dec. 9.

Many cauſes concurred to produce this moderate diſpoſition. Firſt, a very great number, which included almoſt all the Tories, were engaged in the ſupport of the adminiſtration. The then chiefs of the oppoſition were not well agreed among themſelves. Mr. P. who was conſidered as a party in himſelf, had not joined with the D. of N. nor ſeemed diſpoſed to act with any particular body. The ſame general plan of peace, which many now in the oppoſition had formerly approved, had been adopted in theſe preliminaries, and evidently improved. It is true, it had been objected, that our additional ſucceſſes, ſince that time, gave us ground to expect better terms; but it was anſwered, that our national burthens, and the extent of the war, had increaſed in, at leaſt, an equal proportion; and that peace was become neceſſary to the nation.

Theſe arguments, whatever weight they might have in themſelves, were ſtrong againſt theſe, upon whom they were rather retorted, than for the firſt time levelled, being altogether agreeable to the ſyſtem which many now in oppoſition had always purſued, and to the ſentiments many of them had publicly avowed, and perhaps ſtill ſecretly retained. On the whole, it was evident, that, when the queſtion came on, the diſcontented party was found not very well united, and abſolutely unprovided of any regular ſchem-

cheme of oppoſition. However, though baffled on this occaſion, it has ſince begun to revive and to unite; and though peace is happily reſtored with foreign powers, our domeſtic quiet is ſtill far from being ſecurely eſtabliſhed.

With regard to the powers in Germany, the peace between England and France, and the ſuperiority of the king of Pruſſia at the cloſe of the campaign, inſpired at length, and unwillingly, a diſpoſition to peace. Conferences were opened at Hubertſburg, and a treaty concluded between his Pruſſian majeſty and the empreſs queen. As affairs in this treaty were ſpeedily adjuſted, ſo they may be very conciſely related. The ſubſtance of it was no more than that a mutual reſtitution and oblivion ſhould take place, and each party ſit down at the end of the war in the ſame ſituation in which they began it. There has been talk of a ſecret article, which promiſed ſome kind of indemnification for the king of Poland; but of this there is nothing of certainty. The king of Pruſſia, after having for ſix years contended againſt the efforts of almoſt all the great powers of Europe, by whoſe enmity he could be affected, having ſtood proof againſt the moſt terrible blows of fortune, enjoys at length the full reward of his uncommon magnanimity. He retains his dominions in their utmoſt extent; and having delivered his country, by his incomparable talents for war, he now enjoys leiſure to recover it by his no leſs admirable talents for government. Scarcely was the war concluded, when he began to diſplay his attention to domeſtic policy, and his care for the happineſs of his people. He immediately diſtributed lands to his diſbanded ſoldiery; and gave them the horſes of his artillery to aid them in their cultivation.

Europe is now pacified; and ſhe begins to reſpire, after a more general and a more bloody war than any the world had experienced ſince that which was concluded by the peace of Weſtphalia. As far as it is ſafe to judge concerning a ſyſtem which is ſubject to ſo great and unforeſeen variations, and ſometimes from very ſlight cauſes, this peace promiſes a conſiderable duration. The king of Pruſſia will hardly again commit his affairs, ſo miraculouſly retrieved, to the chances of war. He ſees how dearly he has a ſecond time purchaſed his conqueſt of Sileſia, and he will hardly aim at new acquiſitions. The empreſs, ſince ſhe failed to reduce Sileſia, or even to recover the ſmalleſt particle of her loſſes, with ſuch an exertion of her own ſtrength, and with ſuch an alliance as never was ſeen united before, and with which ſhe can never flatter herſelf again, muſt be convinced how vain it is to attempt any change in the preſent ſyſtem of Germany.

Whilſt Ruſſia remains circumſtanced as ſhe ſeems to be at preſent, there is a very good proſpect for the tranquillity of the North.

France has turned her thoughts to a much wanted œconomy, and the re-eſtabliſhment of her marine. She has reduced her land forces by above one half. England, without leſſening the ordinary eſtabliſhment of her navy, has augmented her military, in conſequence of the extent of her conqueſts. Both nations ſeem ſenſible of the neceſſity of being prepared, and yet quiet. The Bourbon courts are united, but weakened. The mutual jealouſy of the nations, which have been lately at war, continues; but

their ſubjects of diſpute, and occaſions of animoſity, are much leſſened. This is as good a ſituation as could reaſonably be expected.

We have thus, in ſome meaſure, accompliſhed our deſign of laying before the public an annual connected narrative of the events of the late moſt remarkable war; which we have purſued from its commencement to its concluſion. We have omitted no care to make it as perfect as the nature of ſuch an undertaking would permit; and we flatter ourſelves, that it will be found as much ſuperior in value to a collection of Gazettes, or a dry unconnected chronological table, as it is below the importance and dignity of a juſt hiſtory.

THE

THE CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

4th. WAR was proclaimed againſt Spain, at the uſual places, and with the uſual ſolemnities.

During laſt year 521 ſhips arrived at Cadiz, 87 of which were Engliſh, 13 of them men of war, and five Engliſh prizes carried in by the French; 99 Dutch, of which 16 were men of war; 41 Daniſh; 22 French, of which four were men of war; 195 Spaniſh, of which 32 were men of war; 19 Portugueſe, 11 Imperial, eight Ruſſian, four Malteſe, two Genoeſe, one Savoyard, and five Neapolitan.

A liſt of ſhips taken by the French during the three laſt months of the year 1761 *.

October	32
November	30
December	56
Total	118

Among which were 15 Virginia and Maryland ſhips, outward and homeward bound; 11 Newfoundland men, outward and homeward bound; 6 Carolina men, outward and homeward bound; and 16 Jamaica and Leeward Iſland men, outward and homeward bound: excluſive of the North American illicit traders, &c. &c.

Method to diſcover alum in bread.

Mix chalk with aqua-fortis; pour them upon water in which the ſuſpected bread has been infuſed, and well ſoaked: if there be any aluminous acid, it will appear evidently ſoon after the mixture by a gypſeous or chalky concretion, forming a hard maſs at the bottom of the veſſel.

His majeſty this day made the uſual offering at the chapel-royal of gold, myrrh, and frankincenſe; but there was no playing at hazard, nor any ball at night. 6th.

A letter to a nobleman from lieutenant colonel Elliot, who was miraculouſly preſerved, after being ſhipwrecked on the Iſland of Sable

Halifax, in Nova Scotia, May 9, 1761.

"My Lord,

"Soon after I did myſelf the honour of writing to you laſt September, I was ordered with a party to the bay Chaleur, to ſee the French troops there comply with the articles of capitulation made at Montreal, and from thence was to join general Amherſt at New York, where I propoſed ſpending the winter. This induced me to take Mrs. Elliot along with me, which has led her into ſuch diſtreſſes, that your lordſhip's humanity will more eaſily

* For thoſe taken during the firſt nine months, ſee our laſt volume, p. 161.

conceive than I can paint. A few days after we ſailed from Chaleur, after a very great ſtorm, we ſtruck on the iſland of Sable, (about forty leagues to the eaſtward of this place) an iſland barren and uninhabited, with neither a ſtick of wood upon it, a ſtone, or a ſpot of earth, but one intire bank of ſand. After we ſtruck, the 15th of November, we were eight-and-forty hours before we durſt venture on ſhore, the ſea being ſo very high; though, at the ſame time, we expected our veſſel to fall to pieces every moment, our whole employ was toſſing over board ſuch proviſions as we could come at, for our future ſuſtenance, in caſe we were any of us lucky enough to get on ſhore, which I began to deſpair of, as the only boat we had was loſt in returning to the veſſel, after landing a man on ſhore to fix a rope: in doing this, two ſailors were drowned; however, it was the preſervation of the reſt of our lives; for, finding it impoſſible to ſtay any longer on board, we faſtened an empty barrel to this rope, and ſo, one by one, were drawn through a very great ſurf (for near the ſpace of fourſcore yards) on ſhore, without the loſs even of one man of my party; and Providence was pleaſed even to preſerve two little infants that were on board, the one brought on ſhore upon the father's back, and the other on its mother's. We continued eight-and-forty hours more in our wet clothes upon the ſand, without any thing to cover us: at laſt, we picked up ſome ſails, and next day luckily found the officer's tent that was with me. Much more proviſions was drove upon the iſland than expected; but the winter being ſo far advanced, did not expect to ſee a veſſel till May, the time fiſhermen go upon that coaſt, therefore proportioned my allowance of proviſions for that time; and all that we ſeventy perſons had to live upon, was four ounces of flour a-day for each, with one gill of rum, or wine; and four pounds of pork between ſix, for ſeven days.

From this pinching allowance we were agreeably relieved by the ſight of horſes, which we ſhot; and ſoon after we diſcovered horned cattle: we now got more ſails and yards of the veſſel, with which we erected ourſelves houſes, and thatched them with a long ſedge that grows there. Notwithſtanding I had given up all hopes of relief, we frequently ſaw veſſels, who likewiſe ſaw us; but it was too dangerous for them to attempt any thing for our preſervation: however, they carried a report to Boſton of people's being wrecked here; and ſome people being miſſing from a fiſhing town near that place, they ſent a ſmall veſſel in ſearch of them, which arrived the 8th of January: ſhe could take on board but a few men. She returned again to me the 18th, and the 20th we all arrived here as naked as beggars; Mrs. Elliot and myſelf, and my lieutenant Dalton, loſing all our baggage."

Cautions to perſons going to Scotland, to be married.

By the law of Scotland, the names of the parties intended to be married muſt be proclaimed in the pariſh church where the parties live, three ſeveral times. But by an act 21 of aſſembly, anno 1638, * Preſbyteries are in ſome neceſſary exigents

* A presbytery is a church aſſembly, conſiſting of ſix or ſeven miniſters or elders, and a moderator choſen from amongſt themſelves.

exigents allowed to diſpenſe with publication of bans, and the miniſter and † kirk-ſeſſion, upon grave and weighty conſiderations, are in uſe to diſpenſe with part of the law; by proclaiming the parties twice in one day, and ſometimes thrice, and they muſt be called by their name and ſurname.

Thus ſtands the law as to marriages in the kirk of Scotland.

And by the act 10 Ann. ch. 7. for tolerating epiſcopal meeting-houſes in Scotland, the epiſcopal miniſters, ordained by a proteſtant biſhop, are allowed to preach, to adminiſter the ſacraments, and to marry. But it is provided, that no epiſcopal miniſter, or miniſters, reſiding within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland, preſume to marry any perſon, or perſons, but thoſe whoſe bans have been duly publiſhed three ſeveral Lord's days in the epiſcopal congregation which the two parties frequent, and in the churches to which they belong as pariſhioners, by virtue of their reſidence, and upon the ſame pains and puniſhments as are already inflicted by the laws of Scotland, in caſes of clandeſtine marriage; and the miniſters of the pariſh churches are thereby obliged to publiſh the ſaid bans; and, in caſe of neglect or refuſal, it ſhall be ſufficient to publiſh the ſaid bans in any epiſcopal congregation alone.

From hence it appears, that no marriage can be lawfully had in the eſtabliſhed church of Scotland, but by publiſhing the bans three times; and in the epiſcopal meeting-houſes the publication muſt be on three Lord's days, and in the epiſcopal congregations, which the two parties frequent.

Now moſt, if not all, the marriages had in Scotland, by perſons going down from England, to evade the marriage-act, have been celebrated (as I am credibly informed) in the epiſcopal meeting-houſes, and that without the publication of the bans on three Lord's days, and certainly not between parties frequenting that epiſcopal congregation, ſo that there can be no doubt but theſe marriages are irregular and clandeſtine. And what an unhappy ſituation muſt the parties to ſuch marriages be in, or their iſſue, if, when the validity of theſe marriages come to be litigated in England, they ſhould be deemed invalid, as not being had in purſuance of the laws in that country where they were celebrated.

It is to be hoped, indeed, that theſe marriages will be allowed good, as were the Fleet-marriages, tho' very irregular ones; but what perſons of common prudence would run any hazard at all on ſuch an occaſion?

Ended the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, at which two received ſentence of death, one of whom was, a few days after, executed; ſixteen received ſentence of tranſportation for ſeven years, and one for fourteen, who was the ſame day pardoned by his majeſty; three were burnt in the hand, and one whipped. 16th.

As Mr. Taylor, jun. anchor-ſmith at Limehouſe, was putting ſome old iron into the fire, the barrel of an old piſtol happened to

† A kirk ſeſſion is the loweſt eccleſiaſtical court, or pariſh conſiſtory, which is compoſed of the miniſter, or miniſters, if more than one in the pariſh, and the elders and deacon, with a clerk or beadle.

be in the parcel, which, being loaded, in a little time went off, and unfortunately ſhot him dead. —We mention accidents of this kind from time to time, to put people on their guard.

One of the French king's guards, who had given himſelf ſeveral wounds in the belly, and pretended that he had received them from two aſſaſſins, who would have forced their paſſage into the royal preſence, in hopes of being promoted for his zeal and diligence, was lately hanged at Paris.—It was this affair gave riſe to a late report, concerning a freſh attempt on the French king's life.

A Swede has invented a machine for threſhing corn, by which two men can do the work of 16; a machine much wanted in England at this juncture.

19th. The king went to the houſe of peers, and made a ſpeech, on occaſion of his majeſty's having declared war againſt Spain, which ſpeech, with his majeſty's anſwers to the addreſſes of both houſes, the reader may ſee in our laſt, Vol. IV. p. [303].

Extract of a letter from Baſque Road, dated Dec. 26, 1761.

"Three fire-boats, of 50 tons each, were lately ſet on float, under the command of the captain of the port's ſon, aſſiſted by four men of war's boats; but through precipitation, miſtake, or accident, two of them blew up, and every ſoul periſhed. The exploſion was terrible; they continued burning with great fury from one till day-light. As the wind blew when they took fire, they were in the ſtream of the Princeſs Amelia, an 80 gun ſhip, commanded by capt. Montague; but providentially the wind ſhifted from W. to N. W. and drove them clear of the whole ſquadron. They were chained together; and if they had been managed with that coolneſs and intrepidity, which ſuch an enterprize requires, they might have done fatal execution. The Breſt ſquadron, which has three battalions on board, are ready to ſail; and four large tranſports are gone from Bourdeaux full of troops."

25th. The prince of Mecklenburg Strelitz, ſecond brother to her majeſty, arrived in London.

During the courſe of this month, the town was greatly alarmed by ſome uncommon noiſes heard at a houſe in Cock-lane, Weſt-Smithfield; and as the manner of making theſe noiſes has not as yet been ſufficiently aſcertained, though ſeveral perſons have ſmarted ſeverely for pretending to affix a meaning to them, we think it our duty to give the reader a ſummary of the whole affair. But as it is of ſome length, we have placed it at the end of the chronicle.

Mr. Daniel Armſtrong, who died lately at Bath, has left 500 l. to the Bath hoſpital, and 500 l. to the Foundling and Lying-in hoſpitals.

Mrs. Lawrence, of Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, was lately delivered of three ſons.

Died lately. William Maple, of Dublin, Eſq; aged 101.

Mr. John Rider, of Greenhill, near Dublin, aged 110.

At Gratz in Voigtland, a man who had lived to the age of 135, without any illneſs. He had ſeen ſeven emperors of Germany.

FEBRUARY.

3d. The parliament of Ireland having taken under their

their conſideration, the exceſſive price of coals in the city of Dublin, it was, among other regulations, recommended by the committee appointed to enquire into the cauſes of this complaint, that the government ſhould appoint perſons to buy in a certain quantity of coals, when coals are at the cheapeſt, and to retail them out again at a moderate profit, to ſuch journeymen, tradeſmen, manufacturers, and poor, as ſhall produce certificates from the miniſters of their reſpective pariſhes of their actual poverty; a regulation that would be of vaſt utility to this metropolis.

6th. An old man ſtanding at the fire-ſide of the 3 *per cent.* office at the Bank, was obſerved to pick up the coals and put them in his pocket; and afterwards went to the books and received his dividend upon 600*l.* ſtock. He was carried before a magiſtrate, where the coals were taken out of his pocket; but by reaſon of his age, and his extreme penitence, he was releaſed.

An extraordinary inſtance of avarice and peculation has lately been diſcovered in France. Monſ. Foſcue, one of the farmers-general of the province of Languedoc, who had amaſſed conſiderable wealth by grinding the faces of the poor within his province, and every other means, however low, baſe, or cruel, by which he rendered himſelf univerſally hated, was one day ordered by the government to raiſe a conſiderable ſum; upon which, as an excuſe for not complying with the demand, he pleaded extreme poverty; but fearing leſt ſome of the inhabitants of Languedoc ſhould give information to the contrary, and his houſe ſhould be ſearched, he reſolved on hiding his treaſure in ſuch a manner, as to eſcape the moſt ſtrict examination. He dug a kind of a cave in his wine cellar, which he made ſo large and deep, that he uſed to go down to it with a ladder; at the entrance was a door with a ſpring lock on it, which on ſhutting would faſten of itſelf. Very lately monſ. Foſcue was miſſing; diligent ſearch was made after him in every place; the ponds were drawn, and every method, which human imagination could ſuggeſt, was taken for finding him, but all in vain. In a ſhort time after his houſe was ſold, and the purchaſer beginning either to rebuild it, or make ſome alterations in it, the workmen diſcovered a door in the cellar, with a key in the lock, which he ordered to be opened, and on going down they found monſ. Foſcue lying dead on the ground, with a candleſtick near him, but no candle in it, which he had eat; and on ſearching farther, they found the vaſt wealth that he had amaſſed. It is ſuppoſed, that when monſ. Foſcue went into his cave, the door by ſome accident ſhut after him; and being out of the call of any perſon, he periſhed for want of food. He had gnawed the fleſh of both his arms, as is ſuppoſed, for ſubſiſtence. Thus did this miſer die in the midſt of his treaſure, to the ſcandal of himſelf, and to the prejudice of the ſtate.

10th. His majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and gave his aſſent, to—An act for raiſing by annuities, in manner therein mentioned, the ſum of twelve millions, to be charged on the ſinking fund, &c. &c.—An act for granting to his majeſty ſeveral rates and duties

upon windows or lights.—An act for enabling his majesty to raise a certain sum of money towards paying off, and discharging the debt of the navy, &c.—An act for charging certain annuities granted in the year 1760, on the sinking fund, &c. &c. —And to two private bills.

According to the above act, every house containing eight windows or lights will now pay 11 s. for nine, 12 s. for ten, 13 s. for eleven, 14 s. for twelve, 1l. 1 s. for thirteen, 1l. 2 s. 6 d. for fourteen, 1l. 4 s. for fifteen, 1l. 5 s. 6 d. for sixteen, 1l. 7 s. for seventeen, 1l. 8 s. 6 d. for eighteen, 1l. 10 s. for nineteen, 1l. 11 s. 6 d. and for twenty and upwards the same as before, viz 1 s. 6 d. per window, and 3 s. the house; and all houses or cottages, that have no more than seven windows, to pay 3 s. for the house, unless on account of their poverty excused from parish rates; but no houses, having more than than seven windows, are to be exempted from this tax upon that account.—As many persons have, and will alter the number of their windows, on account of the additional duty, it may not be improper for them to know, that the act of parliament directs, that no window, or light, will be deemed to be stopped up, unless it be stopped with brick or stone, or plaister upon lath, or with the same materials of which the outside of the house doth chiefly consist; and the surveyors in their respective divisions have express orders from the board of taxes, to charge all windows that are not stopped up according to the directions of the act.

21st. On this and the following day, great damage was done, and numbers of people perished, in different parts of the kingdom, by a great, sudden, and unusual fall of snow, which, in some places, was ten and twelve feet deep. Near fifty people, who were caught in the open fields, roads, plains, heaths, and commons, lost their lives. In the hurricane that accompanied it, large trees, coaches, houses, chimnies, and barns, were, in many places, levelled with the ground, and churches damaged; many sheep and cattle likewise perished. It is said, however, that a farmer at Water-on-the-Wolds, in Yorkshire, recovered ten sheep hearty and well out of the snow, after they had lain there about four weeks. In short, at land, and on the sea coasts, such devastation is not remembered, by the present race, in England.

A little girl, daughter to Mr. Giffard, late of Covent-Garden theatre, was lately burnt in a very shocking manner, and died in great agonies. A person in the house was subject to fits, and amongst the methods practised to recover her, it was usual to burn feathers, rags, papers, &c. under her nose—this striking the child, she was supposing her doll in the like circumstances, and burning something under its nose, by which means her own cloaths caught fire, whilst her mamma's back was turned.

From Faulkner's Dublin Journal.

Whereas a lady, who called herself a native of Ireland, was in England in the year 1740, and resided some time at a certain village near Bath, where she was delivered of a son, whom she left with a sum of money, under the care of a person in the same parish, and promised to fetch him at a certain age, but has not since been heard of: now this

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is to desire the lady, if living, and this should be so fortunate as to be seen by her, to send a letter directed to I. E. to be left at the Chapter Coffee-house, St. Paul's church-yard, London, wherein she is desired to give an account of herself, and her reasons for concealing this affair: or, if the lady should be dead, and any person is privy to the affair, they are likewise desired to direct as above.—N. B. This advertisement is published by the person himself, not from motives of necessity, or to court any assistance (he being, by a series of happy circumstances, possessed of an easy and independent fortune) but with a real desire to know his origin.—P. S. The strictest secrecy may be depended upon.

22d. In the evening, in the midst of a great shower of hail and snow, with the wind at north, four loud claps of thunder were heard at Valenciennes in France, preceded by very frightful lightening, by the violence of which, the wood work of St. Gray's church was set on fire; and six or seven of the workmen, sent to extinguish the flames, were so terribly scorched by a succeeding flash, that it is scarce possible they should recover.

26th. Ended the sessions at the Old-Bailey, which proved a maiden one, when two persons were branded, and sixteen received sentence of transportation for seven years.

There has lately been set on foot in the diocese of Peterborough, under the auspices of the bishop, a fund, by voluntary subscription, for the relief of widows and orphans of poor clergymen, and for the necessitous clergy of that diocese. At a meeting they agreed, that no clergyman be permitted to subscribe annually more than one guinea for each benefice he shall hold, nor less than five shillings.

The marine society have collected, equipped, and cloathed, for the sea service, 5452 men, 4511 boys, in all 9963. This shews the utility of that noble institution.

The right hon. the earl of Buckinghamshire, for the encouragement of matrimony, proposes to give an annual bounty of ten guineas, to five young women, daughters of freemen of Norwich, upon their marriage to the sons of freemen, on the following terms:

They must not be above 25, nor under 18 years of age.

The persons they marry must be industrious freemen of Norwich, resident there, and sons of freemen resident, and their age not above 31, nor under 21.

No persons who have received collection, or who are deformed in their persons, subject to fits, in general unhealthy, or in whose family there is any suspicion of madness, can be entitled to this charity.

The candidates must be recommended by ladies or gentlemen of credit, resident in Norwich, who, from their own knowledge, will vouch for their characters; and also that they have good reason to believe neither of them have contracted any debts, or are liable to any of the above objections.

The marriages are to be celebrated on the 1st day of July yearly, and to commence upon the 1st day of July next; upon which day the new-married couples are to dine together, and his lordship will allow one guinea for the dinner. It is

expected that the couples fixed upon will, some days previous to the marriage, signify to the persons who may recommend them, how best it may be laid out for their advantage, except one guinea, which will be paid the day after the wedding.

On occasion of two young children lately poisoned by taking bears-foot, for the worms, at Fisherton, near Salisbury, the following caution has been published, in the St. James's Chronicle.

To prevent the destruction of more children, please to inform the public, there are two kinds of bears-foot in England. One is a plant of two feet high, with dark leaves, and a multitude of whitish flowers, sometimes a little purpled at the edge. This is common in gardens, and is now in full flower. It is a poison, and was known as such to Tragus, Dodonæus, and all the old writers. The other is a low plant, scarce a foot high, with fish-green leaves, and only one or two flowers: the flowers of this are green. This is the true bears-foot; which is recommended with great justice against worms. The other being more common, has been used by mistake in its place, and to this the death of those infants was owing. There is the more reason for caution, because the poisonous one is the kind now sold in our markets.

J. Hill.

They write from Paris, that as a wealthy citizen of Paris was lately walking in the Thuilleries, a person came up to him, and bid him be upon his guard, for that night he would be murdered. The citizen retired after supper, as usual, to his bed-chamber, having furnished himself with fire-arms. At midnight three men actually entered the room. One of them he shot dead, and with a second shot broke the arm of another. The third ran away. The person killed proved to be his own son, and the wounded person his nephew, who is now in prison along with the third assassin. This, says the writer, is the second instance of the kind that has happened at Paris within these three months; to such a height is licentiousness risen in that capital.

The same letter adds, "The sieur Massonet, renter of the abbey of St. Antony, in the parish of Montfalcon, in Viennois, has a son which (though but five months old) is actually two feet seven inches and a half high: the circumference of his waist is two feet three inches three lines [a line is the twelfth part of an inch] and over the breast he measures two feet three inches. The circumference of his head, at the fore part, is eighteen inches and a half; and that of the calf of his leg eleven inches. His wrist is six inches and a half round, his arm eleven inches, and his thigh seventeen inches three lines. When he came into the world, he was of the usual size of a new-born infant. His bones are not of a size proportionate to his body: those of his fingers, feet, and hands, are very small. His weight is 41 lb. mark [equal to our averdupois] and he begins to walk. After sucking at eight in the evening, he wants nothing more till eight the next morning; never cries, nor often laughs. The father is thirty-five years old, and of a thin and meagre form. His wife is about the same age, and of the same complexion. They have three other

other children of the common ſize."

In conſequence of the new duty upon malt liquors taking place, the publicans have at laſt been, in general, quietly permitted to raiſe their porter to three-pence half-penny a quart.

Died lately. In the pariſh of St. Leonard's, two old men, brothers, who a little before lodged in the pariſh of Cripplegate, but lived there in ſo miſerable manner, as to be diſcharged their lodgings. On their death it appeared that the intereſt of 4000l. which they had before left to Cripplegate pariſh, was now left to the poor of St. Leonard's for ever. A caveat was entered by a third brother againſt the will, but we hear it is finally determined in favour of the poor.

Miſs Charlotte Mercier, ſaid to be ſkilled in painting and engraving, and daughter of the late prince of Wales's librarian, in St. James's workhouſe.

Matthew Featherſtonhaugh, Eſq; aged 100.

Babua Solyman, a Turk, in Hampſhire, aged 105.

Thomas Nixon, of the county of Cumberland, aged 108.

At Tiefenau, in the neighbourhood of Groſſenhayn, Gaſpard Balcke, aged 112 years, three months, and 27 days. He married two wives, by whom he had fifteen children. He was 85 when the youngeſt child was born. He lived to ſee his poſterity to the number of 66. He was confined to his bed only two days.

Catharine Brebner, in Aberdeenſhire, aged 124.

John Noon, of the county of Galway, in Ireland, aged 129.

A peaſant in Poland, in the 157th year of age; till within 12 days of his death, he worked as a day labourer.

MARCH.

By a fall of a houſe, near Holloway-mount, ſeven perſons were killed. 5th.

Being the day appointed for a general faſt and humiliation, it was obſerved in the accuſtomed manner. 12th.

Copy of a reſolution of the Iriſh parliament, reſpecting the revenue of the lord lieutenant.

Veneris, 26 Feb. 1762.

Reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, That an addreſs be preſented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, that he will repreſent to his majeſty the ſenſe of this houſe, that the entertainments and appointments of the lord lieutenant of Ireland are become inadequate to the dignity of that high office, and to the expence with which it is, and ought to be, ſupported; and that it is the humble deſire of this houſe, that his majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to grant ſuch an augmentation to the entertainment of the lord lieutenant for the time being, as, with the preſent allowances, will in the whole amount to the annual ſum of ſixteen thouſand pounds. And to expreſs that ſatisfaction which we feel at the pleaſing hope, that this juſt and neceſſary augmentation ſhould take place during the adminiſtration of a chief governor, whoſe many great and amiable qualities, whoſe wiſe and happy adminiſtration in the government of this kingdom, have univerſally endeared him to the people of Ireland.

E. Sterling, H. Alcock, } *Cler. Dom. Com.*

Copy

Copy of the anſwer of the lord lieutenant to the addreſs of the houſe of commons, preſented to his excellency purſuant to the foregoing reſolution.

" I ſhall take the firſt opportunity of laying before his majeſty the ſenſe of the houſe of commons contained in this addreſs. I enter fully into the truly liberal motives, which have influenced your conduct in this unanimous reſolution. That you are ſolicitous not only to ſupport his majeſty's government, but to ſupport it with becoming grandeur and magnificence, reflects the higheſt honour on yourſelves; that you have choſen the time of my adminiſtration, that you have diſtinguiſhed my perſon as the object of your favour, reflects the higheſt credit on me; and I muſt ever conſider this event as one of the moſt fortunate and honourable circumſtances of my life. Whatever merit you aſcribe to me in the government of this kingdom, in reality ariſes from your own conduct, though your partiality would transfer it to mine. Your unanimity has firſt created this merit, and your liberality would now reward it.

I am ſenſible of the obligation you confer; And I can in no way properly demonſtrate my ſenſe of it, but by being as I am, unalterably determined to implore his majeſty, that I may be permited to enjoy it pure and unmixed with the lucrative advantages you propoſe ſhould attend it. This affectionate addreſs is intended as an honour to me: that intention has on your part been fully anſwered; to make it truly honourable, ſomething is ſtill neceſſary on mine. It becomes me to vie with the generoſity of parliament, and to keep up an emulation of ſentiment. It has been my duty, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, to propoſe large plans of public expence, and to promiſe an attention to public œconomy; and I could not without pain ſubmit, that the eſtabliſhment, already burthened at my recommendation, ſhould be ſtill farther charged for my own particular profit.

But while I conſider myſelf at liberty to ſacrifice my private intereſts to my private feelings, I muſt conſider myſelf as bound likewiſe to conſult, in compliance with your enlarged and liberal ſentiments, the future ſupport of the ſtation in which I am placed; to the dignity of which, the emoluments are, as you repreſent them, inadequate. I ſhall tranſmit, therefore, the ſenſe of the houſe of commons, that the augmentation which your generoſity has propoſed, may, if his majeſty ſhall think fit, be made to the eſtabliſhment of my ſucceſſor, when he ſhall enter on the government of this kingdom, and when, it is probable, the circumſtances of this country may be better able to ſupport ſuch additional burthen. But while I muſt decline accepting any part of the profits, I rejoice to charge myſelf with the whole of the obligation: abundantly happy, if, when I ſhall hereafter be removed from this high, and through your favour deſirable ſituation, I ſhould leave it, through your liberality, augmented, in its emoluments, and by my inability not diminiſhed in its reputation."

At ſix in the morning an earthquake was very ſenſibly felt at Wexford in Ireland. It was preceded by a loud rumbling noiſe, and was ſudden, and of ſhort duration. 16th

At the univerſary ſermon, at St. George's, Hanover-ſquare, 18th and

and at the ſubſequent feaſt, at Draper's-hall, near 700l. was collected for the Magdalen charity.

On opening the apartments in Newgate, John Berry, a priſoner in that goal, was found dead in his cloaths, lying by a parcel of muſſels, the eating of which, it is ſuppoſed, had occaſioned his death (ſee our article of Natural Hiſtory for this year). He was one of the five wretches concerned in inducing others to commit robberies, for the ſake of getting the rewards for apprehending and convicting robbers, and even in accuſing innocent men of pretended robberies for the ſame purpoſe. The obligation on the judges in England to adhere ſtrictly to the letter of the law, when favourable to criminals, never appeared more conſpicious than in the caſe of theſe miſcreants; for, though the above crimes were fully proved againſt them, they eſcaped death by the judgment of the twelve judges, before whom the affair was ſolemnly argued. One of them however was ſoon after killed in the pillory, to which, as for perjury, they were condemned.

Extract of a letter from Bratton, in the county of Wilts, March 3.

"Yeſterday a very uncommon phœnomenon appeared here, about half an hour after eight at night: on each ſide of the moon was a bright ſpot, rather larger than the moon, in the ſame parallel of altitude, one of which was near a ſtar of the ſecond magnitude in the ſhoulder of Orion, the other near a ſtar of the like magnitude in the arm of Perſeus: from each of which ſpots iſſued a bright ſemicircular, or ſemieliptical arch over the moon, the higheſt part of the arch near Capella, a ſtar of the firſt magnitude; and from each of the ſaid ſpots a light circle, parallel to the horizon, quite round, paſſing near the ſtar in the end of the tail of Urſa Major. This bright horizontal circle was in breadth nearly the diameter of the moon; a faint appearance of it paſſed between the bright ſpots (the moon being in the circumference of the circle,) and the horizontal altitude of the circle every where about 37 degrees. The moon's diſtance from each of the bright ſpots about 30 degrees, on the arch of a great circle. The circle was almoſt vaniſhed by nine o'clock: but what time it firſt appeared I don't know, as I did not ſee it before half after eight."

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the following bills, viz. The bill to puniſh mutiny and deſertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.—The bill for the better regulation of his majeſty's marine forces on ſhore.—The bill for appointing commiſſioners to execute an act, entitled, an act for granting an aid to his majeſty by a land-tax, for the ſervice of the preſent year.—The bill to prevent vexatious proceedings againſt innholders, victuallers, and others, for raiſing the price of malt liquors in proportion to the taxes on theſe neceſſaries; and to prevent frauds committed, by re-landing of beer and ale deſigned for exportation.—The bill to enable his grace the duke of Bridgewater, to extend a navigable canal from Longford Bridge, in the county palatine of Lancaſter, into the river Merſey in Cheſhire; and to ſeveral road and private bills. By the above bill for exempting victuallers and brewers from all the penalties to which they 24th.

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were hitherto liable for raiſing the price of beer, a penalty of 50 l. is to take place immediately, on every perſon mixing ſtrong beer with ſmall beer, or water for ſale.

Certificates were received at the Admiralty-office, ſigned by governor Lyttelton, and the officers of the Merlin ſloop, of the improvements made by Harriſon's new machines towards aſcertaining the longitude at ſea, young Mr. Harriſon having juſt compleated a voyage to Jamaica for making a freſh trial of theſe machines.

His majeſty has graciouſly given a ſhip of 44 guns, to the proprietors of the late Antigallican privateer, for the uſe of them, their officers and ſeamen.

A propoſal for raiſing five regiment of papiſts in Ireland, having lately been offered by the lords Kilmare, Kingſland, Sir Patrick Bellew, and ſome others of that religion, in order to be taken into the pay of the king of Portugal for ten years. The parliament of Ireland thought proper to take cognizance thereof, and the ſcheme was ſoon dropt.

The two gold medals, given annually by his grace the duke of Newcaſtle, chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, for the encouragement of claſſical learning, have been adjudged to Mr. Pemberton and Mr. Whitfield, of Pembroke-hall.

New-York, Jan. 18. By captain Snellen, who arrived here on Friday laſt from Bermudas, in 24 days, we learn that between 6 and 700 negro men and women were on the liſt as conſpirators in a late plot; and that the iſland in general was ſo fatigued, in taking up and apprehending the ſuſpected, and keeping guard, as to make but ſlow progreſs in trying them; but all that were brought to tryal have been condemned.

Tho. Smith, alias Harding, Laur. Tearman, Tho. Baldwin, and Rob. Maine, were capitally convicted, and received ſentence of death, at a ſeſſions of admiralty, at the Old-Baily, for piracy, on board the King George privateer, of Briſtol, in aſſaulting and confining the captain and officers, and running away with the ſhip. 30th.

Kingſton, Jamaica, Dec. 19. Laſt Saturday arrived here, the ſloop Sally, Paul Androuin, maſter, from the Spaniſh main, by whom we learn, that on the 9th ult. there happened at Carthagena, a terrible ſtorm from the ſouthward, which was followed by an earthquake, that has deſtroyed a great part of the walls of the town, many of the houſes, and numbers of the inhabitants were drowned by the floods which came down ſuddenly from the mountains with ſuch rapidity as was never ſeen there before; and that the floods brought down ſuch a prodigious quantity of mud, &c. that the entrance of Bocha-Chica was entirely choaked up, and that the Spaniards were employed in opening of Bocha-Grande. That two Spaniſh men of war were drove on ſhore, and that the caſtles of Sainta-Martha were entirely deſtroyed.

A French officer (lately priſoner on his parole at Weymouth) writes to his acquaintance in Belfaſt, dated Jan. 29, 1762. "On the 10th of January I ſailed from Havre de Grace on board his majeſty's frigate the Zenobie, of 22 guns and 210 men, commanded by M. de Sage. We were attacked, on the 12th, by a moſt violent ſtorm; and finding all our reſiſtance to be in vain, and our

our ſufferings at ſea to be inſupportable, as the laſt effort for our lives, we were obliged to run our ſhip on ſhore on the peninſula of Portland; where with great difficulty, 71 of us were ſaved, and theſe in a melancholy plight, being almoſt all wounded and naked; and to compleat our miſery, the barbarous iſlanders, ſeeing our helpleſs ſtate, flocked down upon us, and of the little coverings the mercileſs ſea had left us, poor wretches! they with more hardened cruelty ſtripped every ſoul: and had not the generoſity and tenderneſs of the Sieur Traver (commander in Portland) interpoſed, we ſhould have all undoubtedly periſhed. When we had recovered ſtrength enough to walk about, we were removed to this town; and then wrote to the lords of the admiralty, petitioning their lordſhips that in commiſeration of our diſtreſſes, they would not add captivity to our misfortune. Their lordſhips honoured us with an anſwer, that we were not at all regarded as priſoners: and farther, that our letter had been preſented to the king, and that his majeſty, in compaſſion for our deplorable circumſtances, had ordered, that we ſhould be all immediately cloathed at his expence; and whatever we called for, he would pay."

This humanity and generoſity has been attended with the following good effect. On the night of the dreadful ſtorm of ſnow and hail, or rather hurricane, the 21ſt ult. an Engliſh trading veſſel was drove on ſhore at Havre de Grace, and broke to pieces, but the crew ſaved; the commandant of the town being informed of the affair, ordered them to be quartered at a coffee-houſe, and allowed the common men thirty ſous per day while they remained there; and the latter end of laſt week they arrived ſafe in England.

Premiums that have been propoſed by the Imperial Accademy of Sciences at Peterſburgh.

For the premium propoſed for 1760, it was required,

To deduce from experiments the refraction of the rays of light in different bodies, ſolids as well as fluids; and from thence to prove what degree of ſuch refraction is owing to the different ſpecific gravity of bodies, and what to the various coheſion of their particles, or to their conſtituent principles; and to explain the whole by a theory conformable to the ſeveral experiments.

For the premium propoſed for 1761, it was required,

To determine the theory of the perturbations, which comets ſuffer in their motions, from the attractions of the planets, and to demonſtrate the agreement of ſuch theory with the obſervations of the comet of 1759.

For the premium propoſed for 1762, required,

To ſhew how far the imperfections of teleſcopes and microſcopes, ariſing from the different refrangibility of the rays of light, and the ſpherical figure of the glaſſes can be corrected or diminiſhed by a combination of ſeveral lenſes, and to accommodate the theory to practice, and confirm it by experiments.

As to the firſt premium, the academy aſſigned their reaſons in 1761, why it could not be beſtowed on that ſingle and only diſſertation which was ſent; and as the like reaſon ſtands againſt that for 1761, the academy declares that any one

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is ſtill free to ſend in diſſertations on thoſe ſubjects, for obtaining the reſpective premiums; and repeats the queſtion propoſed for 1762, adding for the next year, 1763, the following one:

As it is well known to thoſe who are well acquainted with the art of fluxing ores, that many metalline ones require divers kinds of additions (*Zuſchlage*,) before they are committed to calcination and fuſion; partly to diſpoſe them to an eaſier ſeparation from the heterogeneous parts, and partly to prepare metalline parts to ſink down; a method is required whereby any metalline parts may be ſeparated from the ore, which will be more expeditious and cheaper than thoſe in uſe, and not ſtand in need of ſo many additions; and that the few retained ſhall agree with all ſorts of metals. The academy expects ſuch a ſolution of the problem as ſhall be well ſupported both by reaſon and experiment.

The learned and ſkilful of all nations are invited to impart their ſentiments and obſervations concerning the foregoing ſubjects to the academy, ſo as that they may be preſented at Peterſburgh any time before the 1ſt of next June. The premium for the beſt ſolution of each problem will be 100 *ducats* of gold.

Mr. Dorſet, a tallow-chandler near Spital-fields, who died lately, has left to nine diſſenting congregations 1000 l. each.

Robert Laurence, of Giſborough in Yorkſhire, aged 90, was lately married to his fourth wife, Jane Edderſon, aged 100.

The wife of the duke of Richmond's porter was lately delivered of three daughters.

Died lately. Mrs. Smith, at Hipley, Derbyſhire, aged 111.

APRIL

Admiralty-office. His majeſty's ſhip the Burford, commanded by capt. Gambier, is arrived at Plymouth, with the St. Prieſt, a French Eaſt India ſhip, of 700 tons burthen, and 230 men and paſſengers, from the iſle of Bourbon, bound to L'Orient; which was taken the 11th of laſt month, by his majeſty's ſhip the Valiant, one of the ſhips which ſailed from Spithead with Sir George Pococke. Her cargo conſiſts chiefly of coffee and pepper. 1ſt.

At the anniverſary ſermon and feaſt of the ſmall-pox hoſpitals, 681 l. 13 s. was collected for that charity.

The utility of this eſtabliſhment will appear by conſidering, that if only one in ſeven die of the ſmall-pox in the natural way, and one in three hundred and twelve by inoculation, as experience ſhews, then as

One million divided by
7 gives — 142857 $\frac{1}{7}$
One million divided by
312 gives — 3205 $\frac{40}{312}$

The lives ſaved by inoculation upon one million muſt be — 139652 $\frac{32}{2184}$

A moſt ſurpriſing difference!

This is further evinced by the following anecdote. The hon. John Petre, brother to the lord Petre, who died lately, aged 24, is ſaid to be the eighteenth perſon of that family that has died of the ſmall-pox in 27 years.

His

8th. His majesty went to the house of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills:

The bill to explain, amend, and reduce into one act, the several laws relating to the training and governing of the militia.

The bill for the better encouragement of seamen, and for the more speedy and effectual manning of his majesty's navy.

The bill for relief of vassals of estates in Scotland, which are, or may be annexed to the crown on account of attainder.

The bill to render more effectual an act for allowing a public reward for discovering the longitude at sea, so far as it relates to trying and proving experiments relating to the said discovery.

The bill for the better supplying the cities of London and Westminster with fish, to reduce the exorbitant price of the same, and for the better encouragement of fishermen.

The bill for the better preservation of the game in that part of Great Britain called England.

The bill for naturalizing foreign protestants that have served, or may serve a limited time as officers, engineers, or soldiers in America.

And also to several bills to inclose lands, repair roads, improve and preserve the navigation of rivers, and private bills.

By the above militia act, persons liable to serve in the said militia may be chosen by ballot, as before; or otherwise the parish officers, with the consent of the inhabitants, may provide volunteers, to be approved of by two deputy-lieutenants and one justice of the peace; and whatsoever expence they are at for providing such volunteers, they are impowered to reimburse themselves by a rate on the parish, to be made in proportion to that for the relief of their poor, and the overplus, if any, to go in aid of the poors rate. By the said act, parish officers are to pay every person chosen by lot, and sworn in, or substitute, such sum of money, not exceeding five pounds, as any two deputy-lieutenants and a justice of the peace shall adjudge to be one half of the current price then paid for a volunteer in the county where such person shall be chosen; which sum shall be raised and reimbursed by the said parish officers by a rate to be made according to the poors rate, as afore-mentioned.

It is also enacted, that no person under the age of 18, or above 45, articled clerk, apprentice, or poor man with three children born in wedlock, shall be compelled to serve.

Also, that every person who shall contract, or agree with any other (liable to serve) to insure him from serving in the militia, by providing a substitute, or paying the penalty of ten pounds, shall, for so doing, pay the penalty of one hundred pounds, one half to the prosecutor, the other to the poor of the parish.

The said act takes place from the passing thereof, and is to continue in force for the space of seven years, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, and no longer.

And nothing in said act is to extend to prevent persons of the same parish, town or place, from entering into subscriptions amongst themselves, for paying jointly, for any substitute or substitutes, who may be provided for one or more of the sub-

ſubſcribers, who may happen to be choſen by lot.

By this wiſe and wholſome alteration in the militia laws, which obliges, and very juſtly, every man to pay his quota, all pariſhes have it in their power to keep their good and uſeful hands at home, and by a ſmall and equitable tax, to be raiſed only twice in ſeven years, to ſend the idle and diſſolute to ſerve their king and country for three years in the militia.

By the act for providing a reward for diſcovering the longitude at ſea, the commiſſioners appointed are empowered to hear and receive propoſals for diſcovering the longitude at ſea, and being ſo far ſatisfied of the probability of any ſuch propoſal, as to think proper to make experiment thereof, they ſhall certify the ſame, with the authors names, to the commiſſioners of the navy, who ſhall make out bills thereupon for any ſum not exceeding 2000l. as ſhall be thought neceſſary, to be paid by the treaſurer of the navy out of any money in his hands unapplied. —— This makes 6000l. granted for this laudable purpoſe.

By the act for the better preſervation of the game, after the 1ſt of June, 1762, no perſon, under any pretence whatſoever, ſhall take, kill, buy, or ſell, or have in his cuſtody, any partridge, between the 12th of February and the 1ſt of September; or any pheaſant between the 1ſt of February and the 1ſt of October; or any heath-fowl, commonly called black game, between the 1ſt of January and the 20th of Auguſt; or any grouſe, commonly called red game, between the 1ſt of December and the 25th of July in any year,

This act ſhall not extend to pheaſants taken in the proper ſeaſon, and kept in mews or breeding places.

Nor ſhall it extend to Scotland.

Perſons offending in any of the caſes aforeſaid ſhall forfeit 5l. per bird to the proſecutor, to be recovered, with full coſts, in any of the courts at Weſtminſter.

And as by the former acts a moiety of the pecuniary penalties inflicted upon perſons who deſtroy the game is directed to be applied for the uſe of the poor of the pariſh where the offence is committed, which diſqualified the inhabitants from giving evidence; from the paſſing of this act, the whole of ſuch pecuniary penalties may be ſued for and recovered to the ſole uſe of the proſecutor, with double coſts; and no part thereof ſhall go to the uſe of the poor of the pariſh.

Proſecutions ſhall commence within ſix months after the fact is committed.

9th. A little before eight in the evening, a terrible ſubterraneous noiſe was heard at the forges of Barnau, near the gold and ſilver mines of Koliwanowoſreſenkoy, which was ſoon after followed by a ſhock of an earthquake, that laſted for three or four minutes. All the houſes were ſhaken by it, the beds ſtrongly agitated, and the moveables thrown about. On the 12th, about noon, happened a ſecond, ſomewhat leſs violent, but of the ſame duration as the former. The weather, during this laſt, was cold, and remarkably ſerene; during the other, calm and very cloudy.

14th. Capt. Crabb, of Abchurch-lane, getting out of bed in his ſleep, opened the ſaſh, and threw himſelf out of the window.

dow. He was greatly hurt, but is in a fair way of recovery.

22d. At the anniverſary ſermon and feaſt of the London Hoſpital, 1103 l. 16 s. 7 d. was collected for that charity.

Two perſons lately tried at the Surry aſſizes for defrauding their creditors, in taking the benefit of the famous compulſive clauſe in the laſt act of inſolvency, had the good fortune to eſcape, by an unaccountable miſtake in penning the ſaid act, the word *judgment* being inſerted inſtead of the word *indictment*.

Cambridge, April 9. The ſubject for Mr. Seaton's prize poem this year is, *Repentance*.

The ſubjects for the two prizes of fifteen guineas each, given by the hon. Mr. Finch, and the hon. Mr. Townſhend, for the beſt exerciſes in Latin proſe, are this year: For the ſenior bachelors; *Num credibile videatur populum Romanum magis ſub Pompeio quam ſub Cæſare victore fore liberum?* [Is it probable, that had Pompey prevailed, the people of Rome would have been more free than they were under Cæſar?] For the middle bachelors; *Utrum virtus magis eminet in rebus ſecundis an in adverſis?* [Is virtue moſt conſpicuous in proſperity, or in adverſity?]

23d. Ended the ſeſſions at the Old-Bailey, at which one, for a highway robbery, one for ſacrilege, and one for a private robbery, received ſentence of death: (the two firſt have been ſince tranſported:) 18 to be tranſported for ſeven years, one to be pilloried, two branded, and four to be privately whipped.

At the aſſizes at Kingſton, four criminals were capitally convicted; at Warwick, two; at Stafford, one; at Rocheſter, ſeven; at Shrewſbury, five; at Chelmsford, ſeven. Moſt of them were reprieved, and, in general, received the king's free pardon, on condition of ſerving as ſoldiers in America.

Report of the ſtate of the city hoſpitals for the preceding year.

St. Bartholomew's.

Cured and diſcharged from this hoſpital	5863
Truſſes given by a private hand to	10
Truſſes given by the hoſpital to	24
Buried this year	351
Remaining under cure	521
In all	6769

St. Thomas's Hoſpital.

Cured and diſcharged from this hoſpital	7428
Buried this year	408
Remaining under cure	474
Out-patients	201
Total	8511

Chriſt's Hoſpital.

Children put forth apprentices, and diſcharged out of this hoſpital laſt year, 10 whereof were inſtructed in the mathematics	179
Buried the laſt year	13
Remaining in this hoſpital	942

Bridewell Hoſpital.

Vagrants, &c. relieved and diſcharged	579
Maintained in ſeveral trades, &c.	70

Bethlem Hoſpital.

Admitted into this hoſpital	199
Cured	151
Buried	56
Remaining under cure	252

Meſſrs. Maſon and Dixon, ſent out by the Royal Society to obſerve the late tranſit of Venus over the ſun, are returned from the Cape of Good Hope, and have brought with them a moſt circumſtantial, excellent, and ſatisfactory obſervation,

for which they have received the thanks of that learned body.

His majeſty's pardon is granted to Mr. Macdonald, of Barriſdale, condemned for the late rebellion, and ever ſince a priſoner in Edinburgh caſtle.

The king of Naples has preſented to the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, a third volume of an account of the antiquities diſcovered at Herculaneum.

A party of Gage's rangers, who ſet out from Montreal, laſt ſummer, to reconnoitre the country and the great lakes of Canada, and to take poſſeſſion of the remoteſt parts compriſed within the limits of that province, according to the capitulation, returned to Philadelphia, at the beginning of February, after travelling by land and water 1800 miles.

27th. At the anniverſary meeting of the Middleſex Hoſpital, 400 l. was collected towards the ſupport of that charity. To ſhew the uſefulneſs of this and other charities of the ſame kind, eſpecially in great towns, we inſert the following liſt of perſons ſent to it for relief in a very few days.

Saturday night a chairman falling down with his chair in Carnaby-market, ſprained his leg in a violent manner. Sunday John Cartwright, a labouring man, was terribly bruiſed and cut in the head. Tueſday Robert Mitchel, a farmer's ſervant at Kentiſh Town, was kicked by a horſe, and miſerably bruiſed; and the ſame day a ſervant falling from behind a poſt-chaiſe, hung on the ſpikes, whereby his legs were terribly tore. Wednesday a coachman fell off the box, and was greatly bruiſed; and the ſame day John Kelly, a labouring man, being ſhot at with powder by a ſoldier, had his face terribly burnt. Thurſday Samuel Jackſon, a carman, driving his cart loaded with coals, fell down, and the wheel going over his foot, cruſhed it in a miſerable manner; and the ſame day Philip Clarke, a poor man, who ſome time ago had his thigh broke, and was juſt come out of the Middleſex Hoſpital cured, fell down in Leiceſter-fields and broke it again. They were all carried to the Middleſex Hoſpital, and admitted.

Reſolved, by the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, That the ſuggeſtions confidently propagated, that the heads of a bill "for limiting the duration of Parliaments, and aſcertaining the qualifications of members to ſerve in parliament," if they had returned from England, would have been rejected by this houſe, though in no wiſe materially altered, are without foundation.

Numbers of people have been lately affected by colds, which attacked them with violent pains in the ſtomach, head, and bones; it is the opinion of the faculty, that it is in the air, the diſtemper being ſo common.

This diſtemper is ſaid to have reached Ireland, there being ſcarce a family in Dublin without it.

28th. The following eminent perſonages kiſſed the king's hand at St. James's, on being created Engliſh peers.

Sir William Courtenay, Bart.
George Fox Lane, Eſq;
George Venables Vernon, Eſq;
Earl of Egmont in Ireland.
Lord Milton of Ireland.

Duke of Newcaſtle, a barony, with the remainder to Thomas Pelham, Eſq;

Peer-

Peereſſes. Dutcheſs dowager of Mancheſter, wife to Sir Edward Montagu, a baroneſs, with the remainder to her heirs male.

Lady Caroline Fox, a baroneſs; with the remainder to her heirs male.

A gentleman at Grinſtead Green, in Kent, having loſt a pointer, in nine weeks after it was diſcovered at the bottom of a chalk-pit, upwards of 60 feet in depth, and was taken up alive, but almoſt entirely emaciated; the animal had nothing but chalk to ſubſiſt on, yet by proper care was preſerved.

A poor labouring family near Biddeſton in Norfolk, have been lately afflicted by a terrible diſorder. The limbs of ſeveral of them having rotted off, though without any injury to their health, or the other parts of the body. But as the caſe is ſo extraordinary, we thought proper to give it a place in our article of Natural Hiſtory.

Within theſe four months, about fourteen male whales have been driven out of their element on the Engliſh and neighbouring coaſts, moſt of which yielded great quantities of blubber and ſpermaceti, and would have yielded much greater, had they fallen into ſkilful hands.

One of theſe whales was diſcovered in the month of February, floating on the water, by ſome fiſhermen going through the Hope. They at firſt took it for the maſt of a ſhip; but as they drew nearer, diſcovered it to be a large fiſh; and upon ſeeing it caſt up a great quantity of water from its mouth, ſuſpected it was a whale: they then chaced him below the Hope Point, and went off to him in their boats; he ſeemed a motionleſs lump, his head and tail being concealed in the water: they pierced the prominent part, and after having digged a hole a foot deep, a great torrent of blood iſſued forth; upon which they withdrew at a diſtance, and ſoon after the boat had paſſed (as the water was deep enough over his tail) he ſtruck the ground with ſuch force, as to caſt up ſtones and mire a great height in the air: if he had ſtruck while the boat was over his tail, doubtleſs he would have it ſplit to pieces. They waited about three quarters of an hour, and then he expired with the moſt horrible groans; after which they faſtened a rope to his body, and on the turn of the tide towed him up the river to Greenland-dock, where innumerable crowds flocked to ſee ſo great a curioſity, even after the ſtench iſſuing from ſo great a maſs of putrefaction, had infected the air to a conſiderable diſtance. They took out of his head eight puncheons of ſpermaceti, which lay between the eye and the blow-hole, in different cells of the brain, and which, along with the blubber, ſold for 122l.

The dimenſions of this enormous animal were as follows; extreme length, 54 feet; breadth, 14 ditto; lower jaw, 10 ditto; length of the penis, 8 ditto; length of the tail, 15 ditto.---The firſt knowledge of the drug called ſpermaceti (according to Watſon in his Animal World Diſplayed) was owing to accident. One of theſe whales had been hurt and died: as the carcaſe fell to pieces, the oil of the head floated on the water, and the weather bleached it, and it hardened into that flaky matter. It was found that the oil of this whale's head would make the drug, and ſoon af-

ter they found the way of doing it by art, they made other oil ſerve; and at preſent it is made from that of any kind of whale.

Died lately. Mary Mitton, of Birmingham, whoſe coffin was ſix feet ſeven inches long, three feet deep, and three feet ſix inches over the breaſt.

Mr. Joſeph Rogers, of the iſle of Man, aged 103.

Eliz. Pearcy, of Elell, in Lancaſhire, aged 104, and Eliz. Story, of the pariſh of Garſtang, aged 103.

Mary Burch, at Perſhore, aged 105.

Mr. Robertſon, in Petty France, aged 107.

Tho. Nixon, at Newlands, in Cumberland, aged 108.

MAY

1ſt. The riots and diſturbances lately raiſed in the ſouthern parts of Ireland, by a ſet of people called Levellers, are intirely put a ſtop to by the vigilance and activity of the earl of Halifax. It appears, that the authors of theſe diſturbances have conſiſted, indiſcriminately, of perſons of different perſuaſions; and that no marks of diſaffection to his majeſty's perſon or government have been diſcovered, upon this occaſion, in any claſs of people. *London Gazette.*

The above rioters were called Levellers, from their levelling ſuch hedges, &c. as they thought incroached upon commons, the chief ſupport of the poor in the country of Ireland; where there is not tillage or manufacture enough, as in England, to employ them; and the land, beſides, comes to them thro' three or four hands perhaps, who all have a profit out of it. They were likewiſe called White Boys, from their wearing ſhirts over their other clothes, the better to diſtinguiſh each other by night, the time when they generally aſſembled.

In ſuppreſſing theſe rioters, the civil and military powers were ſo combined, through the great wiſdom and goodneſs of the government, that due reſpect was ſecured to the former, and all unneceſſary rigours prevented on the part of the latter.

Not above eight or nine, and theſe chiefly ringleaders, ſuffered death on this occaſion, which, tho' more than could be wiſhed, was but a ſmall number, conſidering how many were engaged in thoſe riotous proceedings.

6th. The collection at the rehearſal, and at the annual feaſt of the ſons of the clergy, amounted to 801 l. 15 s. 9 d. and Sampſon Gideon, Eſq; gave one hundred pounds.

By a table of benefactions ſet up in the pariſh church of Bedford, it appears that Sir William Harper by deed, April 22, 5 Elizabeth, gave to the mayor, bailiffs, and their ſucceſſors, a meſſuage called the Free School, in that town; alſo thirteen acres and a rood of meadow, &c. in the late Red-Lion-Fields, London, (now built upon, and containing Bedford-ſtreet, Bedford-row, &c. Princes-ſtreet, Theobald's-row, North-ſtreet, Eaſt-ſtreet, Lamb's-conduit-ſtreet, Green-ſtreet, and part of Eagle-ſtreet, with ſeveral courts thereto belonging, all in the pariſh of St. Andrew's, Holborn,) for the maintenance of a maſter and uſher of the ſaid ſchool, for the marriage of poor maids, and the remainder to be diſtributed to the poor of ſaid town

town on St. Thomas's day, at the diſcretion of the body corporate. From all which the corporation did not receive as a ground-rent above 150 l. per ann. But as the leaſes expired in 1760, and new ones are granted, and are now granting, it is imagined this eſtate will bring in a monſtrous ſum annually, ſome ſay 8000 l. per ann. and anſwer every intention of the donor, and be the making of the ancient corporation of Bedford, if rightly and properly applied.

By ſome experiments lately made at Toulon, it appears that ſhips ſail much faſter by night than day, owing probably to the extraordinary humidity, and conſequently weight of the night air, and the extrordinary compactneſs which the ſails derive therefrom.

A monument erected to the memory of James Thomſon, author of the Seaſons, &c. was this day opened in Weſtminſter-Abbey. It is ſituated between Shakeſpeare's and Rowe's. There is a figure of Mr. Thomſon ſitting, who leans his left arm upon a pedeſtal, and holds a book with the cap of Liberty in his other hand. Upon the pedeſtal is carved a bas-relief of the Seaſons, to which a boy points, offering him a laurel crown as the reward of his genius. At the feet of the figure is a tragic maſk and ancient harp. The whole is ſupported by a projecting pedeſtal; and in a pannel is the following inſcription:

JAMES THOMSON,
Ætatis 48, Obiit 27 Aug. 1748.
Tutor'd by thee, ſweet Poetry exalts
Her voice to ages; and informs the page
With muſic, image, ſentiment, and thoughts,
Never to die!
This monument was erected in 1762.

The collection for the general hoſpital at Bath amounted to 165 l. 14 s. 10 d. 16th.

A fiſh, reſembling a whale, about 11 feet long, and thick in proportion, with 88 ivory teeth, and three fins, two near the head, and one in the middle of the back, came aſhore lately, about a league from Schevening in Holland. It weighed about 600 weight. It had the colour and nearly the taſte of ſalmon. When taken, it was followed by one of its young ones. On preſſing its ſides, there iſſued a kind of milk in great plenty. It was brought on ſhore alive; but died in a few hours.

There being reaſon to fear two poor perſons, who, within theſe few days, died ſuddenly at Iſlington, periſhed by deadly Nightſhade, the following caution, by doctor Hill, has been inſerted in the public papers.

This plant is now a quarter of a yard high, and has an aſpect ſo inviting, that one almoſt wonders nature gave it to a poiſon. It has invited many to boil it; and death was always in the pot. Ray mentions it growing in a ditch at the end of Goſwell-ſtreet, in the road to Iſlington. It has been thought loſt in that place; but I fear theſe unhappy perſons have found it.

Came on at Guildhall, a trial wherein a captain of a trading ſhip was plaintiff, and a lieutenant of a man of war defendant: the action was laid for 500 l. by the plaintiff, for impreſſing him out of his own ſhip, knowing him to be the captain, and confining him 48 hours on board a tender. The trial laſted near an hour, when the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 200 l. damages and coſts. 19th.

21ſt. At a meeting of the ſociety of polite arts, the premium of 50 guineas was given to Mr. Joſeph Nellekens, pupil of Mr. Scheemaker, for a marble bas-relief, the ſubject Timoclea, conducted before Alexander.

At the ſame time a diſcovery was providentially made, that the great beam which ſupports the ſociety's room was broken in two, and the walls of the room and the cupola conſiderably damaged, occaſioned, as ſuppoſed, by the foundation giving way. If the room had been full, the company would probably have been buried in the ruins.

And at a prior meeting were produced ſome ſpecimens of a new invention for the ladies, viz. painted gawſe. It is done with ſuch exactneſs, as to imitate all the various ſtitches of which Dreſden work is compoſed; and, at the ſame time, with ſuch ingenuity, as far to ſurpaſs, to the eye, the fineſt performance with the needle. The ſpecimens conſiſted of a cap, made up of a red ſilk caul, one piece framed and glazed, and a piece for a long apron. The ingenious inventreſs values the apron at two guineas, which was declared, by ſome judges there, to be worth, if of right Dreſden, fifty pounds.

The linen manufactury in Ireland, by the wiſe management of the truſtees, has this year been increaſed upwards of 80,000l. and it is thought it is capable of being increaſed ſtill farther, even to the extent of three millions yearly.

27th. Was held a chapter of the garter, when his majeſty inveſted his royal highneſs prince William with his late majeſty's blue ribbon, and the earl of Bute with the ribbon of the late duke of Portland.

At a general court at Chriſt's Hoſpital, the treaſurer reported his receipt of a legacy of 300 l. and of another contingent one of 500 pagodas, both given out of a fortune of 1200 l. only, by John Palmer, in grateful return for his education in that houſe, whence he was ſent to the Eaſt Indies in 1745.

The following melancholy accident lately happened at a lime-kiln in Dublin. The kiln not having fire in it for ſome time, produced a ſuffocating damp; and a man going to give it vent, was immediately ſtruck dead: another man ſeeing him fall, and not knowing the conſequence, went down to his aſſiſtance, and unfortunately ſhared the ſame fate; and three others, who happened to be by, endeavouring to ſave them, were all ſuffocated. A poor woman, wife to the laſt man that went down, over-reaching herſelf to the aſſiſtance of her huſband, was ſo much overcome, that had ſhe not been immediately brought into the air, and got proper remedies, ſhe would likewiſe have periſhed.

A butcher, at Wandſworth, lately walked 44 miles in 7 hours 57 minutes, for a wager.

28th. Prince Erneſt, third brother of the queen, and the count of Lippe-Buckebourg, arrived from Germany.

The right hon. George Grenville, Eſq; was appointed one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

The ſeſſions ended at the Old Baily, which proved a maiden one; nine received ſentence of tranſportation, three to be whipped, and one branded. At this ſeſſions a gentlewoman was tried for the ſuppoſed murder of her huſband, and after a

trial

trial of nine hours, honourably acquitted. The principal evidence againſt her was committed for perjury, and ſince convicted, but received his majeſty's pardon.

They have lately printed at the univerſity of Moſcow, Cornelius Nepos, in the original; which is, perhaps, the firſt claſſical book that ever came from a Ruſſian preſs.

His majeſty has granted to the widow and daughter of the late ingenious Thomas Simpſon, F. R. S. a handſome penſion for their joint and ſeparate lives.

Boſton, Feb. 15. Laſt week a ſurvey of the number of dwellings in this city, was taken by proper perſons, when, on cloſing the liſts, there appeared to be 2737.

They write from Naples, that Mr. Strange meets with all the honours and encouragements there, which his beſt friends could wiſh, and ſuch as he has already received in other parts of Italy. On his arrival at Naples, he applied, by the Britiſh envoy, for leave to make a drawing from a celebrated picture by Skedoni: but this method of application not proving ſucceſsful, Mr. Strange's works were ſhewed to the king's governor (prince St. Allicandre) and then liberty was immediately granted him, not only to make a drawing from that picture, but from as many others of the famous Parma collection as he ſhould chooſe; and an apartment in the palace was ordered to be fitted up for him directly, with every accommodation.

29th. The king was pleaſed to appoint the right hon. John earl of Bute, firſt lord of the Treaſury.

The Juſticiary Court, or Court of Aſſize, was opened at Aberdeen, when not one priſoner appeared to be tried. Upon enquiry, it was found, that the goals within the three ſhires of Aberdeen, Bamf, and Kincardine, were empty, having no one in them either for crime or debt.

A comet was diſcovered from the marine obſervatory in France. It appeared in the conſtellation of Camelopardalus, about 15 deg. from the pole.

A water-quake was felt at Bergen in Norway, the ſea ebbing and flowing preternaturally with great violence. On the 12th of December an earthquake was felt at Oby in Siberia, a phenomenon that was never known to happen there before.

Extract of a letter from Rome.

"The late pope Benedict XIV. and cardinal Paſſionel firſt ſet on foot the very uſeful project of printing an exact and methodical catalogue of all the manuſcripts in the Vatican library; the execution of which has been committed to the care of the learned Meſſieurs Aſſemani. The whole work will be diſtributed into three parts, each of which will take up ſeveral volumes. In the firſt will appear the Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldean or Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, Abiſſinian, Perſian, Turkiſh, Armenian, and other original languages. The ſecond is to be appropriated to the Greek manuſcripts. The third will contain the Latin, Italian, French, and other occidental languages. Three volumes of this grand work have already been publiſhed: They contain an hiſtorical and critical ſurvey of the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Chaldean manuſcripts. Before the firſt volume there is a general preface, ſetting forth the occaſion of the work, and the method fixed upon for carrying it on; the origin, progreſs, and increaſe of the Vati-

can library; and, finally, a chronological list of the librarians, with the present form of its administration.

The printer gives notice, that the following volumes will forthwith be printed, with the same care, and in the like form as those published, viz. in folio, on the large paper, called *alla reale*. The price of each volume will continue the same to subscribers, namely, four Roman crowns; and the bookseller, Funsto Amideo, will deliver them upon producing the receipts. Non-subscribers must pay five crowns a volume. And,

At Madrid, is lately published, by the authority and at the expence of his Catholic majesty, in grand folio, the first volume of all the Arabic manuscripts (many of whose authors were inhabitants of Spain) in the library of the Escurial; with some account of each, by Michael Casiri, a Syro-Maronite priest, doctor in theology, and the king's librarian, and interpreter of the oriental languages. The whole collection is said to amount to two thousand.

30th. His royal highness the duke of York hoisted his flag on board the princess Amelia, at Spithead, and the next day returned to London.

Mrs. Cole, wife of a carpenter in Spital-fields, was lately delivered of three boys.

Died lately. The only son of the late Andrew Highstreet, of Westminster, Esq; by whose decease, six or 700 l. per. annum, comes to the Westminster-infirmary, and St. Luke's hospital.

Mrs. Barrow, of Liverpool, of a ropsy, for which she had been tapped 48 times, and had 200 gallons of water taken from her in three years.

Mrs. Knights, of Norwich, aged 100.

A man and woman, of Limoges, in France, the former aged 111, and the latter 103.

Agnes Christie, of Aberdeenshire, aged 104.

A peasant, in the diocese of Evreux, in France, aged 104.

A man at Madrid, aged above 106.

J U N E.

2d. His majesty went to the House of Peers, and after giving the royal assent to the following bills, made a most gracious speech from the throne; and both houses were then prorogued to the 16th of July.

The bill to settle and secure a certain annuity, for the use of Arthur Onslow, Esq; late speaker of House of Commons.

—— to defray the charge of the militia when unembodied, and cloathing the militia non-unembodied.

—— to naturalize such foreign Protestants as have served, or may hereafter serve, as officers or engineers in America.

—— to prevent thefts and robberies on the river Thames, by persons in boats, commonly called bumb-boats.

—— to widen the north-east avenue leading to London-bridge.

—— to make perpetual an act for the better regulation and government of seamen in the merchants service.

—— for granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the sinking fund.

—— for the better payment of the judges salaries.

—— for paving, cleansing, and lighting the streets and lanes of Westminster.

Bill

Bill for veſting certain meſſuages, &c. on the ſea-coaſt, in the county of Kent, Suſſex, and Southampton.

—— for enlarging the harbour of Liverpool.

—— for the enrolment of deeds and wills made by Papiſts, and for the relief of Proteſtant purchaſers.

—— for the more eaſy and ſpeedy recovery of ſmall debts within the town and county of Kingſton upon Hull.

—— for importing ſalt from Europe, into the colony of Nova Scotia in America.

—— for repairing the harbour of Whitehaven, town and county, for regulating the carmen there, and for ſupplying the ſame with water.

And to ſeveral other public and private bills.

At the auction at Sir Harry Parker's, at Talton, in Worceſterſhire, the Seaſons, by Titian, ſold for 220l. For this painting 500l. had been ſome time ſince refuſed. At the ſame ſale, ſome of old Hemſkirk's pieces were ſold for conſiderable ſums.

4th. Being his majeſty's birth day, who then entered into the 25th year of his age, the ſame was obſerved with the uſual demonſtrations of joy. In the morning the famous new bells at Bow Church, the fineſt in England, were rung for the firſt time. The weight of theſe bells is as follows:

Firſt bell, eight hundred, 3-4ths and 7lb.

2d. Nine hundred, and 2lb.

3d. Ten hundred, 1-4th, and 4lb.

4th. Twelve hundred and 7lb.

5th. Thirteen hundred and 24lb.

6th. Seventeen hundred and 11lb.

7th. Twenty hundred and half, and 26lb.

8th. Twenty-four hnndred and half, and 5lb.

9th. Thirty-four hundred and half, and 6lb.

10th. Fifty-three hundred, 22lb.

There has been lately found in a vault near Caſan, the buſt of the widow of Julius Cæſar, extremely well executed. This ſerves to ſhew that the kingdom of Caſan was once under the dominion of the Romans.

6th. Died. The right hon. the lord Anſon, firſt lord of the Admiralty, &c.

On the 2d of May laſt, a whirlwind happened on Port Royal Iſland in South Carolina, of the ſame nature as the great ſtorm which did ſo much damage laſt year at Charles Town. This phænomenon was ſeen in the form of a column, 400 yards diameter; it had a circular whirling motion, and proceeded with great violence from the N. W. to the S. E. It tore up trees, and carried away houſes and bridges: it forced the water in Broad river out of its channel, and threw it up to a great height. [See our laſt vol. page 93.]

8th. A cauſe was tried at Guildhall before the right hon. lord chief juſtice Mansfield, wherein Mr. Iſaac Renoux was plaintiff, and Mr. Ferres, maſter of Jonathan's coffee-houſe, defendant, for an aſſault, by puſhing the plaintiff out of his houſe. It being proved upon trial, that that houſe had been a market (time out of mind) for buying and ſelling government ſecurities, the jury brought in their verdict for the plaintiff, with one ſhilling damage.

11th. A meteor was ſeen at Sydenham reſembling a ball of fire, which took its direction towards the ſouth, where meeting with a dark black cloud, it immediately

diately burſt with a noiſe like thunder, and diſperſed into innumerable little ſtars with which the whole atmoſphere was perfectly illuminated.

16th. One hundred guineas was paid Mr. Read by the ſociety of arts for the firſt premium in ſculpture.

A remarkable cauſe came on in the court of King's-bench, upon indictments againſt an eminent builder and a maſter bricklayer, employed by him, for a nuiſance in leaving a heap of rubbiſh in the ſtreet, laſt October, no watch or light being ſet up in order to prevent accidents; the conſequence of which was, that a coach with ſome ladies and children in it was overturned, moſt of whom were greatly bruiſed, but one of the ladies received ſo much hurt, that ſhe never ſpoke again, and her death (as was fully proved) which happened in two or three days after, was intirely owing to this accident. The builder alledged, that he committed the care of removing this rubbiſh to the bricklayer, whoſe proper province it was to ſee it done; and the bricklayer laid the blame on the carter. But the builder was conſidered as culpable, it being his buſineſs not only to take care to employ proper people under him, but alſo to ſee that they do their duty, and he was therefore fined 100l. which he paid in court; and the bricklayer's ſentence was twelve months impriſonment in the King's-bench.

17th. At a court of common council, it was ordered that Lady-fair, in the borough of Southwark, ſhall not be held for the future, and that ſhews, interludes and other unlawful paſtimes, ſhall not be ſuffered at Bartholomew-fair.

19th. The king was this day pleaſed to conſtitute and appoint George Dunk, earl of Halifax, firſt lord of the admiralty.

His royal highneſs the duke of York having hoiſted his flag on board the princeſs Amelia, at Spithead, went on board, and the whole fleet under Sir Edward Hawke, of ſeven ſhips of the line and two frigates, fell down to St. Helen's. 23d.

There is now blowing at the earl of Portſmouth's, at Billingbea near Reading, two narrow-leaved American aloes, with a number of flowers.

An appeal came on lately before the court of delegates, between the dean and chapter of Weſtminſter, and the pariſhioners of St. Margaret's, concerning the painted window in the church; the bill was ordered to be diſmiſſed, and each to pay their own coſt.

At the ſale, at St. Paul's coffee-houſe, of Mr. Gill's collection of coins, medals, and curioſities, the following lots ſold as under:

	£		
1 Penny of Henry I.	2	2	0
1 ditto of Edward I.	1	9	0
1 Groat of Henry VIII.	1	2	0
1 Crown, half-crown, ſhilling, and ſixpence Q. Elizabeth	3	18	0
1 Half-crown and three pence of Charles I.	2	15	0
A gold ring with an ancient runic inſcription.	15	0	0

A letter upon a very ſingular ſubject has been lately printed at Lyons, and reprinted at Amſterdam; this ſubject is, the "Advantages and origin of the gaiety that prevails among the French." This gaiety, indeed, is a peculiarity in their national character; and, what is extremely remarkable, nothing can overcome it; nothing can deject that light and airy people. Let them

them be loaded with taxes, let their trade be ruined, their fleets ſunk, their armies defeated; all this makes little alteration in their demeanour. They don't ſing a ſong the leſs, or look a whit the graver on this account. Nay more, a Frenchman is immediately comforted under the loſs of a town, a province, or a battle, if he be allowed to level an epigram at the head of a miniſter or general to whoſe charge theſe misfortunes are laid. A joke diſpels the gloom of affliction, and a *bon mot* diffuſes chearfulneſs through a ſad heart. A jack pudding in a French ſhip is the beſt preſervative againſt the ſcurvy, and it is well known, that when the famous Louvois heard of a ſpirit of deſertion having got into a ſtrong garriſon, he always ſent a Merry-Andrew to retain the ſoldiers in their duty. The author of the letter now before us imputes the French gaiety to the following cauſes: 1ſt. To their climate. 2dly. To the nature of their government, which exempts them from all influence or ſhare in public affairs, the tranſacting of which renders men naturally grave and ſerious. 3dly. To that vanity, which gives the French a fond and pleaſing notion of their ſuperiority over all other nations. And, 4thly. To their ſociability.

A moor at Soleſberry in Buckinghamſhire; another great one near Pately-bridge, in Yorkſhire; the high moors near Sheffield; and the moor or heath on Bloreme-hill in Monmouthſhire, are all on fire; that of Bloreme-hill near ſix feet deep, and thoſe near Sheffield for thirty miles together in ſome places; owing, it is probable, conſidering in how many and diſtant places the fire broke out, not to malice or careleſsneſs, but to the extraordinary diſpoſition of the peat to kindle by inflammable exhalations, through the late exceſſive heat and dryneſs of the weather.

An elm-tree of an uncommon ſize, in the cloſe at Saliſbury, giving a moſt violent craſh, fell down ſo ſuddenly as to alarm many hundreds who were preſent, it being the fair time. Twelve or fourteen perſons were beat down by the boughs; a boy had eight ribs and back broke, and died in about an hour, two men had each a leg broke, and much more miſchief was done.

In Scotland, the woods of Rothmurcus, and the fine foreſts of Glenmere and Glenfiddick, have been in great great danger from the ſame cauſe. The woods of Abernethy have ſuffered prodigiouſly, and the neighbouring inhabitants have been employed night and day in diverting the courſe of the flames. Several woods in North America are ſaid to have ſhared the ſame fate, and from the ſame cauſe.

A curious diſſertation has lately appeared in Holland, to recommend ſugar, inſtead of ſalt, for preſerving animal as well as vegetable proviſions, as it preſerves the virtues and flavour in the latter, as much as ſalt deſtroys both in the former.

Liverpoole, June 18. Ann the daughter of Jonathan Walſh, of Harrowgate, in Yorkſhire, aged 12 years, laſt Chriſtmas was a twelvemonth, intirely loſt her appetite; ſhe has not eat of any kind of ſolid victuals ſince that time; her ſupport is nothing but a pint of wine and water, which ſerves her three days; notwithſtanding ſo ſmall a quantity, ſhe enjoys a good ſtate of health, and looks as well as ever.

A melancholy account was received from New York of the loſs of a cartel-ſhip 26th.

that

that ſailed from thence in November, and was ſoon after caſt away, and out of 120 ſouls on board, ſix only were ſaved, among whom were the captain, and M. St. Luke; the latter loſt a brother, two ſons, two nephews, and ſeveral other relations and friends. There were on board 14 officers, 10 ladies, and 14 young gentlemen of faſhion, and ſcarce a perſon in New York but has loſt a relation or friend.

Died lately. Mr. Thomas Barker, of Bethnal-green, aged 101.

JULY.

5th. Came on at Guildhall the grand cauſe (which has been ſo often argued, and ſo long depending) between the city and diſſenters, in regard to the ſerving the office of ſheriff, before lord chief baron Parker, Mr. juſtice Foſter, Mr. juſtice Wilmot, and Mr. juſtice Bathurſt; when, after ſeveral learned pleadings, the judges were all of opinion, that the diſſenters were not liable to ſerve the ſaid office, &c. But the city has ſince appealed from this decree to the houſe of Lords.

Laſt week Dr. Wilſon's prize, at Oxford, of ten guineas, for the beſt eſſay in Engliſh, on the advantages of a ſafe, honourable, and laſting peace, was adjudged to Mr. Elliſon, probationer fellow of Merton college.

And the claſſical prizes at Cambridge of 15 guineas each, given annually by the hon. Mr. Finch, and the hon Mr. Towſhend, were adjudged to Mr. Roſenhagen, of St. John's college; and to Mr. Eyre, of Peter-houſe, ſenior bachelors. And to Mr. Maddiſon, of Sidney, and to Mr. Zouch, of Trinity college, middle bachelors.

6th. In the Gazette of this day is the following intelligence from the Hague:

"The Hermione, a Spaniſh regiſter ſhip, which left Lima the 6th of January, bound for Cadiz, was taken the 21ſt of May off Cape St. Vincent, by three Engliſh frigates, and carried into Gibraltar. Her cargo is ſaid to conſiſt of near twelve millions of money regiſtered, and the unregiſtered to be likewiſe very conſiderable, beſides 2000 ſerons of cocoa, and a great deal of other valuable merchandize."

An account of her cargo from other papers.

5243 arobes of cocoa.
1193 quitals of tin.
2,276,715 dollars in ſilver and gold coined.
25 arobes af Alpaca wool.
6 quintals of Virginia wool.

Two boxes with letters, which were thrown overboard from the Hermione, have been taken up at ſea near Faro in Portugal.

7th. A committee of the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, made an experiment of an engine invented by a Swiſs for rooting up trees. The engine anſwered the intentions, but broke in the operation. It is a very ſimple machine, and capable of great improvements.

8th. Three Cherokee chiefs, lately arrived from South Carolina in order to ſettle a laſting peace with the Engliſh, had their firſt audience of his majeſty. The head chief, called Outacite or Mankiller, on account of his many gallant actions, was introduced by L. Eglington, and conducted by Sir Clement Cotterell, maſter of the ceremonies. They were upwards of an hour and a half with his majeſty, who received them with great good-

neſs, and they behaved in his preſence with remarkable decency and mildneſs. The man who aſſiſted as interpreter on this occaſion, inſtead of one who ſet out with them, but died on his paſſage, was ſo confuſed that the king could aſk but few queſtions.

Theſe chiefs are well made men, near ſix foot high, their faces and necks coarſely painted of a copper colour, and they ſeem to have no hair on their heads. They came over in the dreſs of their country, conſiſting of a ſhirt, trowzers, and mantle, their heads covered with ſkull caps and adorned with ſhells, feathers, ear-rings and other trifling ornaments. On their arrival in London they were conducted to a houſe taken for them in Suffolk-ſtreet, and habited more in the Engliſh manner. When introduced to his majeſty, the head chief wore a blue mantle covered with lace, and had his head richly ornamented. On his breaſt hung a ſilver gorget with his majeſty's arms engraved. The two other chiefs were in ſcarlet richly adorned with gold lace, and gorgets of plate on their breaſts.

During their ſtay in England, of about two months, they were invited to the tables of ſeveral of the nobility, and were ſhewn by a gentleman, appointed for that purpoſe, the tower, the camps, and every thing elſe that could ſerve to inſpire them with proper ideas of the power and grandeur of the nation; but it is hard to ſay what impreſſion theſe ſights made on them, as they had no other way of communicating their ſentiments but by their geſtures. They were likewiſe conducted every day to one or another of the places of amuſement, in and about London, where they conſtantly drew after them innumerable crowds of ſpectators, to the no ſmall emolument of the owners of theſe places, ſome of whom raiſed their prices to make the moſt of ſuch unuſual gueſts. Here they behaved in general with great familiarity, ſhaking hands very freely with all thoſe who thought proper to accept that honour. They carried home with them articles of peace between his majeſty and their nation, with a handſome preſent of warlike inſtruments, and ſuch other things as they ſeemed to place the greateſt value on.

A dew of honey fell in the neighbourhood of Rathiermuc in Ireland, which loaded the trees and long graſs in ſuch a manner, that quantities of it were ſaved by ſcoops, a method uſed of ſaving water in ſome parts of the Weſt Indies. [Something of this ſort, but not in any quantity, may, at this time, be obſerved on the leaves or oaks, but whether an exudation, or a dew, we do not pretend to determine.] 9th.

A young gentleman near Ormond-ſtreet ſhot a ſervant maid of the family, on her refuſing to marry him, in a very dangerous manner. However, ſhe ſoon recovered; and on his being tried for it, as an aſſault, gave ſuch evidence, as made it appear he was out of his ſenſes; upon which he was committed to a mad-houſe.

Was opened in Weſtminſter Abbey near the Poets Corner, a monument in memory of the late George Frederick Handel, Eſq; He is repreſented pointing to the back of the monument, where David is playing on the 10th.

the harp. In Mr. Handel's right hand is a pen, writing part of the Meſſiah,

" I know that my redeemer liveth, &c." and the following inſcription,

GEORGE FREDERICK HANDEL, Eſq;
Born February 23, 1684,
Died April 14, 1759.

12th. At lord Peterborough's, at Parſon's Green, juſt as the gardeners had left work to go to dinner, a whirlwind came, and took up ſeven of the bell-glaſſes into the air above twenty feet: one of them went over the garden wall into the King's Road, and had like to have fell on a man's head going along; three others were blown upon the hot-houſe, and broke a great quantity of the lights; the houſe was about twenty yards diſtance: and what is very remarkable, there were two rows of glaſſes, and the ſeven were the firſt row that was blown up, and in the other row there was not one ſtirred.

A curious collection of above 30,000 tracts with ſome manuſcripts, formerly collected and bound up in volumes for the uſe of king Charles I. but which fell into private hands, and for many years paſt have been in the poſſeſſion of a lady, were lately purchaſed by order of his majeſty, and preſented to the truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum.

14th. The harbour of Rye in Suſſex was opened, purſuant to an act of parliament paſſed the laſt ſeſſions, by letting the ſea and tides into the new cut up to Winchelſea wall, where veſſels of 300 tons burthen, and upwards, can ride with the greateſt ſafety.

A moſt beautiful monument, deſigned by Mr. Stuart, and executed by Mr. Scheemakers, to the memory of the late gallant lord Howe, was opened in Weſtminſter Abbey. On the top is a trophy of arms in white marble; and on a flat pyramid of black marble, highly poliſhed, are his lordſhip's arms, coronet, and creſt: in white marble, on the top of the monument, ſits a beautiful figure of a woman in a melancholy poſition, inimitably well executed, repreſenting the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, and underneath the following inſcription:

" The province of Maſſachuſet's bay, in New England, by an order of the great and general court, bearing date Feb. 1. 1759, cauſed this monument to be erected to the memory of George Auguſtus, lord viſcount Howe, brigadier-general of his majeſty's forces in America, who was ſlain July 6, 1758, on his march to Ticonderoga in the 34th year of his age, in teſtimony of the ſenſe they had of his ſervices and military virtues, and of the affection their officers and ſoldiers bore to his command.

He lived reſpected and beloved; the public regretted his loſs; to his family it is irreparable."

15th. Was laid before the governors of the city of London lying-in hoſpital for married women, in Alderſgate-ſtreet, a ſtate of the hoſpital, by which it appeared, that from the inſtitution of it to that day, there had been 3655 women delivered in the hoſpital, 45 of whom had twins, and one was delivered of three children: 3702 children were born; males 1896, females 1806: that there had been received from the inſtitution to the 14th inſtant 12,240 l. 5 s. 8 d. and expended to the ſame day 9,749 l. 14 s. all the tradeſmens bills being paid up to Midſummer laſt.

A cen-

A centinel on duty at Chatham was ſtruck with lightning, the upper-leather of the ſhoe on his left foot was ſhatter'd, and his foot wounded, a hole was made through the blade of his ſword, and about two inches of the edge melted, the hilt was melted and ſoldered to his bayonet, as was one of the locks of his muſket to the iron ramrod, his face was ſcorched, and he lay an hour ſpeechleſs, but is ſince recovered.

The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when eight perſons received ſentence of death; John Placket, for robbing, wounding, and leaving for dead Mr. Faye, a Daniſh gentleman, whom he had decoyed late at night into Iſlington fields, on a pretence of conducting him to his lodgings near the Tower; James Hardy and Richard Mitchell for a highway robbery; two gentlemen and a ſervant of theirs for raviſhing a woman whom one of them picked up in the Park, and carried to his lodgings; and Sarah Metyard, and Sarah Morgan Metyard her daughter, for wilfully and maliciouſly murdering Anne Nailor, a poor pariſh girl, her apprentice, about four years ſince, by beating, bruiſing, and tying her up to a door in a garret, and with-holding from her victuals, and other neceſſaries, and thereby ſtarving her to death. The trial laſted ſeven hours, and the jury, without going out of court, brought them in both guilty. The reader will find an account of this horrid affair at the end of the chronicle. Placket, Hardy, and the two Metyards ſuffered according to their ſentence, the other four capitally convicted have been tranſported, or ſent to ſerve as ſoldiers in Jamaica.

16th. The ſociety of arts paid Mr. Boult of Staines, 20 l. for the firſt premium of the four wheeled machine for the conveyance of fiſh; and 14 l. for the firſt premium of the two-wheeled machine for the ſame purpoſe.

21ſt. James Coſtard tried for killing his mother, by firing a gun at her, and Suſannah Harris, for the murder of her baſtard child, were both found guilty and executed purſuant to their ſentence at the aſſizes at Oxford, the day before. Coſtard ſaid, he was not in his ſenſes when he committed the fact; but it appeared that his frenzy was only the effect of drunkenneſs.

25th. A fire broke out at the Bull-head inn in Wareham, which, in a few hours, reduced near three parts of that town to aſhes. The meeting-houſe, and Mr. Kain's at the poſt-office, are burned; but neither of the churches nor the town-hall. The corporation of Blandford immediately ſent to Wareham two cart loads of proviſions, and two more were likewiſe ſent from Pool.

An ingenious artiſt has now in his poſſeſſion the identical mourning ring which king Charles II. wore in memory of the murder of his father, whoſe picture is on the top inimitably done in enamel, and, in a ſocket under it, ſome of that monarch's real hair. Within ſide is engraved on the gold as under,

Cha. rex
Remem—Obiit—ber
30 *Jan.* 1648.

Remember was the laſt word that king Charles ſpoke to biſhop Juxon before his martyrdom. And likewiſe a tooth-pick caſe curiouſly ornamented with ſilver, made of the piece of the oak which king Charles

II.

II. cut from the tree while ſecreted there from the purſuit of his enemies; on the top is engraved a crown, and the words *Royal Oak*. His majeſty wore it in his pocket for 20 years. They will ſhortly be preſented to the univerſity of Cambridge.

The king has granted a penſion of 300l. per ann. to Mr. Samuel Johnſon, a gentleman well known in the literary world.

The right honourable the earl Temple has lately dedicated a moſt magnificent building at Stowe, of the Ionic order, CONCORDIÆ ET VICTORIÆ.

In the pediment of the portico is a fine alto relievo, repreſenting the four quarters of the world bringing gifts to Britain. In the portico, or anti-temple, two medallions, *Concordia fœderatorum, concordia civium.* Over the door, *Quo tempore ſalus eorum in ultimas Anguſtias deducta nullum ambitioni locum relinquebat.* In the inner temple, in a niche facing the entrance, the ſtatue of BRITANNIA; over which in a tablet *Candidis autem animis voluptatum præbuerint in conſpicuo poſita, quæ cuique magnifica merito contigerunt.* On the walls, fourteen medallions, repreſenting the taking of Quebec, Martinico, &c. Louiſbourg, Guadaloupe, &c. Montreal, &c. Pondicherry, &c. Naval victory off Belleiſle, naval victory off Lagos, Crevelt and Minden, Fellinghauſen, Senegal and Goree, Niagara and Crown-point, Beau Sejour and Fort du Queſne, Cherburg and Belleiſle. On a hill at a diſtance, in a diagonal line, runs an obeliſk above an hundred feet, inſcribed,

To MAJOR-GENERAL WOLFE.
Oſtendunt Terris hunc tantum Fata.

Mr. Meerman, ſyndic of the city of Rotterdam, who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his aſſiduous enquiries into the origin of the art of Printing, has now turned his views to the diſcovery of the time in which the paper we now uſe was firſt employed, and which he ſuppoſes was between the years 1270 and 1302; but to aſcertain this, he promiſes a premium of 25 ducats to the perſon who ſhall produce the earlieſt public inſtrument written on paper made of rags.

Died lately. Mr. Stephens, at Moulſey, Surry, aged 102.

AUGUST.

This morning, at half an hour paſt ſeven, the queen was happily delivered of a prince. Her royal highneſs the princeſs dowager of Wales, ſeveral lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council, and the ladies of her majeſty's bed-chamber, being preſent. 12th.

This great and important news was immediately made known to the town, by the firing of the Tower guns; and the privy council being aſſembled as ſoon as poſſible thereupon, it was ordered, that a form of thankſgiving, for the queen's ſafe delivery of a prince, ſhould be prepared by his grace the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to be uſed within the bills of mortality on Sunday next, and throughout the king's dominions the Sunday after the reſpective miniſters ſhall receive the ſame. It was likewiſe ordered, that in every part of the public ſervice where the royal family is appointed to be particularly prayed for, the following form ſhall be obſerved: "Our gracious queen Charlotte, his royal highneſs

highneſs the prince, her royal highneſs the princeſs dowager of Wales, and all the royal family."

The queen was brought to-bed at 24 minutes after ſeven, after being in labour ſomewhat above two hours. Her majeſty found herſelf not well at two o'clock, and about three notice was ſent to the princeſs of Wales, that the queen was not well; upon which, her royal highneſs haſtened to St. James's, and was there by four o'clock. About five, orders were ſent to the great officers of ſtate to attend, and there were preſent the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the duke of Devonſhire, the duke of Rutland, the lords Hardwicke, Huntingdon, Talbot, Halifax, Bute, Maſham, and Cantalupe, and all the ladies of the bed-chamber, and the maids of honour. The queen was delivered by Mrs. Draper: Dr. Hunter was in waiting, in caſe of his help being wanted. The archbiſhop was in the room; and the lords in a room adjoining, with a door open into the queen's apartment. The perſon that waited on the king with the news of her majeſty's being delivered of a prince, received a preſent of a 500l. bank bill.

Juſt after her majeſty was ſafely in her bed, the waggons with the treaſure of the Hermione entered St. James's-ſtreet: on which his majeſty and the nobility went to the windows over the palace gate to ſee them, and joined their acclamations on two ſuch joyful occaſions. From hence the proceſſion proceeded to the Tower in the following order.

A company of light horſe attended with kettle drums, French horns, trumpets, and hautboys.

A covered waggon decorated with an Engliſh jack, and a Spaniſh flag underneath, hanging behind the waggon.

Two more covered waggons.

Seven waggons uncovered.

And laſtly, a covered waggon, decorated with an Engliſh jack, and a Spaniſh flag.

In the whole twenty waggons.

The proceſſion was concluded with an officer on horſeback, carrying an Engliſh enſign, attended by another holding a drawn cutlaſs.

The eſcort to each waggon conſiſted of four marines, with their bayonets fixed.

The whole cavalcade was ſaluted by the people with acclamations of joy.

On firſt opening ſome of the cheſts at the Bank, they were agreeably ſurprized to find a bag full of gold inſtead of ſilver, in one of them; ſeveral were afterwards found of the ſame kind, which made a very conſiderable difference to the captors. A vaſt deal of private property has likewiſe been diſcovered. In ſhort, this is, probably, the richeſt prize ever brought into England, every private man's ſhare amounting to about 900l. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that this Hermione is the very ſhip that detained the Antigallican and her prize in Cadiz Bay at the beginning of the French war.

The following anthem, compoſed by Dr. Nares was performed before his majeſty at the chapel royal, in thankſgiving for her majeſty's ſafe delivery of a prince.

"O clap your hands together, all ye people.

O ſing with the voice of melody.

O ſing praiſes, ſing praiſes unto our God! O ſing praiſes unto our king.

Lo, children, and the fruit of the womb, are an heritage and gift that cometh of the Lord.

Like as the arrows in the hand of a giant, even ſo are the young children.

Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them. He ſhall not be aſhamed when he ſpeaketh with his enemies in the gate.

Lo, thus ſhall the man be bleſſed that feareth the Lord."

Hallelujah."

On the ſeventeenth the king was pleaſed to order letters patent to paſs under the great ſeal of Great Britain, for creating his royal highneſs the prince of Great Britain (electoral prince of Brunſwick-Lunenburg, duke of Cornwall and Rothſay, earl of Carrick, baron of Renfrew, lord of the Iſles, and great ſteward of Scotland) prince of Wales, and earl of Cheſter. And

On the 8th of September the ceremony of the chriſtening his royal highneſs was performed in the great council chamber of his majeſty's palace, by his grace the archbiſhop of Canterbury. His royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, his moſt ſerene highneſs the reigning duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, (repreſented by the duke of Devonſhire, lord chamberlain of his majeſty's houſhold) being godfathers; and her royal highneſs the princeſs dowager of Wales being godmother. The young prince was named George Auguſtus Frederick.

Attendants on his royal highneſs the prince of Wales.

Governeſs, lady Charlotte Finch.
Deputy governeſs.
Mrs. Henrietta Coultſworth.
Wet nurſe, Mrs. Scott.
Dry nurſe, Mrs. Chapman.
Neceſſary women, Mrs. Dodſon,
Rockers, Jane Simpſan, and,
Catharine Johnſon.

The right honourable the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, the two univerſities, &c. preſented addreſſes to his majeſty on this joyful occaſion: that of the City of London, was as follows.

Moſt gracious ſovereign,

"We your majeſty's ever dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of your city of London, in common council aſſembled, humbly beg leave to embrace this earlieſt opportunity of congratulating your majeſty upon the ſafe and happy delivery of the queen, and the auſpicious birth of a prince.

So important an event, and upon a day ever ſacred to liberty, and theſe kingdoms, fills us with the moſt grateful ſentiments of the divine goodneſs, that has thus early crowned your majeſty's domeſtic happineſs, and opened to your people the agreeable proſpect of permanence and ſtability to the bleſſings they derive from the wiſdom and ſteadineſs of your majeſty's victorious reign.

May the ſame gracious providence ſoon reſtore your majeſty's moſt amiable and beloved conſort, and give perfect health, and length of days, to the royal infant.

Long, very long, may your majeſty live, the guardian and protector,

tor, the ornament and delight, of Great Britain; and, by your inſtructions and example, form the mind of your royal ſon, to the government of a free, brave, and generous people: and, in the fulneſs of time, may that ſon ſucceed to the virtues, as well as to the throne, of his royal father; and preſerve, for a long ſucceſſion of years, the glory, happineſs, and proſperity of his country."

To which addreſs his majeſty was pleaſed to return the following moſt gracious anſwer:

I receive, with the greateſt pleaſure, theſe very affectionate expreſſions of your duty and attachment to me, and to my family; and thank you for your congratulations upon an event ſo intereſting to me, and to the future welfare of my people, with which my own happineſs, upon this and every other occaſion, is inſeparably connected. The city of London may always depend upon my conſtant favour and protection.

Some time ago a farmer at Chilmark in Wilts, having laid ſome pieces of bread and butter in the pantry, with arſenic ſpread upon them for the deſtruction of rats, poiſoned two of his men, who coming in from labour, eat the bread and butter, and expired in great agonies.—A neceſſary caution to prevent ſuch practices.

Worceſter, Aug. 11. A dreadful accident has juſt now happened at Mr. Rufford's, by the blowing up of ſome gunpowder brought from London by his waggon, by which his warehouſe was entirely deſtroyed, and prodigious damage was done to his dwelling houſe, and to other houſes adjoining and oppoſite to it. Several perſons who were going along the ſtreet at the time, were thrown down and terribly burnt, ſix of whom were ſent to the infirmary, where two of them have ſince died. The quantity of powder blown up, it is ſaid, was near 300 wt. the exploſion of which was heard ſeveral miles off.

At the anniverſary feaſt of St. Luke's hoſpital 2661. was collected for that charity. 12th.

According to the gaolers kalendars throughout England, only 22 perſons have received ſentence of death, four of whom, for murder, have been executed.

Was held a board of longitude at the Admiralty, at which a great number of perſons of diſtinction were preſent, when 500 l. was ordered to be given to Mr. Irwin for his invention of a marine chair, with which ſome farther experiments are ordered to be made. Mr. Harriſon and ſon attended likewiſe, and laid before the board the improvements made in their time-piece, and the obſervations made in a late voyage to the Weſt Indies, and received 1500 l. 17th.

In a piece lately publiſhed by Mr. Hanway, entitled, *Serious Conſiderations on the ſalutary Deſign of the Act of Parliament, for a regular, uniform Regiſter of the pariſh poor infants*, there is the following calculation, by which not only the uſefulneſs of the regulations propoſed by the ſaid act, but likewiſe of the Foundling Hoſpital, ſeems to be fully proved.

"The precautions intended by this bill, granting ſome pariſhes to

have done their duty, may, I think, ſave annually to the ſtate, on a low computation, 500 ſubjects. I ſuppoſe the number of infants under 12 to 18 months old, being ſuch as are in the moſt imminent danger of their lives, to be near 1500: that, upon the whole, a very ſmall proportion of theſe has, for time immemorial, been preſerved: that taking into the account, all contingencies, 1 in 3 may be eaſily kept alive: and, I conclude, that ſome pariſhes will hereafter preſerve 1 in 2, or 3 in 5. Notwithſtanding the moral impoſſibility of finding proper nurſes for 4000 infants, annually crowded, in the wildeſt manner, upon the Foundling Hoſpital, the managers of that hoſpital have preſerved 1 in 3, paſt the dangerous part of life."

There is in Berlin, and in every great town in the Pruſſian dominions, a certain edifice, properly furniſhed and properly attended, to which any young woman, who has the misfortune of being with child, may repair, before her ſhame becomes public. The utmoſt ſecrecy is preſerved; ſhe is treated with all poſſible care and indulgence; and a month after her lying-in diſcharged, with 50 crowns in her pocket, if ſhe has had a ſon; and 10 crowns if ſhe has had a daughter. By this means the murder of baſtard children is effectually prevented, by removing every temptation to it. The children are preſerved to the ſtate, and ſuch children only as are proper objects of its care. The unhappy women are covered from ſhame, and return again into ſociety without ſcandal. All this is ſo far from encouraging proſtitution, that it has the very contrary effect; for every ſhameleſs common woman is ſeverely puniſhed; and thoſe only that are unhappily ſeduced receive the benefit of this benevolent charity.—An inſtitution of the like kind is to be met with in the city of Copenhagen.

This day died the right hon. Lady Mary Wortley Montague, mother of the counteſs of Bute: ſhe was daughter of the firſt duke of Kingſton, and was the introducer of inoculation for the ſmall-pox, into this kingdom, the uſefulneſs of which method, and conſequently the obligations of the nation to her ladyſhip, will appear by turning to page 78. 21ſt.

About ten at night a moſt dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightening began at London, which greatly alarmed the inhabitants; about eleven it was accompanied by a heavy rain, which, with ſome intermiſſion, continued till near four the next morning. The flaſhes of lightening were particularly pale: theſe flaſhes were very frequent, and ſometimes there were ſix or ſeven of them ſucceſſively, almoſt without intermiſſion. They caſt ſuch a light, that objects in the adjacent parts of this metropolis were plainly diſtinguiſhed at two or three miles diſtance. 24th.

His royal highneſs the duke of York arrived in town from Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, which is returned to England. 25th.

The Britiſh Herring Fiſhery off Shetland, has been very ſucceſsful this ſeaſon under Mr. George Tymewell, the ſuperintendant; the Britiſh jaggers having got the firſt market both at Hamburgh and Bremen, though

though the Dutch employed (as uſual) a great number of veſſels on the above fiſhery, and the Engliſh but few.

At the aſſizes at Wincheſter, 5 criminals received ſentence of death; at Worceſter 1, for the murder of his daughter; at Norwich 1; at Durham 2, one of them for murder; at Maidſtone 2; at Warwick 2, one for murder; at Bury 2; at Chelmsford 2; at Exeter 1; at Bridgewater 4.——Bodmyn, Glouceſter, Dorſet, Abingdon, Saliſbury, Stafford, Shrewſbury, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Guildford, Hertford, York, Northampton, and for Suſſex and Northumberland, proved maiden aſſizes.

Oxford, Aug. 7. The ſubjects appointed for the current year, for two orations to be ſpoken in our theatre, for the prizes of four five guinea pieces, given by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Wilſon, prebendary of Weſtminſter, are,

For the Latin oration,

——*Nunquam Libertas gratior extat, quam ſub Rege Pio.*

For the Engliſh oration.

Quæ Domus tam ſtabilis, Quæ tam firma Civitas eſt, Quæ non Odiis atque Diſſidiis funditus poſſit everti.

The following is a liſt of the ſhips, and the ſucceſs of the whale fiſhery:——The Dutch fleet of 154 ſhips have taken 43 fiſh. London ſhips: Young Eagle 2, Duke of Bedford 1, Providence 1, Reading 1, Adriatic 1, Parnaſſus 1, Britannia 11 very ſmall. Two Hull ſhips both clean; four Newcaſtle 1, two Liverpool ſhips 1, one Exeter ſhip 11 very ſmall, four Leith ſhips 1; Boroughſtonneſs ſhips clean; Anſtruther ſhips, Hawke loſt, Riſing-ſun clean; Dundee ſhips, Grand Tully, 2 very ſmall, Dundee clean; three Dunbar ſhips 1 each; Aberdeen one ſhip, 1.

This day the following letter was received by the right hon. the lord mayor. 30th.

To the right hon. the lord mayor.

My lord,

"I have the earl of Egremont's directions to acquaint your lordſhip, that, in conſequence of his moſt chriſtian majeſty's nomination of the duke de Nivernois to come here to treat of peace, the king has been pleaſed to name the duke of Bedford to go to Paris for the ſame purpoſe; and his grace's appointment will be declared on Wedneſday next, the firſt of September. My lord Egremont thinks it may be of uſe to make this public in the city as ſoon as poſſible.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
My lord,
Your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
humble Servant,
R. Wood.'

A Dutch man of war, with four merchantmen under her convoy, ſailed lately from Amſterdam, but were ſeparated in a gale of wind. Soon after one of them was brought to by one of our frigates from the Downs, and was found to be laden with ſhip timber, ſuppoſed to be for the French; upon which the commodore in the Downs ordered two frigates to cruize off Goree, who fell in with the man of war and the other three ſhips, and demanded to ſearch them, which the captain of the Dutch man of war having refuſed, ſome broadſides were exchanged between them, in which ſeven Dutchmen were killed; after which they 31ſt.

ſtruck their colours, and were all brought into the Downs for farther examination.

About 700 old Roman coins were lately found in a ford in the river Pettarel near Carliſle. They appear to be of eleven different reigns, ſome very freſh, and ſome 1650 years old. Many are as large as crown-pieces, and ſome no bigger than a farthing; of a baſe metal, but ſold at a high price to the curious.

A letter from a jeſuit miſſionary in China, dated October 20, 1761, gives an account, that in the preceding ſummer, they had in that country ſuch prodigious rains, as to cauſe the waters to riſe and overflow whole provinces, by which ſome millions of people were drowned.

Extract of a letter from Paris.

"Monſieur de Voltaire, the prince of our poets in this age, is preparing for preſs, a new edition of the works of the great Corneille the prince of French poets in the laſt age, with notes. This undertaking is the more laudable, as the profits of it are to be applied for the benefit of a girl of eighteen or nineteen, the heireſs of the name of Corneille, whom M. de Voltaire hath generouſly taken into his houſe, and treats as his own child. Her father deſcended from one Peter Corneille, uncle to the great poet, is a very honeſt man, but very ſimple, and has at preſent a pretty good place belonging to the hoſpital of the French army. The work is printing at Geneva in 12 or 13 volumes in octavo, price two Louis d'ors. Voltaire ſends his remarks from time to time to the French academy. The king of France has ſubſcribed for 200 copies; other ſubſcribers are the infant duke of Parma, almoſt all the princes of the blood, the duke de Choiſeul, madame Pompadour, moſt of the *Quarante Immortels* of the French academy, and many other perſons of diſtinction. The dutcheſs of Grammont is moſt induſtrious in promoting this work. M. de la Borde, banker to the court, hath got above an hundred ſubſcribers to it. M. de Voltaire hath generouſly ſubſcribed for an hundred copies. In the liſt of the ſubſcribers there are alſo the names of ſeveral Engliſh and German noblemen.

Died lately. Mrs. Eaſton of Mitre-court, Fleet-ſtreet, who underſtood nine languages.

Mr. Leggatt, cornfactor, at Hemnall, Norfolk, aged 100.

At Birr, in Ireland, Mr. Timothy O'Mara, aged 100.

Relict of the Rev. Mr. Pope, at Burſtock, Dorſetſhire, aged 106.

At Bremen, Mrs. Jane Burlow, aged 109.

SEPTEMBER.

2d. Was opened in Weſtminſter Abbey, a fine new monument, erected by Mr. John Wilton, ſtatuary to his majeſty, at the expence of the princeſs dowager of Wales, to the memory of Stephen Hales, D. D. and F. R. S. clerk of the cloſet to the princeſs dowager, miniſter of Teddington in Middleſex, and rector of Farringdon in Hants; grandſon of Sir Robert Hales, of Beakſburne in Kent, Bart. and uncle to the preſent Sir Thomas Hales. He died in January 1761, aged 82 years. See our laſt vol. p. 46.

At the anniverſary meeting of the ſons of the clergy, held at Newcaſtle, the collection amounted to upwards of 288 l.

the

4th. An experiment was tried before ſeveral gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, with a new invented engine for cutting down corn, when the inventor, in the ſpace of an hour and twenty minutes, cut down a full quarter of an acre of barley. An acre in Scotland, is the French arpent, about a 5th more than an acre in England.

5th. The duke of Bedford ſet out for France, to negotiate a peace.

7th. A fire broke out, at two in the morning, in the Preſs-yard in Newgate, which cauſed great conſternation in the neighbourhood. It raged for two hours and an half, and deſtroyed a building next to the college of Phyſicians. Capt. Ogle, a lunatic, confined for a murder committed ſome years ſince, and one Smith, confined for robbing the ſtables of ald. Maſters periſhed in the flames. None of the priſoners eſcaped in the confuſion.

The following melancholy accident happened lately in the pariſh of Aberlour, in Bamff ſhire: A ſervant lad, fond of a little boy of his maſter's, took the child in his arms to dandle him; unfortunately paſſing by a boiling cauldron, the child by a ſudden ſpring, leap'd out of his arms, and fell into the boiling liquor; and before it could be got out by the unhappy and almoſt diſtracted lad, was ſcalded to death.

9th. At the triennal meeting at Hereford, for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the poor clergy of the three dioceſes of Worceſter, Glouceſter, and Hereford, the collection amounted to 257 l.

11th. Two little boys, one five, the other three years of age, ſons to a gentleman in Pilgrim-ſtreet, Newcaſtle, being tempted by the beautiful appearance of the fruit of the deadly nightſhade, as it grew in the garden, eat of it. The eldeſt died the night after, and the youngeſt, after continuing 16 hours in convulſions, by taking oil, was happily recovered. (See before p. [85.]) A German phyſician gives the following ſpecific: take two ounces of lavender vinegar, and two ounces of water, mixt, and drink them at one draught; repeat the doſe if there be occaſion.

A ſea-monſter was caſt aſhore at Newhaven, near Leith. It is ſuppoſed to be of the ſhark kind: is about 15 or 16 feet long, has 3 rows of very ſtrong teeth, an extenſive mouth, and ſurpriſingly wide throat. It has alſo 5 rows of an aſtoniſhing hard and rough ſkin, on each ſide, which ſeem to ſerve as a coat of mail for its defence.

A fine bronze buſt of the E. of Halifax, is put up at the Senegal and Goree coffee-houſe in Cornhill, on which is the following inſcription:

"GEORGE DUNK, Earl of Halifax, under whoſe moſt auſpicious patronage the plan for conquering the French ſettlements of Senegal and Goree on the coaſt of Africa was happily carried into execution, in the year MDCCLVIII."

Tivoli, Auguſt 11. Some days ago, as workmen were digging the foundation for a houſe on the eminence of Saracineſo, they found a ſubterraneous edifice, conſiſting of ten chambers, paved with beautiful marble; and in one of the chambers three ſtatues ſix feet high, one repreſenting Antoninus Caracalla, the other Julia his ſtepmother, and the third Geta his brother. On the firſt was this inſcription; *Antoninus imperator Romanorum decus.* On the ſecond; *Julia in honeſtate*

neſtate excellens. And on the third; *Sit Geta divus dum non ſit vivus.* They are bought by M. P. Archinto, to be made a preſent of to the general marquis Clerici.

12th. The duke de Nivernois, with the character of ambaſſador and plenipotentiary from the court of France, arrived at London to treat of peace.

The firſt night after his excellency arrived in England, he lay at Canterbury, when the inn-keeper's bill in the morning was as follows:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Tea, coffee, and chocolate	1	4	0
Supper for ſelf and ſervants	15	10	0
Bread and beer	3	0	0
Fruit	2	15	0
Wine and punch	10	8	8
Wax candles and charcoal	3	0	0
Broken glaſs and china	2	10	0
Lodging	1	7	0
Tea, coffee, and chocolate	2	0	0
Chaiſe and horſes for next ſtage	2	16	0

The whole company, conſiſting of twelve perſons, drank moſtly port wine: according to the quantity, it comes to 11s. per bottle, and punch the ſame. One of the ſecretaries of ſtate being informed of this treatment by an Engliſh gentleman, who accompanied his excellency, made an apology to his excellency for ſo flagrant an impoſition, and ſo great a breach of the laws of hoſpitality; telling his excellency at the ſame time, that orders ſhould be given for proſecuting the offender. But his excellency very generouſly interpoſed in his behalf. It is imagined, however, that he has ſince paid dearly for his offence, as the other inn-keepers in Canterbury loſt no time in informing the public, that it was not at their houſes the duke put up.

His excellency finding, on his arrival in London, that ſome French goods intended for ſale, had been introduced, duty free, as part of his excellency's baggage, immediately ordered them to the cuſtom houſe, nobly diſdaining to proſtitute the name of a great nation to cover ſo baſe a fraud.

Monſieur Anquetel du Perron, a French gentleman, having lately laid before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, an account of a voyage made by him to the Eaſt Indies, in order to obtain the books of Zoroaſter, legiſlator of the ancient Perſians, we thought it our duty to give our readers ſo valuable a piece, and have accordingly inſerted it among our antiquities.

The king has made a preſent of of 400l. to King's college in New York, and 200l. to the colleges in Philadelphia, &c.

There have been this ſeaſon brought to the filature in Georgia, upwards of 15,000 lb. weight of cocoons, which is three thouſand pounds more than were ever produced there in any former year. A convincing proof that the culture of ſilk in that province is neither a jobb nor a chimerical project.

18th. Ended the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, when John Kello, for forging a draught of 1000l. [Kello's forgery is ſo remarkable, that we ſhall give our readers an account of it at the end of the Chronicle,] and James Collins and James Wham, for robberies near Pancras, received ſentence of death: 18 were to be tranſported for ſeven years, and one for 14 years;

years; one was burnt in the hand, and one privately whipped.

21ſt. A man who went to ſee the Tower, imprudently putting his hand through the grate to take a ſheep's head from one of the lions, loſt a finger by his folly, the lion ſnapping it off in an inſtant.—A caution, we hope, to others.

22d. His royal highneſs prince William and the earl of Bute, were inſtalled knights of the Garter, at Windſor, with great magnificence; the king, as ſovereign, and the reſt of the royal family being preſent.

25th. Their majeſties, on their return from Windſor, honoured Eton college with their preſence, being attended by the lords and ladies of the court.

They were waited on by the provoſt and fellows at the great gates of the college, and conducted into the ſchool, where the maſters were prepared to receive them, with the ſcholars ſtanding in their places to the number of 500.

Their majeſties paſſed between them to their chairs at the upper-end of the ſchool; and being ſeated, the company ſtanding behind their chairs, one of the ſcholars advanced from his place into the middle of the ſchool, and addreſſed the king in a ſpeech in Engliſh; which was graciouſly received by his majeſty.

Their majeſties had then the condeſcenſion to look into the long chamber or dormitory. In the interim the ſcholars and maſters went into the chapel, and took their places there. On their majeſties coming into the chapel, a ſolemn piece of muſic was performed on the organ, accompanied with many other inſtruments.

Their majeſties walked the whole length of the chapel to the rails of the communion table, viewing the ſcholars on each ſide, and expreſſed very great ſatisfaction in the ſight. From thence their majeſties went to the hall, and to the library, where many of the young noblemen were preſented to them; and the valuable collection of drawings, &c. belonging to the college, being carried into the election chamber, a room adjoining, they were pleaſed to ſpend a conſiderable time in examining what was worthy of notice.

On their going down from the Provoſt's Lodge into the quadrangle, the whole ſchool was drawn up in ſeveral lines to receive their majeſties, and ſaluted them as they went into their chaiſe, with a joyful cry of, *Vivant Rex, & Regina.*

My lord chamberlain, by his majeſty's order, left a very noble preſent, amounting to 230l. to be diſpoſed of as the provoſt and maſters of the ſchool ſhould think beſt.

27th. The Thames roſe on a ſudden in a ſurpriſing manner, (though it was a dead calm) as if agitated by ſome violent guſt of wind. The ſhips lying at ſome of the wharfs were driven againſt each other with great fury. This commotion is ſuppoſed to be owing to an earthquake, in ſome diſtant quarter of the globe.

28th. The duke of York arrived at Portſmouth, and on the 30th ſailed from St. Helen's, with the Princeſs Amelia, Magnanime, Eſſex, and Pearl frigate, in queſt of a French ſquadron.

The king has granted a penſion to the learned Dr. Kennicot.

At the clergy's ſons feaſt at Briſtol, above 232l. was collected.

An

An officer of Exciſe at Falmouth, lately ſeized there, from on board a ſhip, 27529 pounds weight of tea, and 9000 gallons of brandy, with the ſhip, for the uſe of his majeſty's cuſtoms. The officer by this gets at leaſt 3000l. It is the greateſt ſeizure of tea ever known.

Extract of a letter from on board the Hampden packet, of eight carriage guns and thirty men, Capt. John Broad, ſtationed between Faro and Gibraltar, dated at Gibraltar, Aug. 2.

SIR,

"When we came off Teneriff we had a proſpect of eleven privateers, all coming down in order of battle; the commodore was a barcolongo, of eight guns and ſixty men: his ſecond was a xebeque, of the ſame number of guns and men; theſe two led the van; five others of a leſſer ſize came a little aſtern of the commodore, the other four of 25 or 30 men each, with one gun in the prow, brought up the rear: the engagement began at 11 o'clock, and at half paſt one they hauled their wind and returned from whence they came, and left us to proceed to Gibraltar, where we arrived about three o'clock, without one man either killed or hurt.

Our ſails and rigging are greatly damaged. The ſoldiers on the quarter-deck behaved extremely well, and fired 16 rounds each, which did great execution, as they took aim, and never diſcharged in vain.

No perſons could behave better on our ſide, nor worſe on the part of the Spaniards; we were ſo near Gibraltar, that ſome of the inhabitants were ſpectators all the time, and at our coming aſhore careſſed us greatly, and the men of war ſent their ſurgeons to aſſiſt us, but happily for us, their ſervices then were not wanted. By a Spaniſh boat that arrived here after the engagement, I hear they had four men killed and eight wounded: the commodore is ſhot through the right arm."

The celebrated Dr. Storck, author of the Treatiſe on the Medicinal Virtues of Hemlock, hath lately publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe, proving from experiments made on himſelf, that the thorn-apple (*pomme epineuſe*) henbane, and wolfbane, which have hitherto been conſidered as poiſons, may be taken inwardly with ſafety and advantage.

Died lately. Signior Franciſco Geminiani, the famous performer on the violin, aged 96.

Mrs. Hill, of Fetter-lane, aged 100.

Donald M'Donald, at Aix-la-Chapelle, aged 110.

OCTOBER.

A terrible ſtorm did great damage to the ſhipping on the ſea-coaſts of this iſland, particularly at Yarmouth, where the fiſhery ſuffered irreparably. 3d.

The earl of Litchfield, lately elected chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, was inſtalled at his lordſhip's ſeat at Ditchley in that county, at which ceremony the vice-chancellor, heads of colleges, proctors, the public orator, and other proper officers attended. This ceremony has been uſually performed in the univerſity, but diſpenſed with in honour of his lordſhip, though not without precedent. 5th.

The

12th. The following letter was sent to the lord mayor.

My Lord,

"I have the commands of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint your lordship, that they have received an account this morning of St. John's in the island of Newfoundland being taken, by his majesty's ships and troops under the command of Lord Colville and Colonel Amherst. The French garrison, consisting of eight hundred men, being made prisoners of war; but their ships of war escaped by means of a fog.

I have the honour to congratulate your lordship on this great event, which my lords hope you will make publickly known.

I am, with very great respect,
My Lord,
Your most obedient,
And most humble Servant,
J. CLEVLAND."

14th. The earl of Halifax was sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

21st. This evening there was great lightening without any thunder, the flashes were white, and very luminous: and the weather changed from extreme cold to unusual heat.

A bill of indictment was lately found by the grand jury at the general quarter sessions held at Westminster, against a famous printseller, for vending in his shop divers wicked and obscene pictures, tending to the corruption of youth, and the common nuisance.

The king has bestowed on Mr. Sheridan a pension of 200l. per annum.

The prize questions of the Haarlem academy of sciences for this year are;

I. What are the best methods to be taken with children, with respect to cloathing, food and exercise, from their birth to the age of puberty, in order to a long life and the preservation of health?

II. How to turn high or low lands to the greatest advantage, each according to its nature?

Many woods caught fire in the late very dry season, in New England, and did some damage to the neighbouring settlements.

The diet of Poland having assembled on the 4th instant on extraordinary affairs, a motion was made for the election of a new marshal, but on some objections being started, the assembly was adjourned to the next day. On that day the motion was again renewed, and it being proposed to clear the house of such members as had no right to vote, and young count Bruhl being particularly objected to, who, it was said, being no Polander, either by birth or naturalization, could not possibly be admitted; in an instant sabres were drawn, and all fell into confusion. On these occasions the motion of any one member to break up the diet, is, if not soon withdrawn, sufficient for that purpose.

24 The waters in the several parts of England, particularly in the low grounds to the east of London, began to rise with great fury, and continued so doing for two or three days, in consequence of heavy rains, and strong north winds, which hindered several of the rivers from flowing as fast as usual into the sea. In some places the inundation began suddenly in the dead time of the night, and rose twelve feet in four or five hours. At Norwich all the lower parts of the city, and between

between two and three thouſand houſes, were under water for two or three days. Several perſons loſt their lives on this occaſion; many houſes and bridges, with all the cattle, hay, linens on the printing and bleaching grounds, &c. that lay in the way of the floods, were ſwept away by them, to the amount of ſeveral thouſand pounds.

30th. The fleet under Sir Charles Hardy, and the duke of York, arrived at Plymouth from the Bay.

Died lately. Mr. Sampſon Gideon, who has left, among other legacies, 1000 l. to the London hoſpital; 2000 l. to the corporation of the ſons of the clergy; and 1000 l. to the Jewiſh Synagogue, on condition that he ſhould be interred in the Jews burying ground, and prayed for in the Jewiſh ſervice, as a Jew and a married man; which was done accordingly.

Alderman Newton, of Leiceſter, aged 79; who dying worth 14,000 l. left the greater part of it to educate poor children. At Leiceſter 35; at Aſhby de la Zouch 25; at Earl Shilton 20; at Northampton, St. Neot's, Hertford, Hunting, Bedford, and Buckingham, 25 each.

Mr. Barnard, in Great Wild-ſtreet, aged 102.

NOVEMBER.

6th. A violent ſhock of an earthquake was felt at Aquila in Spain, which threw down ſeveral houſes, and cracked the walls of the church from top to bottom. In 1703, more than 2000 perſons loſt their lives by a like accident.

The following letter was received by the right hon. the lord mayor.

8th. Clevland Row, Monday, Nov. 8, 1762.

"My lord,

I am directed by my lord Egremont to acquaint your lordſhip, that one of his majeſty's meſſengers has this moment brought an account of the duke of Bedford's having ſigned the preliminary articles of peace, with France and Spain, at Fontainbleau, on the 3d inſtant. The ſecretary of ſtate's intention, in making this immediate communication to your lordſhip, of the firſt account relative to the ſignature of the preliminaries, which has been tranſmitted to his office by the king's miniſter at Paris, is, in order to have it publickly known in the city, without loſs of time. Your lordſhip will, no doubt, take ſuch ſteps as are moſt proper to anſwer that purpoſe.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
My lord,
Your lordſhip's
Moſt obedient humble ſervant,
Robert Wood."

Soon after this, paſſes for ſhips, &c. were interchanged by the court of London and Verſailles. On the 22d the ratification of theſe preliminaries were interchanged at Verſailles. On the firſt of December the ceſſation of arms was proclaimed in London, and leave given to go out of the kingdom on board the packet boats, without taking paſſes from the ſecretary of ſtate's office. The ſubſtance of the declaration was, that to prevent all occaſions of complaints and diſputes which might ariſe upon account of ſhips, merchandizes, and other effects which might be taken at ſea, it had been mutually agreed, That the ſhips, merchandizes, and effects, which ſhould be taken in the channel, and in the north ſeas, after the ſpace of 12 days, to be computed from the ratification of the preſent preliminary articles; and that all ſhips, merchandizes, and effects, which ſhould be taken after ſix weeks from the ſaid ratification,

beyond

beyond the channel, the Britiſh ſeas, and the north ſeas, as far as the Canary iſlands inclufively, whether in the ocean or mediterranean; and for the ſpace of three months from the ſaid Canary iſlands to the equinoctial line or equator; and for the ſpace of ſix months beyond the ſaid equinoctial line or equator, and in all other places of the world; ſhould be reſtored on both ſides.

12th. Some hours before day-break, there was was ſeen in the air in the ſouthern parts of France, a globe of fire, a little leſs than the moon, which was then in her full, but much more luminous. According to ſome letters, this meteor appeared at half an hour after two in the morning, and its direction was from S. W. Others ſay, that it was perceived between four and five, and that its direction was from N. to E. It drew after it a long and brilliant tail, and vaniſhed in about three minutes, dividing itſelf into three parts, with an exploſion that ſhook the windows in many houſes.

General Lally, governor of Pondichery, was lately arreſted at Fontainbleau, by order of the French king, and ſent to the Baſtile. Soon after the officers of the garriſon of Pondichery, to the number of ſixty, tranſmitted nine articles of impeachment againſt him, for embezzlement and miſbehaviour. It is ſaid that no leſs than 12 officers have been, in a few days, privately put to death in that ſtate priſon for miſbehaviour.

14th. The fleet under the duke of York, and Sir Charles Hardy, ſailed to the weſtward from Plymouth.

The following inſcription is on the monument (now erecting, in Weſtminſter-abbey,) of the honourable Roger Townſhend, Eſq; fifth ſon of the right honourable the lord viſcount Townſhend, who loſt his life in July 1759, in North America.

This monument was erected by a diſconſolate parent,
The lady viſcounteſs Townſhend,
To the memory of her fifth ſon,
The honourable lieutenant colonel Roger Townſhend, who was killed by a cannon ball, on the 25th of July 1759, in the 28th year of his age,
As he was reconnoitring the French lines At Ticonderago in North America.
From the parent, the brother and the friend,
His ſocial and amiable manners;
His enterprizing bravery,
And the integrity of his heart,
May claim the tribute of affliction.
Yet ſtranger! weep not;
For tho' premature his death,
His life was glorious;
Enrolling him with the names of thoſe immortal ſtateſmen and commanders,
Whoſe wiſdom and intrepidity,
In the courſe of this comprehenſive and ſucceſsful war,
Have extended the commerce,
Enlarged the dominion,
And upheld the majeſty of theſe kingdoms,
Beyond the idea of any former age.

Eleven fiſhermen have been killed and 17 wounded, at Carpoon, a ſmall iſland at the entrance of the ſtraits of Belleiſle, by the Eſkimaux Indians. (See our laſt vol. p. [182.])

His majeſty went this day to the houſe of Peers, and opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a moſt gracious ſpeech. 25th.

His majeſty went in a new ſtate coah, of which the following is a deſcription.

The carriage is compoſed of four Tritons, who ſupport the body by cables faſtened to the roots of their fins: the two placed on the front of the carriage, bear the driver on their ſhoulders, and are repreſented in the action of ſounding ſhells to an-

announce the approach of the monarch of the ſea; and thoſe on the back part, carry the imperial faſces, topt with tridents inſtead of the ancient faſces. The driver's foot-board is a large ſcollop ſhell, ſupported by bunches of reeds, and other marine plants. The pole repreſents a bundle of lances, and the wheels are imitated from thoſe of the ancient triumphal chariots. The body of the coach is compoſed of eight palm-trees, which, branching out at the top, ſuſtain the roof. The four angular trees are loaded with trophies, alluſive to the victories obtained by Britain during the courſe of the preſent glorious war. On the center of the roof ſtand three boys, repreſenting the Genii of England, Scotland, and Ireland, ſupporting with their heads the imperial crown, and holding in their hands the ſcepter, the ſword of ſtate, and enſigns of knighthood: their bodies are adorned with feſtoons of laurel, which fall from thence towards the four corners of the roof. The intervals between the palm-trees which form the body of the coach, are filled in the upper parts with plates of glaſs, and below with pannels adorned with paintings. On the front pannel is repreſented Britannia ſeated on a throne, holding in her hand a ſtaff of liberty, attended by religion, juſtice, wiſdom, valour, fortitude, and victory, preſenting her with a garland of laurel: on the back pannel, Neptune iſſuing from his palace, drawn by ſea-horſes, attended by the winds, the rivers, Tritons, Naiads, &c. bringing the tribute of the world to the Britiſh ſhore. On one of the doors are repreſented Mars, Minerva, and Mercury, ſupporting the imperial crown of Britain; and on the other, induſtry and integrity, giving a cornucopia to the genius of England. The other four pannels repreſent the liberal arts and ſciences protected; hiſtory recording the reports of fame; and peace burning the implements of war. The inſide of the coach is lined with crimſon velvet richly embroidered with gold. All the wood work is triple gilt, and all the paintings highly varniſhed. The harneſs is of crimſon velvet, adorned with buckles and other embelliſhments of ſilver gilt; and the ſaddle-cloths are of blue velvet, embroidered and fringed with gold.

The following proclamation was ſome time ago publiſhed by the Pruſſian governor of Freyberg.

'Whereas I have been informed that ſome of the inhabitants of Freyberg, and particularly certain merchants, have taken it into their heads to forge, and publiſh for true, reports to the diſadvantage of the arms of Pruſſia; I declare by theſe preſents, that the firſt, who ſhall dare to utter one ſentence, either to the diſadvantage, or the advantage of the Pruſſian arms, ſhall be taken up and puniſhed as a ſpy.

'It is an indecency not to be ſuffered for burghers to preſume to talk of ſtate affairs, in which ſuch pitiful creatures can do neither good nor harm: they only expoſe their ill intentions: but, I ſhall certainly employ rigorous methods to make an example *in terrorem*. Every burgher, who favours the deſertion of any of my men, ſhall be treated as a deſerter himſelf. The magiſtrates will take care to curb the burghers, with more vigilance than hitherto: otherwiſe I ſhall make them anſwerable for all the malevolent reports that may be publiſhed, becauſe it is their buſineſs to watch over the conduct of the merchants

as well as the other citizens. It belongs not to ſuch as they are to intermeddle in the affairs of war or peace, and much leſs in the good or bad ſucceſs of the belligerent powers.'

22d. Mr. Seaton's poetical prize, at Cambridge, is adjudged to the Rev. Mr. Scott of Trinity college.

Extract of a letter from Berne, dated Oct. 20.

'The engine for eradicating trees is brought to ſuch a degree of perfection in this country, that the peaſant, who invented it, has engaged to tear up 2000 oaks with it, within a fortnight, at nine-pence ſterl. for each oak. He has pulled up upwards of 300 in one day, with two engines and five men for both only. Our ſociety has ordered a model to be made of it, to be ſent to your ſociety for promoting arts and commerce, which will be more complete than the rude draught after which theirs was made laſt ſummer.'

A large ſum has been ſubſcribed for carrying into execution the farther laudable and publick-ſpirited views of the marine ſociety. Mr. Hicks, a merchant who died lately at Hamburgh, has left them his whole fortune, amounting to upwards of twenty thouſand pounds. All which, it ſeems, that uſeful ſociety intend to apply towards procuring employment, and till that can be had, relief for the boys who may be diſcharged from the navy in conſequence of a peace, the wages of ſaid boys being too ſmall to enable them to lay by any part of it.

The following receipt was lately communicated to the Dublin ſociety, by Mr. Wil. Newby, jun. of Kendal, in Weſtmoreland, being an eaſy and expeditious manner of taking off all ſorts of plants on paper. —Take a flat cuſhion of about ſix inches ſquare, covered with leather, and another of a round kind, bound up ſo as to form a handle to it; lay on the flat one ſome printing ink, and level it with the round one; lay any leaf between them, and preſs it gently, that the ink may be equally divided at each ſide, then put it between two white papers, and preſs it with the palm of your hand, and the impreſſion will remain. The printing ink is made of three parts drying linſeed oil, one part turpentine oil, brought to a proper conſiſtency with lamb-black.

As ſome labourers were lately trenching near Poleſworth, in Warwickſhire, they found a large earthen pot full of ſmall copper coins, moſt part of which appear to bear a beautiful image of Conſtantine, with the name of *Conſtantinus* round it; on the other ſide are two armed figures defending Roman emblems of various ſorts, and round them the words *Gloria exercitus*. Some few among them have an armed head on one ſide, with URBS ROMA round it, and Romulus and Remus ſitting under a wolf on the reverſe ſide; others have an armed head on one ſide, with the word *Conſtantinopolis* round it, and Pallas on the reverſe: ſome have a chariot and four horſes on the reverſed ſide; others variety of ſingle figures, ſomething like Britannia with her ſhield; others a woman with a child in her arms. The workmanſhip of all the heads appears to be of a much more curious ſtile than that of many coins of a later date: ſome are ſo obliterated, that the inſcription can't be underſtood: it is certain they are very

very old, since the freshest of them seem to be those of Constantine, the first Christian emperor.

The following are the dimensions of an ox lately slaughtered at Cowbridge, in the county of Glamorgan, in which county he was also bred. The four quarters of this beast, which for size might, with much greater propriety, have been supposed to have belonged to an elephant, weighed 1642 lb. his hide 161, tallow 148. His height was six feet three inches, his length from head to tail seventeen feet seven inches. He sold on the spot for twenty pounds.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Rome, Oct. 16, 1762.

"Nothing gives me more satisfaction than to find so many fine things purchased for his majesty [the king of Great Britain] of late, in Italy. He is now master of the best collection of drawings in the world, having purchased two or three capital collections in Rome; the last, belonging to cardinal Albani, for 14,000 crowns, consisting of 300 large volumes, one third of which are original drawings of the first masters: the others, collections of the most capital engravings.—And lately there has been purchased for his majesty, all the museum of Mr. Smith, at Venice, consisting of his library, prints, drawings, designs, &c.—I think it is highly probable, that the arts and sciences will flourish in Great Britain, under the protection and encouragement of a monarch, who is himself an excellent judge of merit and taste in the vertù.

And we have at present in Rome, of our own country, many ingenious and excellent artists in the different branches of painting, sculpture, and architecture. In this last an ingenious gentleman, Mr. Byres, obtained a prize in the first class; and has, greatly to his honour, got two medals from the academy of St. Luke.

The grand gallery at Florence lately ran a risk of being entirely consumed by fire: however, very happily, only a few things were lost, and some damaged. The noble groupe of the Laocoon and his sons, an excellent copy by Bandinelli, from the original, in the Belvidere, is quite destroyed."

Translation of part of an intercepted letter from the king of P—— to count Finckenstein, handed about in Holland.

"So, the poor emperor of Russia is dethroned by his wife; this was expected. The empress has a great deal of wit, no religion, and the disposition of the deceased empress; but, at the said time, pretends to be very devout: This is the counter part of Zeno the Greek emperor, his spouse Ariadne, and Mary of Medicis. The late chancellor B— was the great favourite of this princess; and as he had a strong liking to English guineas, I am in hopes that the present connections will continue. The poor emperor wanted to imitate Peter I. but had not his genius."

28th. A number of people surrounded the house of John Pritchers, of West Langdon in Kent, and under a notion of her bewitching one Ladd, a boy of 13 years old, dragged out his wife by violence, and compelled her to go to the said Ladd's father's house, about a mile from her own, where they forced her into the room where the boy was, scratched her arms and face in a most cruel manner, to draw

draw blood, as they ſaid, of the witch, and then threatened to ſwim her; but ſome people of condition interpoſing, the poor woman's life was happily preſerved; and the perſons concerned in carrying on the impoſture, particularly one Beard, and Ladd's wife, being carried before a magiſtrate, and compelled to make ſatisfaction to the unhappy injured woman, the mob diſperſed, and the country that was every where in tumult is again quieted. The boy pretended to void needles and pins from his body, and his father and mother upheld the deceit, and collected large ſums of money of thoſe, whoſe compaſſion was excited by ſo melancholy a ſituation.

The ſociety for the encouragement of arts, have adjudged a firſt premium, of 15 guineas, to Mr. Jonathan Spilſbury, of Ruſſel-court, portrait painter, for a mezzotinto plate of the earl of Carliſle, done by him from a painting of Mr. Reynolds.

29th. Peter Annett was, by judgment of the court of King's Bench, committed to Newgate for one month. He was alſo ordered to ſtand in the pillory twice, within that time, and afterwards to be kept to hard labour in Bridewell, for a year, &c. for writing a piece called *The Free Enquirer*.

As three French men of war, viz. the Contente of 64 guns, and two frigates, the Pleiade and the Minerve, were lately chaſing his majeſty's ſhip the Sheerneſs into Villa Franca, the Minerve, by the ill management of the crew, ſtruck upon a rock, and in leſs than two hours afterwards was entirely loſt. The ſea ran ſo very high, that no boats would venture out from the ſhore to the aſſiſtance of the people on the wreck. In this ſituation, capt. Clarke ſent his people to their relief, who exerted themſelves ſo effectually, as to bring them all off, except about 25, who were carried away by the violence of the ſurf. The French commodore waited afterwards upon the Britiſh captain, to thank him for his timely aſſiſtance, and to expreſs the great ſenſe he entertained of ſuch benevolence and generoſity.

They write from Paris, that one of their ableſt mathematicians is going to give public lectures in one of the colleges of the univerſity, on ſhip-building and navigation.

Though the war between the Corſicans and the Genoeſe is not generally intereſting, yet the following circumſtance cannot be omitted. A nephew of Gian Carlo, one of Paoli's principal officers, having been taken priſoner, was generouſly ſet at liberty by gen. Matra. The youth, on his return to Paoli, was made governor of the fort of Coſcia, built by the rebels to cut off the communication of the Genoeſe with Macinaggio. As ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of his new command, to teſtify his gratitude to Matra, he delivered up to him the fort with which he had been entruſted by Paoli, and which is ſo ſtrong, that it cannot be eaſily retaken. The poſſeſſion of it makes the Genoeſe maſters of all Cape Corſe.

A premium of five guineas was lately given by the Dublin ſociety for the following receipt to kill rats. One quart of oatmeal, four drops of rhodium, one grain of muſk, two nuts of nux vomica, the whole made very fine, and placed where

the rats frequent, and continued while they eat it.

A button maker's wife, near Birmingham, was lately delivered of three children.

A farmer's wife, at Whitſtable, in Kent, of two girls and a boy.

A farmer's wife, at Aſhwellthorpe, near Norwich, of four children.

Died lately: The chevalier de St. Croix, at St. Domingo, the brave defender of the citadel of Belleiſle.

Mr. Evans, clerk to a lime wharf near Graveſend; he weighed when alive 40 ſtone.

Mr. Barnaerd, an upholſterer, in Great Wild-ſtreet, aged 102.

Mr. Thomas Shorthall, an Iriſhman, at Landreci in Flanders, aged 104. He had been lieut. col. in the Iriſh Brigades, in the French ſervice.

Madame Alexandrina Fatio, of Geneva, aged 104.

Eady Hannum, in St. Chriſtopher's workhouſe, near the Bank, aged 114.

DECEMBER.

6th. A cauſe was tried at the Common Pleas, Weſtminſter, wherein a merchant of London was plaintiff, and a baronet defendant: the action was brought againſt the defendant, for winning a ſum of money of the plaintiff at gaming, and a verdict given for the plaintiff, for 700l. damages, beſides coſts of ſuit.

Biddeford, Dec. 5. Laſt night, happening to be walking about a quarter before nine, I inſtantly ſaw the ſtreets ſo illuminated, as could not be equalled by a meridian ſun. I immediately caſt my eyes upwards, and, to my very great ſurprize, ſaw falling a luminous body, or flaming meteor, equal in magnitude to the moon. This meteor, when it firſt appeared to me, was in a right line with the bright ſtar in Hircus; which I imagine was near the place of its commencement, ſince the ſudden blazing, which it occaſioned, muſt inſtantaneouſly attract an amazed eye. It performed its deſcent gradually, ſo as to fall about ten degrees in four or five ſeconds, leaving behind it a long tail, or ſeeming liquid flame, which ſubtended, from one extreme to the other, an angle of about ten degrees; that part of the tail next to the body ſeemed to blaze like the meteor itſelf; but the other extreme turned blue and ſmoaky. The body diminiſhed or burnt out by degrees to ſupport the tail, whoſe extremity continued to vaniſh into ſmoak, till the whole body was diſſolved, which happened to be in a line with the bright ſtar in Orion's ſhoulder, from whence the direction of its path is known. The tail continued to burn bright for about a minute afterwards, and the fire ſeemed to vaniſh laſt of all at that end, where it firſt had its beginning; but the brightneſs and ſerpentine form continued for five or ſix minutes, though only as a bright cloud. The atmoſphere, at the beginning of this extraordinary phænomenon, was extremely clear, and inclinable to freeze; but after the body was diſſolved, a thick ſmoke deſcended from its path to the horizon; which diſappeared in about a quarter of an hour. This meteor, which was, I believe, by far the greateſt ſeen for half a century paſt, muſt have kindled very near the earth's ſurface, otherwiſe the blazing would not be great enough to dazzle the ſtrongeſt eye.

I im-

I immediately went to a very ingenious philoſopher of this town, who applied a large teleſcope to the place of its diſſolution, but by that time the fire was incorporated, and almoſt vaniſhed.

MAL. HITCHINS.

A ſea-coal meter's place of this city lately ſold for no leſs than 5210 l.

Since the beginning of this year, the ſcheme for bringing freſh fiſh by land carriage to London, has ſucceeded beyond the expectation of moſt people, and therefore we give, in the appendix to the chronicle, the preſent ſtate of it at length, as publiſhed by the inſpector captain Blake.

9th. Was the moſt numerous houſe of commons that has been known this year, in order to take into conſideration the preliminary articles of peace; when they were approved by a very great majority. Mr. Pitt was preſent, tho' unable to ſtand, and was, by the indulgence of the houſe, permitted to ſpeak ſitting. The addreſſes preſented on this occaſion to his majeſty by both houſes, are among our State Papers.

Tranſlation of a letter from the empreſs of Ruſſia to M. d'Alembert, at Paris, whom ſhe had invited into Ruſſia to educate her ſon.

"Mr. d'Alembert,

"I have juſt received the anſwer you wrote to Mr. Odar, in which you refuſe to tranſplant yourſelf to aſſiſt in the education of my ſon. I eaſily conceive that it coſts a philoſopher, like you, nothing to deſpiſe what the world calls grandeur and honour: theſe, in your eyes, are very little; and I can readily agree that they are ſo. Conſidering things in this light, there would be nothing great in the behaviour of queen Chriſtina [of Sweden] which hath been ſo highly extolled; and often cenſured with more juſtice. But to be born and called to contribute to the happineſs, and even the inſtruction of a whole nation, and yet decline it, is, in my opinion, refuſing to do that good which you wiſh to do. Your philoſophy is founded in a love to mankind: permit me then to tell you, that to refuſe to ſerve mankind, whilſt it is in your power, is to miſs your aim. I know you too well to be a good man, to aſcribe your refuſal to vanity. I know that the ſole motive of it is the love of eaſe, and leiſure to cultivate letters and the friendſhip of thoſe you eſteem. But what is there in this objection? Come, with all your friends; I promiſe both them and you, every conveniency and advantage that depends upon me; and perhaps you will find more liberty and eaſe here, than in your native country. You refuſed the invitation of the king of Pruſſia, notwithſtanding your obligations to him; but that prince has no ſon. I own to you, that I have the education of my ſon ſo much at heart, and I think you ſo neceſſary to it, that perhaps I preſs you with too much earneſtneſs. Excuſe my indiſcretion for the ſake of the occaſion of it; and be aſſured that it is my eſteem for you that makes me ſo urgent.

Moſcow, CATHERINE.
Nov. 3, 1762.

In this whole letter I have argued only from what I have found in your writings: you would not contradict yourſelf."

The prize queſtion for the year 1764, propoſed to the literati of all nations by the Berlin academy of

ſciences and belles lettres, is, "When the ſovereignty of the Grecian emperors at Rome totally ceaſed, What was then the government of the Romans? And at what time was the papal ſovereignty eſtabliſhed?"—The prize is a gold medal of 60 ducats weight: the eſſays to be tranſmitted before the 1ſt of January, 1764, directed to Mr. Forney, ſecretary to the academy; a motto to be put to them, and incloſed a ſealed note, containing the motto, the author's name, and place of abode. The academy's judgment will be declared at the public meeting of the 31ſt of May, 1764.

The academy farther gives notice, that the author of a ſatisfactory memoir on the following ſubject, which was to have been determined this year, is, at whatever time it ſhall be ſent, entitled to the prize: "An explanation of Hearing, relatively to the manner in which the perception of Sound is produced, in virtue of the inward texture of the Ear."

The ſeſſions ended at the 13th. Old Bailey, when three received ſentence of death; 26 received ſentence of tranſportation for ſeven years; three to be branded in the hand; 34 acquitted; 12 diſcharged by proclamation, and three remanded back to take their trials at the aſſizes for Surry and Radnor. Two for the murder of their baſtard children, were acquitted, the circumſtances being favourable in both caſes.

Among the felons for tranſportation was one Derbin, a houſe-breaker, againſt whom ſeveral indictments were laid; but there appeared no evidence againſt him ſtrong enough to affect his life. This man carried on his buſineſs ſyſtematically, not ſelling his ſtolen goods till he had ſufficient reaſon to believe that nobody thought any more of them, and keeping them in the mean time in a houſe at a conſiderable diſtance from that in which he lived, ſo that in caſe this happened to be diſcovered, no body could prove they were in his cuſtody.

A proſecution was lately commenced in Ireland againſt Mr. Foote, for introducing the character of Mr. George Faulkner, printer of the *Dublin Journal*, a man of property and character, upon the public ſtage. After a long hearing, a verdict was given in favour of Mr. Faulkner, and Mr. Foote was ſeverely fined.

The following is the receipt againſt the diſtemper amongſt the horned cattle, which rages with great fury in Thuringia, Erfurth, and other parts of Saxony, as it was preſcribed and publiſhed by the war and domaine chamber at Magdeburg, and which has been adminiſtered with great ſucceſs.

"Take eight pound of allum, eight pound of coriander ſeeds, eight pound of an herb called chamælion, or carlina, one pound of black cummin ſeeds, and one pound of chimney ſoot. After all theſe ingredients are reduced to a powder, mix with it two meaſures of ſalt, and give to a full-grown beaſt a ſpoonfull at a time, with ſome ſour leaven dough, and ſomething luke-warm. You muſt not give them any thing cold to drink, nor cold greens to eat, and muſt keep the cattle warm, and ſeparate the diſtempered from the ſound. Give them no ſtrong liquors, for it has been remarked that it makes them worſe."

Paris, Dec. 1, 1762.

"The fate of the Jeſuits in this kingdom is at laſt determined; at leaſt as much as our parliaments can

can determine it. In ſpite of their remonſtrances againſt the fairneſs of the quotations made from ſome of their writers, and their abſolute renunciation of the doctrines contained in ſome others; in ſpite of their appeal to the king, and of his majeſty's endeavours to put a ſtop to the proceedings of parliament; nay, in ſpite of the interpoſition of the nobility, clergy, and burghers of ſeveral places where they had ſettlements; they have been turned out of their houſes, forbid, under the ſevereſt penalties, to wear the Jeſuits habit, hold any correſpondence with their general, or aſſemble above four or five in a body. Many of their books have been publicly burnt, and what may remain of their effects, after ſatisfying the intentions of the donors, and the creditors of the order, and a ſmall allowance to ſuch among them as may be ſuppoſed incapable of otherwiſe providing for themſelves, confiſcated to the king. It is ſaid, indeed, that ſome parliaments have come into theſe meaſures, merely to avoid diſputes with other parliaments, who claim a juriſdiction over them. Thoſe fathers, however, are not without friends; for prince Charles of Lorraine, and ſeveral corporations in the Auſtrian Netherlands, have given ſuch, as thought proper to take ſhelter among them, a favourable reception."

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, dated Nov. 11. Being an account of the melancholy diſaſter that befel the Phœnix, capt. M'Gacher, in lat. 37 N. and long. 72 W. from London, bound to Potowmack, in Maryland, from the coaſt of Africa, with 332 ſlaves on board.

"On Wedneſday the 20th of October, 1762, at ſix o'clock in the evening, came on a moſt violent gale of wind at ſouth, with thunder and lightning, the ſun running very high, when the ſhip ſprung a leak, and we were obliged to lie too under bare poles, the water gained on us, with both pumps conſtantly working. At ten, P. M. endeavoured to put the ſhip before the wind to no purpoſe. At twelve the ſand ballaſt having choaked our pumps, and there being ſeven feet water in the hold, all the caſks afloat, and the ballaſt ſhifted to leeward, cut away the rigging of the main and mizen maſts, both which went inſtantly cloſe by the deck, and immediately after the fore maſt was carried away about 20 feet above. Hove overboard all our guns, upon which the ſhip righted a little. We were then under a neceſſity of letting all our ſlaves out of irons, to aſſiſt in pumping and baling.

Thurſday morning being moderate, having gained about three feet on the ſhip, we found every caſk in the hold ſtove to pieces, ſo that we only ſaved a barrel of flour, 10 lb. of bread, 25 gallons of wine, beer and ſhrub, and 25 gallons of ſpirits. The ſeamen and ſlaves were employed all this day in pumping and baling; the pumps were frequently choaked, and brought up great quantities of ſand. We were obliged to hoiſt one of the pumps up, and put it down the quarter deck hatchway. A ſhip this day bore down upon us, and, though very near, and we making every ſignal of diſtreſs, ſhe would not ſpeak to us.

On Friday the men ſlaves being very ſullen and unruly, having had no ſuſtenance of any kind for 48 hours, except a dram, we put one

half of the ſtrongeſt of them in irons.

On Saturday and Sunday all hands, night and day, could ſcarce keep the ſhip clear, and were conſtantly under arms.

On Monday morning many of the ſlaves had got out of irons, and were attempting to break up the gratings; and the ſeamen not daring to go down the hold to clear our pumps, we were obliged, for the preſervation of our own lives, to kill 50 of the ringleaders, and ſtouteſt of them.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the miſery the poor ſlaves underwent, having had no freſh water for five days. Their diſmal cries and ſhrieks, and moſt frightful looks, added a great deal to our misfortunes; four of them were found dead, and one drowned herſelf in the hold. This evening the water gained on us, and three ſeamen dropt down with fatigue and thirſt, which could not be quenched, though wine, rum, and ſhrub were given them alternately. On Thurſday morning the ſhip had gained, during the night, above a foot of water, and the ſeamen quite wore out, and many of them in deſpair. About ten in the forenoon we a ſaw ſail; about two ſhe diſcovered us, and bore down upon us; at five ſpoke to us, being the King George, of Londonderry, James Mackey, maſter; he immediately promiſed to take us on board, and hoiſted out his yawl, it then blowing very freſh. The gale increaſing, prevented him from ſaving any thing but the white people's lives (which were 36 in number) not even any of our cloaths, or one ſlave, the boat being ſcarce able to live in the ſea the laſt trip ſhe made. Capt. Mackey, and ſome gentlemen, paſſengers he had on board, treated us with great kindneſs and humanity."

The king went to the houſe of peers, and was pleaſed to give the royal aſſent to, 21ſt.

An act for granting an aid to his majeſty by a land tax to be raiſed in Great Britain, for the ſervice of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-three.

An act for continuing and granting to his majeſty certain duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, for the ſervice of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-three.

An act to continue and render more effectual two acts of parliament for repairing and widening the road leading from the Black Bull inn in Dunſtable, in the county of Bedford, to the way turning out of the ſaid road up to Shafford houſe, in the county of Hertford.

An act to continue and render more effectual two acts of parliament for repairing the roads from Lemsford Mill through Welwyn and Stevenage, and by Cory's Mill to Hitchin, and from Welwyn through Coldicot to Hitchin, in the county of Hertford.

And to five private bills.

The queen has graciouſly given 100l. towards enlarging the chapel of the Aſylum.

At a meeting of the ſociety of arts, a gold medal was adjudged to the earl of Plymouth, for having planted the greateſt number of the ſmall leaved Engliſh elm for raiſing timber, and for effectually fencing and preſerving the ſame. His lordſhip planted, on this occaſion, 6100 elms.

And at a former meeting of the ſociety

ſociety of arts, a gold medal was adjudged to John Freeman, Eſq; of Chute Lodge, for ſowing the greateſt number of Spaniſh cheſnut-trees, which was about 100,000.

At a late tryal on the ſtatute againſt uſury, a verdict was given for the plaintiff, with 900 l. damages, and treble coſts of ſuit.

Two men lately working in a crane at the Cuſtom-houſe, one of them, without any previous notice, jumped out of the wheel, which went round with ſuch velocity that his companion was daſhed to pieces.

The earl of Bute has preſented to Wincheſter College a bronze ſtatue of ther founder William of Wykeham, ſuppoſed to have been done in the fourteenth century. It is a full length figure, in the epiſcopal habit, ſixteen inches high, and executed with remarkable elegance.

A legacy of 800 l. was paid by the executrixes of Mrs. Iſabella Smithſon, for the uſe of the county hoſpital at York.

Letters from Spain take notice, that the king had ſettled a penſion of 3000 crowns on the widow of Don Velaſco, who ſo bravely defended Fort Moro; created his ſon a peer of Caſtile, by the title of marquis de Fort Moro, and had ordered that one ſhip of the Spaniſh navy ſhould always bear the name of Velaſco. The governor of the Havannah, and the admiral who commanded the fleet at that place, have been ordered to repair to Madrid, and an enquiry into their conduct is already begun.

25th. Being a high feſtival their majeſties, preceded by the heralds, &c. went to the chapel royal, and with others of the royal family received the ſacrament from the hands of the biſhop of London, and afterwards made their offerings at the altar, for the benefit of the poor, in ſeveral purſes. The king's is a byzant, or wedge of gold, value 30 l.

A moſt intenſe froſt ſet in with a north-eaſterly wind, and continued with very little intermiſſion to the 29th of January, when it broke up by a gentle thaw. Beſides the general appearance of nature, ſome experiments, tried during the courſe of it, proved, that it was ſome days no leſs ſevere than that of 1740. Particularly, on the 31ſt of December a glaſs of water placed upon a table in the open air, in ſix minutes froze ſo hard as to bear five ſhillings upon it; a glaſs of red port wine placed upon the ſame table froze in leſs than two hours; and a glaſs of brandy in ſix, both with hard ice. By the 2d of January the river Thames was completely frozen over at Richmond; as was the Severn in ſeveral places; ſo that, in many places, carriages paſſed over the ice, and booths were erected and fairs held; the ice being in ſome parts ſix feet thick.

Below bridge, the river afforded a moſt melancholy proſpect; the ice, floating up and down with the tide, cut the cables of the ſhipping, and ſet whole tiers adrift, many of which were driven on ſhore, and with their cargoes, damaged, to a great amount. One ſhip was driven with ſuch violence againſt London bridge, that her bowſprit beat down upwards of twenty feet of the new ſtone balluſtres. Sea gulls came up as high as London bridge, and birds were driven from their

uſual haunts, and were ſeen, in great numbers, in the ſtreets of London.

This ſevere froſt put a ſtop to ſeveral handicraft trades, and to all manner of huſbandry and inland navigation, ſo that numbers of the poor, who depended upon ſuch occupations, were obliged to have recourſe to the compaſſion of the public, and went about the ſtreets driving ploughs, or carrying boats on their ſhoulders to excite it. At the ſame time neceſſaries of all kinds, except fleſh meat, (the graziers pouring their cattle into London for want of fodder) roſe to ſuch a price, as to diſtreſs thoſe who before uſed to be more at their eaſe. Collections therefore were ſet on foot in moſt pariſhes, and all ranks of people, that could afford it, contributed chearfully to them. His majeſty ſent a thouſand pound bank note to the biſhop of London for that purpoſe, and the dukes of Newcaſtle and Bedford, and lord Bute gave between four and five hundred pounds each. Another nobleman, then in the country, is ſaid, to have provided clothing and all other neceſſaries for the poor, not only of his own, but of ſeveral adjacent pariſhes. At laſt the evil produced in ſome degree its own remedy. As the water in the leaden pipes froze, and there was a greater call for that element than uſual, on account of the great number of fires, which broke out during this froſt; wooden pipes were inſerted into the mains in almoſt every ſtreet, and theſe wooden pipes being often left open, the ice accumulated to ſuch a degree, that at length it became dangerous to walk the ſtreets, ſo that there was a neceſſity for employing a great number of hands to clear them.

But though by theſe means few periſhed for want of food, ſeveral perſons were frozen to death in the ſtreets and on the rivers, ſome of the latter by the ice, on which they ventured, breaking off with them.

This froſt has been proportionably intenſe, and ſeems to have ſet in much ſooner, in France, Holland, and all the other north-eaſt countries of Europe; whereas in Cornwal, Wales, and Ireland, the weather was milder than uſual.

It is very remarkable that though great numbers of cattle of all kinds periſhed in the open fields during this froſt, ſeveral ſheep, which happened to be buried in the ſnow, fallen in ſome parts to a great depth, continued well and alive under it five or ſix weeks. It was even aſſured in the foreign papers, that the ſervant of an officer travelling in Germany on an open ſledge, having been left behind on the road, as, in all appearance, frozen to death, recovered his vital heat by a fall of ſnow, which ſoon covered him, ſo thoroughly and ſpeedily, that in three days time he was able to join his maſter.

Though the fires, which broke out during this froſt, were very numerous, ſcarce a day paſſing without one, few of them, except one that happened in the Strand, near Somerſet houſe, were permitted to get a-head. This, beſides greatly damaging the back part of ſaid palace, conſumed eight or nine houſes, and a poor lady aged 103, in whoſe apartments it broke out, while left by herſelf, unhapily periſhed in the flames.

A fire likewiſe broke out in the vaults

vaults of St. James's church, and many bodies were burnt before it could be perfectly extinguiſhed, which proved a work of great difficulty. It was attributed to the carleſsneſs of ſome undertakers ſervants, in leaving a link burning, or ſticking it againſt ſomething, during an interment there a few days before.

Hints by the late biſhop Berkeley of the kingdom of Ireland, concerning fires.

" Whether tiles and plaiſter may not ſupply the place of Norway fir, for flooring and wainſcot? Whether plaiſter be not warmer, as well as more ſecure, than deal? And whether a modern faſhionable houſe, lined with fir, daubed over with oil and paint, be not like a fireſhip ready to be lighted up by all accidents?"

Method of ſaving lives at dangerous fires.

" Into the upper part of a window-frame drive a ſtaple, or ſcrew in an iron bolt with an eye. Provide two blocks with two or three pullies in each, (which may be had cheap, at any ſhip block-maker's) paſs a rope through each pulley of a length ſufficient to reach the ground from the top of the window. Provide alſo a ſtrong bag or ſack, of about four feet deep, and eighteen inches wide, with a wooden bottom, and a few hoops to keep the ſack open, as in a hoop-petticoat. When an unhappy occaſion requires the uſe of theſe, let the hoop of the upper block be hung in the ſtaple; then the party muſt ſtand on the wooden bottom, and draw the ſack up about them, and hang the ſtring of the ſack on the hook of the under block, when any one perſon may, with the greateſt eaſe and ſafety, let them down to the ſtreet; and drawing up the ſack again may, in like manner, let down a whole family, women, children, ſick, old and infirm; and, and at laſt, lower himſelf down, by only holding the ſame rope in his own hand.

The moſt tender and timorous muſt be convinced of the eaſe and ſafety of this operation, by recollecting that it is the very ſame with that, by which, the moſt delicate ladies, when they make a viſit on board large ſhips, without any danger, are hoiſted up in a chair from their boat, and replaced there again.

Copy of a letter from New-York, Nov. 30, 1762.

" Since I wrote to you, one of our privateers has ſent in a prize here, taken out of a fleet of Frenchmen, bound from Cape Francois to France: this fleet conſiſted of about 25 ſail of merchant veſſels under convoy of three king's frigates, and a merchant frigate of 18 guns. Three privateers belonging to this place, and four Weſt India privateers cruizing together, firſt fell in with them. In the night they took five veſſels out of the fleet: and next day, commodore Keppel, who was cruizing there with ſeven men of war, appeared in ſight of the French fleet, and, with the privateers, has taken every one of them. Commodore Keppel has carried the four frigates and eighteen merchantmen to Jamaica. They are all richly laden with ſugar, coffee, and indigo. Three more are ordered here, and expected every hour."

In the courſe of the war we have taken from the French 18 ſhips of the line, and 36 frigates, and deſtroyed 14 ſhips and 13 frigates, and

and they have loſt by accidents 5 ſhips and 6 frigates; ſo that on the whole their navy has been deprived of 37 capital ſhips, and 55 frigates. From the Spaniards we have taken 12 ſhips and four frigates. Our loſs has been only 2 frigates taken, and 3 deſtroyed, and 13 ſhips and 14 frigates loſt by accident.

That we may loſe no time in exciting the gratitude of the public, towards that brave body, which ſo effectually contributed to put a ſpeedy and glorious end to the war, by the ever memorable reduction of the Havannah, we give our readers the following ſpecimen, of the unparalleled hardſhips they were now ſuffering in their return to Europe, though ſome of the facts mentioned in it properly belong to the year 1763.

On the 3d of November, admiral Pocock ſet ſail with the tranſports (in all about 60) from the Havannah. For three weeks they had a fine paſſage, and were within 200 leagues of the lands-end, when the wind coming about to the eaſt, and blowing a ſtorm, they were diſperſed and driven out of their courſe, many of them leaky and ill provided, and unable either to make land, or keep the ſea; in this wretched condition ſeveral periſhed; the Marlborough bore away in the utmoſt diſtreſs for Liſbon, and providentially was diſcovered by the Antelope from Newfoundland, juſt as the ſhip was ready to founder, fifty men at the pumps having worked night and day inceſſantly, till the whole crew was ſpent with fatigue, and unable to have ſubſiſted one night longer; the Temple man of war went to the bottom, but her crew were preſerved; the Devonſhire ſhared the ſame fate; the Culloden, if not periſhed, has ſuffered the utmoſt diſtreſs; 12 of the tranſports went to the bottom, and the ſufferings of thoſe who rode it out, are not to be conceived; reduced by famine, and waſted by fatigue, the men appeared like ſkeletons, and more than half of them died of thirſt, ſickneſs, and fatigue. Many of the ſhips beat the ſeas for near a month after they had made the land; and being leaky and worm-eaten when they left the Havannah, the continual apprehenſions of death were as terrible to many as death itſelf. The admiral himſelf did not reach land till the 13th of January, when he arrived at Portſmouth. It is computed that beſides what periſhed in the paſſage home, the conqueſt of the Havannah has coſt the nation upwards of ten thouſand men.

Some time ago a man having ſtolen a ſheep at Mitcham in Surry, tied its hind legs together, and put them over his forehead to carry it away; but in getting over a gate, the ſheep it, is thought, ſtruggled, and by a ſudden ſpring, ſlipped its feet down to his throat; for they were found in that poſture, the ſheep hanging on one ſide of the gate, and the man dead on the other.

There is now living in Yorkſhire, one Robert Oglebie, a tinker, who at this time travels the country for a livelihood, who was born Nov. 6, 1657, as appears by the regiſter book in the pariſh of Rippon, in Yorkſhire. He is a tall, upright, thin man, and ſays, he was married to his wife ſeventy-three years, by whom he had twelve boys and thirteen girls, and that ſhe lived to the age of 106. He can hear, and ſee to work, as well as ever he did in his life.

Died lately. Mrs. Baſſet at Haldane-houſe, near Exeter; who, it is ſaid, has left to the hoſpitals of Bath and Exeter 500l. each, and 400l. to the poor of four pariſhes in Cornwall and Devonſhire.

Mr. Evan Owens, at Denbigh, aged 100.

Mrs. Eſch, at Agnes-Burton, Yorkſhire, aged 100.

At Dijon in France, Touiſſant Maratrai, aged 112; at the age of 75 he married his ſecond wife, by whom he had children. He was a labouring man, and always enjoyed a good ſtate of health.

A general bill of the chriſtenings and burials in London, from December 15, 1761, to December 14, 1762.

Chriſtened		Buried	
Males	7859	Males	13101
Females	7492	Females	13225
	15351		26326

Increaſed in the burials this year 5263.

Died under 2 years of age		8371
Between 2 and	5	2287
5 and	10	936
10 and	20	918
20 and	30	2146
30 and	40	2379
40 and	50	2638
50 and	60	2212
60 and	70	2166
70 and	80	1526
80 and	90	659
90 and	100	85
	100	1
	102	1
	114	1
		26326

In the courſe of this year were chriſtened at Norwich, Males 525. Females 570. Increaſed 4. Buried, Males 586. Females 570. Increaſed 91.

At Liverpool, chriſt. Males 438. Females 403. Increaſed 51. Buried Males 564. Females 562. Increaſed 375. Marriages 375. Decreaſed 17.

At Dublin, chriſtened, Males 1043. Females 1447. Increaſed 281. Buried, Males 1273. Females 1217. Increaſed 198.

Harlem in Holland, Born 751. Died 1674. Increaſed 31.

Amſterdam, chriſtened in the reformed and Lutheran churches 4320. Married 2316. Buried 8412.

Newcaſtle, chriſtened 522. Increaſed 101. Buried 532. Increaſed 131.

At Mancheſter, chriſtened, Males 373. Females 316. Decreaſed 86. Buried, Males 274. Females 300. Increaſed 46. Married 351. Increaſed 11.

Tranſlation of a letter wrote by prince Ferdinand to general Sporcken, on reſigning to him the command of the allied army in Germany; containing his ſerene highneſs's thanks to the ſaid army, and likewiſe his majeſty's letter of thanks to his ſerene highneſs.

"SIR,

HAving had the honour, on my arrival at Neuhaus, to write to the king to congratulate him on the peace he had made with France and Spain, and at the ſame time to aſk his permiſſion to quit his army, where my preſence is no longer neceſſary; his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to give me a very favourable anſwer, in the following letter;

ter; which I send you, general, to be communicated to the army.

"Cousin,

I thank you for the obliging congratulations in your letter of the 23d past, on the happy conclusion of the peace, to which your good conduct at the head of my army hath so greatly contributed. I readily consent to your demand, and am very glad that after so much fatigue, you will enjoy, in the bosom of peace, that glory which you have so justly acquired. Being, moreover, convinced how much I owe to your great merit, you may be assured of my persevering in these sentiments, being, with much esteem and devotion, cousin, your devoted cousin,

St. James's
Dec. 3, 1762. GEORGE R."

"In consequence of this permission which his majesty has graciously given me, I resign to general Sporcken the command of the army, which I shall leave to-morrow the 24th of December. I am the better satisfied, as his majesty has condescended to repeat to me his approbation of my conduct: and I have the most grateful sense of the favours with which you honoured me during the time that I commanded the army. I shall never forget with how great and happy success I fought at the head of the brave troops that composed the army, for liberty, and for their country and mine. This I shall always remember, and it will make me think continually on the obligations I owe to the generals and officers in particular, who, by assisting me with their experience and their good advice, enabled me to serve my country, and to discharge, at the same time, the trust with which I was honoured by the king. I therefore desire, general, that you will return them my sincere thanks, and that you will also thank, in my name, the whole army, for the obedience they paid to me whilst I had the honour to command them.

Neuhaus, Dec. 23, 1762. FERDINAND, Duke of Brunswick."

The marquis of Granby's letter of thanks to the British forces in Germany. Dated Munster, Jan. 1.

"Lord Granby has hoped to have had it in his power to have seen and taken his leave of the troops, before their embarkation for England; but a severe illness having detained him at Warbourg, and his present state of health obliging him to take another rout, he could not leave this country without this public testimony of his entire approbation of their conduct, since he has had the honour of commanding them.

These sentiments naturally call for his utmost acknowledgments: He therefore returns his warmest thanks to the generals, officers, and private men, composing the whole British corps, for the bravery, zeal, discipline, and good conduct he has constantly experienced from every individual; and his most particular and personal thanks are due to them for their ready obedience, upon all occasions, to such orders as his station obliged him to give.

His best endeavours have always been directed to their good, by every means in his power; and he has the satisfaction to think he has some reason to flatter himself of their being convinced, if not of the efficacy, at least of the sincerity of his intentions, if he may judge by the noble return their behaviour has made

made him; a behaviour that, while it fills him with gratitude, endeared them to their king and country, and has covered them with glory and honour.

Highly ſenſible of their merit, he ſhall continue, while he lives, to look upon it as much his duty, as it will for ever be his inclination, to give them every poſſible proof of his affection and eſteem; which he ſhould be happy to make as apparent as their valour has been, and will be, conſpicuous and exemplary to after-ages.

An account of the extraordinary ceremonies obſerved, on account of the ſovereign's preſence, at the inſtallation of his royal highneſs prince William and the earl of Bute, as knights of the garter, at Windſor, Sept. 22, 1762.

THE inſtallation was preceded by the ceremony of the biſhop of Saliſbury's taking the oaths as chancellor of the order, after which his majeſty put the gold chain with the badge, about his neck, and delivered the purſe to him, &c.

When the ſovereign and the knights had retired to their ſtalls, Garter, with the uſual reverences, took up the banner of the late ſovereign, and holding it up, immediately Clarenceux and Norroy, kings of arms, joined, and making their reverences, repaired to his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, and his royal highneſs the duke of York, the two ſenior knights; who thereupon joined, and making their reverences together, received the banner from Garter, and being preceded by the two kings of arms, advanced to the firſt ſtep, or hautpas, where they repeated their reverences, and coming to the rail, made one to the altar; then kneeling, they delivered the banner to the prelate, who, aſſiſted by the prebends, placed it upright at the ſouth-end of the altar.

In the mean time, according to his majeſty's particular directions, all the other knights, as attending the offering of the ſovereign's banner, advanced from under their banners, and made their double reverences: The two knights who made the offering returning with reverences as before under their banners.

The ſword of the late ſovereign was then delivered by Garter to their royal highneſſes, and offered in like manner; and then the helm and creſt; which being done, their royal higneſſes returned, and went into their ſtalls.

After the two new knights were inſtalled, divine ſervice began.

And at the words of the offertory, *Let your light ſo ſhine*, the organs playing, the officers of the wardrobe ſpread a carpet on the ſteps before the altar, and Black Rod making his obeiſances, went up to the rails of the altar, on the right-ſide, where he received from the yeoman of the wardrobe, a rich carpet and cuſhion, which, with the aſſiſtance of the yeoman, he laid down for the ſovereign to kneel upon.

In the mean time Garter ſummoned the knights from their ſtalls, beginning with the junior, each knight making his reverences in his ſtall, and repeating the ſame with his companion in the choir, retired under his banner.

All the knights ſtanding under their banners.

The ſovereign, making his reverence to the altar, deſcended from his ſtall, and then making another reve-

reverence, proceeded to the offering.

As the proceſſion paſſed the duke of Newcaſtle, the ſenior knight (not of the blood royal) who was to deliver the offering to the ſovereign, he came from his banner, placing himſelf a little behind his majeſty on the right-ſide, and coming againſt the lord chamberlain's ſtall, he came from under his banner, going on the left-ſide of his majeſty.

The ſovereign coming to the rails of the altar, Black Rod delivered the offering on his knee to the knight, who preſented it to the ſovereign; and his majeſty taking off his cap, and kneeling, put the offering into the baſon held by the prelate, aſſiſted by the prebends.

The ſovereign then riſing, made one reverence to the altar, and being in his ſtall, another: the lord chamberlain, and the knights who delivered the offering, retiring behind their banners, when they came oppoſite to them in the return.

Dinner being ended, the knights placed themſelves on either ſide, at the upper-end of the hall; and grace being ſaid by the prelate, and the ſovereign having waſhed, the knights all together made their reverences to his majeſty, who put off his cap and re-ſaluted them; and a proceſſion was made back to the preſence chamber, in the ſame order they came from thence.

An authentic narrative of the death of Mark Anthony Calas, and of the trial and execution of his father, John Calas, for the ſuppoſed murder of his ſon. From the French.

JOHN CALAS was a merchant of the city of Toulouſe; where he had been ſettled, and lived in good repute, forty years: he married an Engliſh woman of French extraction, her grand-mother being of the family of Garde-Monteſquieu, and related to the chief nobleſſe of Languedoc.

Calas and his wife were Proteſtants, and had five ſons, whom they educated in the ſame religion: But Lewis, one of the ſons, ſome time ſince became a Roman Catholic; his father's maid-ſervant, a religious Catholick, who had lived thirty years in the family, having greatly contributed to his converſion; but the father was ſo far from expreſſing any reſentment or ill-will on the occaſion, that he ſettled an annuity upon Lewis, and ſtill kept the maid in his family.

In October 1761, the family ſeems to have conſiſted of the father John Calas and his wife, one woman ſervant, Mark Anthony Calas the eldeſt ſon, and Peter Calas, the ſecond ſon. Mark Anthony had been educated as a ſcholar, with a view to his becoming an advocate or counſellor at law; but he was not able to get himſelf admitted as a licentiate, becauſe he muſt either have performed ſome acts, which, as a Proteſtant, he could not have performed; or have purchaſed certificates, which he either thought unlawful, or found too expenſive: He could not follow the buſineſs of a merchant, becauſe he was not qualified for it by his education, nor his turn of mind; he therefore became diſcontented and melancholy, and endeavoured to diſſipate the gloom of his mind by playing at billiards, and other expenſive pleaſures, of which his father often expreſſed his diſapprobation with ſome warmth, and once threatened, that if he did not alter his conduct, he would turn him out of doors; or expreſſed

expreſſed himſelf in words to that effect. The young man's diſcontent and melancholy ſtill increaſed, and he ſeems to have entertained thoughts of putting an end to his life, as he was continually ſelecting and reading paſſages from Plutarch, Seneca, Montaigne, and many other authors on ſuicide, and could ſay by heart a French tranſlation of the celebrated ſoliloquy in Hamlet, which he frequently repeated, with ſome paſſages from a French tragi-comedy, called Sidney, to the ſame effect.

On the 13th of October 1761, M. Gober la Vaiſſe, a young gentleman about nineteen years of age, the ſon of La Vaiſſe, a celebrated advocate of Toulouſe, having been ſome time at Bordeaux, came back to Toulouſe to ſee his father; but finding that his father was gone to his country-houſe, at ſome diſtance from the city, he went to ſeveral places, endeavouring to hire a horſe to carry him thither. No horſe, however, was to be hired; and about five o'clock in the evening he was met by John Calas, the father, and the eldeſt ſon Mark Anthony, who was his friend. Calas, the father, invited him to ſupper, as he could not ſet out for his father's that night, and La Vaiſſe conſented. All three therefore proceeded to Calas's houſe together, and when they came thither, finding that Mrs. Calas was ſtill in her own room, which ſhe had not quitted that day, La Vaiſſe went up to ſee her. After the firſt compliments, he told her, he was to ſup with her by her huſband's invitation; ſhe expreſſed her ſatisfaction, and a few minutes after left him, to give ſome orders to her maid: When that was done, ſhe went to look for her ſon Anthony, whom ſhe found ſitting alone in the ſhop, very penſive; ſhe gave him ſome money, and deſired him to go and buy ſome Roquefort cheeſe, he being always the market-man for cheeſe, as he knew how to buy it good better than any other of the family.

She then returned to her gueſt La Vaiſſe, who very ſoon after went again to the livery-ſtable, to ſee if any horſe was come in, that he might ſecure it for the next morning.

In a ſhort time Anthony returned, having bought the cheeſe, and La Vaiſſe alſo coming back about the ſame time, the family and their gueſt ſat down to ſupper in a room up one pair of ſtairs, the whole company conſiſting of Calas the father and his wife, Anthony and Peter Calas, the ſons, and La Vaiſſe the gueſt, no other perſon being in the houſe except the maid-ſervant, who has been already mentioned.

It was now about ſeven o'clock; the ſupper was not long; but before it was over, or, according to the French expreſſion, *when they came to the deſert*, Anthony left the table, and went into the kitchen, which was on the ſame floor, as he uſed to do; the maid aſked him if he was a-cold; he anſwered, *Quite the contrary; I burn*; and then left her: In the mean time his friend and the family left the room they had ſupped in, and went into a bed-chamber: the father and M. La Vaiſſe ſat down together on a ſofa; the younger ſon Peter in an elbow chair, and the mother in another chair; and without making any enquiry after Anthony, continued in converſation together till between nine and ten o'clock, when La Vaiſſe took his leave, and Peter, who

who had fallen asleep, was awaked to attend him with a light.

On the ground-floor of Calas's house was a shop and a warehouse; the warehouse was divided from the shop by a pair of folding doors: When Peter Calas and La Vaisse came down stairs into the shop, they were extremely shocked to see Anthony hanging in his shirt, from a bar which he had laid across the top of the two folding doors, having half opened them for that purpose. Upon discovery of this horrid spectacle, they shrieked out, and the cry brought down Calas the father, the mother being seized with such a terror as kept her trembling in the passage above. The unhappy old man rushed forward, and taking the body in his arms, the bar to which the rope that suspended him was fastened, slipped off from the folding doors of the warehouse, and fell down: Having placed the body on the ground, he loosed and took off the cord, in an agony of grief and anguish not to be expressed, weeping, trembling, and deploring himself and his child. The two young men, his second son and La Vaisse, who had not had presence of mind enough to attempt taking down the body, were standing by, stupid with amazement and horror; in the mean time the mother, hearing the confused cries and complaints of her husband, and finding nobody coming to her, found means to get down stairs. At the bottom she found La Vaisse, and hastily and eagerly demanded what was the matter; this question rouzed him in a moment, and instead of answering her, he urged her to go again up stairs, to which, with much reluctance, she consented; but the conflict of her mind being such as could not be long borne, she sent down the maid, Jannet, to see what was the matter; when the maid discovered what had happened, she continued below, either because she feared to carry an account of it to her mistress, or because she busied herself in doing some good office to her master, who was still embracing the body of his son, and bathing it in his tears. The mother therefore, being thus left alone, went down, and mixed in the scene, that has been already described, with such emotions as it must naturally produce. In the mean time, Peter had been sent for La Moire, a surgeon in the neighbourhood; La Moire was not at home, but his apprentice, M. Grosse, came instantly: Upon examination, he found the body quite dead; and upon taking off the neckcloth, which was of black taffety, he saw the mark of the cord, and immediately pronounced, that the deceased had been strangled. This particular had not been told; for the poor old man, when Peter was going for La Moire, cried out, "Save at least the honour of my family; do not go and spread a report that your brother has made away with himself."

By this time a crowd of people was gathered about the door, and one Casing, with another friend or two of the family were come in; some of those who were in the street had heard the cries and exclamations of the father, the mother, the brother, and his friend, before they knew what was the matter; and having by some means learnt that Anthony Calas was suddenly dead, and that the surgeon who

who had examined the body, declared he had been ſtrangled, they took it into their heads that he had been murdered; and as his family were proteſtants, they preſently ſuppoſed that the young man was about to abjure their religion, and had been put to death for that reaſon. The cries they had heard, they fancied were thoſe of the deceaſed, while he was reſiſting the violence that was offered him. The tumult in the ſtreet increaſed every moment; ſome ſaid that Anthony Calas was to have abjured the next day; others, that Proteſtants are bound by their religion to ſtrangle or cut the throats of their children, when they are inclined to become Catholics; Others, who had found out that La Vaiſſe was in the houſe when the accident happened, very confidently affirmed, that the Proteſtants, at their laſt aſſembly, appointed a perſon to be their common executioner on theſe occaſions, and that La Vaiſſe was the man, who, in conſequence of the office to which he had been appointed, had come to Calas's to hang his ſon.

The poor father, therefore, who was overwhelmed with grief for the loſs of his child, was adviſed by his friends to ſend for the officers of juſtice, to prevent his being torn to pieces for having murdered him.

This was accordingly done: One was diſpatched to the Capitoul, one David, the firſt magiſtrate of the police, or principal civil magiſtrate of the place; and another to an inferior officer, called an aſſeſſor: The Capitoul was already ſet out, having been alarmed by the rumour of a murder, before the meſſenger ſent from Calas's got to his houſe: He entered the houſe with 40 ſoldiers, took the father, Peter the ſon, the mother, La Vaiſſe, and the maid, all into cuſtody, and ſet a guard over them: He ſent for M. de la Tour, a phyſician, and M. La Marque and Perronet, ſurgeons, who examined the body for marks of violence, but found none except the mark of the ligature on the neck; they found alſo the hair of the deceaſed done up in the uſual manner, perfectly ſmooth, and without the leaſt diſorder; his cloaths alſo were regularly folded up, and laid upon the counter, nor was his ſhirt either torn or unbuttoned.

Notwithſtanding theſe appearances, David thought fit to give into the opinion of the mob, and took it into his head that old Calas had ſent for La Vaiſſe, telling him he had a ſon to be hanged, that La Vaiſſe had come to perform the office of executioner, and that the father and the brother had aſſiſted him in it.

The body, by order of this poor ignorant bigot, was carried to the town-houſe with the cloaths. The father and ſon were thrown into a dark dungeon; and the mother, La Vaiſſe, the maid, and Caſing, were impriſoned in one that admitted the light. The next day, what is called the verbal proceſs, was taken at the Town-houſe, inſtead of the ſpot where the body was found, as the law directs, and was dated at Calas's houſe, to conceal the irregularity: This verbal proceſs is ſomewhat like our coroner's inqueſt; witneſſes are examined, and the magiſtrate makes his report, which is the ſame there as the verdict of the coroner's jury with us. The witneſſes examined by this Capitoul were the phyſician and ſurgeon, who proved

Anthony Calas to have been ſtrangled; the ſurgeon, having been ordered to examine the ſtomach of the deceaſed, depoſed alſo, that the food which was found there had been taken four hours before his death: As no proof of the ſuppoſed fact could be procured, the Capitoul had recourſe to a Monitory, in which the crime was taken for granted, and all perſons were required to give ſuch teſtimony concerning it as they were able, particularizing the points to which they were to ſpeak. This Monitory recites, that La Vaiſſe was commiſſioned by the Proteſtants to be their executioner in ordinary, when any of their children were to be hanged for changing their religion; it recites alſo, that when Proteſtants thus hang their children, they compel them to kneel, and one of the interrogatories was, whether any perſon had ſeen Anthony Calas kneel before his father when he ſtrangled him; it recites too, that Anthony died a Roman Catholic, and requires evidence of his Catholiciſm: Theſe ridiculous opinions being thus adopted and publiſhed by the principal magiſtrate of a conſiderable city, the church of Geneva thought itſelf obliged to ſend an atteſtation of its abhorrence of opinions ſo abominable and abſurd, and of its aſtoniſhment that they ſhould be ſuſpected of ſuch opinions, by perſons whoſe rank and office required them to have more knowledge and better judgment.

But before this Monitory was publiſhed, the mob had got a notion that Anthony Calas was the next day to have entered into the confraternity of the White Penitents. The Capitoul immediately adopted this opinion alſo, without the leaſt examination, and ordered Anthony's body to be buried in the middle of St. Stephen's church, which was done; forty prieſts, and all the White Penitents aſſiſting in the funeral proceſſion.

Four days afterwards, the White Penitents performed a ſolemn ſervice for him in their chapel; the church was hung with white, and a tomb was raiſed in the middle of it, on the top of which was placed a human ſkeleton, holding in one hand a paper, on which was written *abjuration of hereſy*, and in the other a palm, the emblem of martyrdom.

The next day the Franciſcans performed a ſervice of the ſame kind for him, and it is eaſy to imagine how much the minds of the people were inflamed by this ſtrange folly of their magiſtrates and prieſts.

The Capitoul continued the proſecution with unrelenting ſeverity, and though the grief and diſtraction of the family, when he firſt came to the houſe, were alone ſufficient to have convinced any reaſonable being that they were not the authors of the event which they deplored, yet having publickly atteſted that they were guilty in his Monitory without proof, and no proof coming in, he thought fit to condemn the unhappy father, mother, brother, friend and ſervant to the torture, and put them all into irons on the 18th of November. Caſing was enlarged upon proof that he was not in Calas's houſe till after Anthony was dead.

From theſe dreadful proceedings the ſufferers appealed to the parliament, which immediately took cognizance of the affair, annulled the ſentence of the Capitoul as irregular,

gular, and continued the profecution.

When the trial came on, the hangman, who had been carried to Calas's houſe, and ſhewn the folding doors and the bar, depoſed, that it was impoſſible Anthony ſhould hang himſelf as was pretended; another witneſs ſwore that they looked thro' the key hole of Calas's door into a dark room, where they ſaw men running haſtily to and fro; a third ſwore, that his wife had told him, that a woman, named Mandrill, had told her, that a certain woman unknown had declared ſhe heard the cries of Mark Anthony Calas at the farther end of the city. Upon ſuch evidence as this, the majority of the parliament were of opinion, that the father and mother ordered La Vaiſſe to hang their ſon, and that another ſon and a maid-ſervant, who was a good Catholic, had aſſiſted him to do it.

One La Borde preſided at the trial, who had zealouſly eſpouſed the popular prejudices, and though it was manifeſt to demonſtration that the priſoners were either all innocent, or all guilty, he voted that the father ſhould firſt ſuffer the torture ordinary and extraordinary, to diſcover his accomplices, and be then broken alive upon the wheel, to receive the laſt ſtroke when he had laid two hours, and then to be burnt to aſhes. In this opinion he had the concurrence of ſix others, three were for the torture alone, two were of opinion that they ſhould endeavour to aſcertain upon the ſpot whether Anthony could hang himſelf or not, and one voted to acquit the priſoner. After long debates, the majority was for the torture and the wheel, and probably condemned the father by way of experiment, whether he was guilty or not, hoping he would, in his agony, confeſs the crime, and accuſe the other priſoners, whoſe fate, therefore, they ſuſpended: It is, however, certain, that if they had had evidence againſt the father that would have juſtified the ſentence they pronounced againſt him, that very evidence would have juſtified the ſame ſentence againſt the reſt, and that if they could not juſtly condemn the reſt, they could not juſtly condemn him, for they were all in the houſe together when Anthony died, all concurred in declaring he hanged himſelf, which thoſe who did not help to hang him, if hanged by others, could have had no motive to do, nor could any of the priſoners have hanged him by violence, without the knowledge of the reſt.

Poor Calas, however, an old man of ſixty-eight, was condemned to this dreadful puniſhment alone; he ſuffered the torture with great conſtancy, and was led to execution in a frame of mind which excited the admiration of all that ſaw him.

Two Dominicans, father Bourges and father Caldagues, who attended him in his laſt moments, wiſhed, "their latter end might be like his," and declared that they thought him not only wholly innocent of the crime laid to his charge, but an exemplary inſtance of true chriſtian patience, fortitude, and charity.

One ſingle ſhriek, and that not very violent, eſcaped him when he received the firſt ſtroke, after that he uttered no complaint. Being at length placed on the wheel, to wait for the moment which was to end his life and his miſery together, he expreſſed himſelf with an humble hope of an happy immortality, and

a compaſſionate regard for the judges who had condemned him. When he ſaw the executioner preparing to give him the laſt ſtroke, he made a freſh declaration of his innocence to father Bourges, but while the words were yet in his mouth, the Capitoul, the author of this cataſtrophe, and who came upon the ſcaffold merely to gratify his deſire of being a witneſs of his puniſhment and death, ran up to him and bawled out, *Wretch, there are the faggots which are to reduce your body to aſhes; ſpeak the truth.* Mr. Calas made no reply, but turned his head a little aſide, and that moment the executioner did his office.

Though the teſtimony of a dying man had thus acquitted the reſt of the priſoners, yet the judges, that they might act with an uniform abſurdity through the whole affair, baniſhed Peter Calas for life, and acquitted the reſt. The widow and the other ſufferers are ſeeking ſuch redreſs from the king as can now be had, to whom the ſentence of the judge was not ſent for confirmation as it ought to have been.

The judges have thought fit to ſuppreſs the trial; the widow petitions that it may be ordered to be laid before the parliament of Paris for a reviſion.

Some account of the murder of Anne Naylor, by Sarah Metyard, and her daughter Sarah Morgan Metyard.

IN the year 1758, Sarah Metyard, the mother, kept a little haberdaſher's ſhop in Bruton-ſtreet, Hanover-ſquare, and her daughter, then about 19 years old, lived with her; their chief buſineſs was making ſilk nets, purſes, and mittins, and they took pariſh children apprentice: They had then five, Philadelphia Dowley, about 10 years old; Sarah Hinchman, about 12; Anne Nailor, about 13; Mary, her ſiſter, about eight; and Anne Paul, whoſe age does not appear; but as Hinchman is ſaid to have been the biggeſt girl, ſhe was probably not more than 10.

Theſe children were kept to work in a ſmall ſlip of a room, ſo cloſe that their breath, and the heat of their bodies, made it ſuffocating and unwholſome, and they were not only treated with unkindneſs and ſeverity, but were not allowed ſufficient food: As it was natural to ſuppoſe they would complain, another puniſhment became neceſſary, and they were ſuffered to go out of doors but once a fortnight, and then were never alone. Anne Nailor had a whitloe upon her finger, ſo bad, that it was obliged to be cut off, and, being beſides a weakly ſickly child, ſhe became particularly obnoxious to the inhumanity and avarice of the petty tyrant, of whom ſhe was condemned to be the ſlave.

Being almoſt worn out by a long ſeries of ill-treatment, the girl, at length, ran away, but was ſoon brought back; after this, ſhe was treated with yet greater ſeverity, and kept ſo ſhort of food, that finding her ſtrength decay, ſhe watched for an opportunity to run away a ſecond time; but this was now become very difficult, for the mother and daughter being apprehenſive of ſuch an attempt, and dreading the conſequences of a complaint, yet more than the loſs of the girl, were careful to keep the ſtreet door faſt, and their unhappy victim in the upper part of the houſe.

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It happened, however, that on the 29th of September, she watched the door's being opened for the milkman, and creeping down stairs, took the opportunity of the daughter's back being turned, to slip out; but the daughter missing her while she was yet in sight, called out to have her stopped, and the milkman, as she was running with what strength she had left, caught her in his arms: The poor child expostulated with the man, and pressed him, with a moving earnestness, to let her go; *Pray milkman*, says she, *let me go, for I have had no victuals a long time, and if I stay here, I shall be starved to death*; by this time the daughter was come up, and the milkman having no power to detain the child, and it being impossible for her to escape, she fell again into the hands of her merciless tyrants; and the daughter having dragged her into the house by the neck, slapped too the door, and then forced her up stairs into the room, where the old woman was still in bed, though she had started up, and joined in the cry, upon the first alarm. Here she was thrown upon the bed, and the old woman held her down by the head, while the daughter beat her with the handle of a hearth-broom; after this, she was forced in a two pair of stairs back room, and a string being tied round her waist, she was made fast to the door, with her hands bound behind her, so that she could neither lie nor sit down. In this manner she was kept standing without food or drink for three days, being untied only at night that she might go to bed, and the last night she was so feeble, that she was obliged to crawl up to bed upon her hands and knees; during this time, the other children were ordered to work in the room by her, that they might be deterred from attempting to escape, by seeing the punishment that was inflicted upon one who had thus offended already.

The first day, she said little, her strength failing her apace, the next day, she said nothing, but the pains of death coming on, she groaned piteously; on the third day, soon after she was tied up her strength wholly failed her, and she sunk down, hanging double in the string which bound her by the waist: The children being then frighted, ran to the top of the stairs, and called out, *Miss Sally! Miss Sally! Nanny does not move*; the daughter came up stairs, and found her without any appearance of sense or motion, hanging by the string with her head and her feet together; but she was so far from being touched with pity, that she cried out, *If she does not move, I'll warrant I'll make her move*, and immediately began to beat her with the heel of her shoe: finding, however, notwithstanding the blows, which were very hard, that the poor wretch shewed no signs of sensibility, fear took the alarm, and she hastily called up her mother. When the old woman came up, she sat down upon the garret stairs, at the door where the child was still hanging, and the string being at length cut, she laid her across her lap, and sent Sally Hinchman down stairs for some drops: When the drops were brought, the girls were all sent down stairs, and the mother and daughter were soon convinced that their victim was dead.

Having consulted together, they carried the body up stairs into the fore-garret, next to that where the

child uſed to lie, and locked the door that the other children might not ſee it. They pretended ſhe had had a fit, from which ſhe ſoon recovered, and for two or three days they inſinuated, that ſhe was confined in the garret to prevent her running away, having made a third attempt to eſcape; and the mother herſelf, in ſight of the children, took victuals and carried it up into the garret, pretending it was Nanny's dinner.

On the fourth day, the body being ſtripped, was locked up in a box; and, in conſequence of a plan concerted between the mother and daughter, the garret door was left open when the children were ſent down to dinner, and the ſtreet door was alſo opened and left a-jar; when they were at dinner, the mother ſaid to the daughter, *Hark! Sally, don't you hear a noiſe, go and ſee what it is*; to which the daughter, as had been agreed, replied, *there is no noiſe*, and continued at table; then ſaid the old woman to Sally Hinchman, *Go and fetch Nanny down, ſhe ſhall dine below to-day*; Hinchman went up, and finding the garret door open, and the child not there, ran back frighted, and ſaid, *Madam, Nanny is not there—Run down then*, ſaid the old woman, *and look below*; upon this ſeveral of the children ran down, and finding the ſtreet door alſo open, came up, and told what they had ſeen—*Aye*, ſaid the old woman, *then ſhe is run away at laſt*; *and it was ſhe that I heard, when I mentioned the noiſe*; *girls, did you not hear a noiſe? O! law madam*, ſaid the poor children, implicitly concurring in an opinion they did not dare to contradict, *ſo we did.*

Thus they hoped to account for the child's abſence to her fellow-prentices, who were not, however, without ſuſpicions; one of them in particular, obſerved, that if ſhe had run away, ſhe had run away without her ſhoes, of which ſhe was known to have had but one pair, and they were found in the garret ſoon after the ſuppoſed eſcape; another remarked, that they had all her ſhifts in the waſh, and that it was not likely ſhe ſhould eſcape without either ſhift or ſhoes: The old woman hearing this whiſpered, ſaid, *That ſhe went without her ſhoes for fear of being heard to go down ſtairs, and that if ſhe could but get into the ſtreet, ſhe would not mind being barefoot*; the ſhifts ſhe could not ſo readily account for, and a perſon who lodged in the houſe, having aſked what was become of Nanny, was anſwered by her ſiſter, *that ſhe was dead.* The lodger was ſatisfied with the anſwer, having no ſuſpicion that her death was not natural; but the mother hearing of it, aſked Molly Nailor, Who told her that her ſiſter was dead? ſhe replied, Philly Dowley, one of her fellow-prentices: Philly, therefore, was ſharply reproved. Molly was ſoon after deſtroyed as her ſiſter had been, and the horrid ſecret ſlept with the mother and daughter.

It became neceſſary, however, to keep the children out of the garret, for the body was become very offenſive; they were therefore ordered not to waſh their hands there as uſual, but to waſh them in the kitchen, and the garret door was kept locked. But, at the end of two months, the putrefaction was ſo great, that the whole houſe was infected, and it became abſolutely neceſſary to remove the body.

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The old woman, therefore, took the body out of the box, and cut it to pieces, thinking it more eaſy to diſpoſe of it in parts than whole: ſhe endeavoured to cut off the head, but could not; ſhe therefore tied up the head and body in a piece of brown cloth, which was part of the bed furniture, and the limbs in another piece of the ſame, except the hand which had loſt a finger, that being ſo remarkable, as to make particlar caution neceſſary.

This was on the 5th of December, the depth of winter, when the nights were dark and long, and all being thus far in readineſs, the children were ſent to bed: the old woman then fetched down the hand which wanted the finger, and burnt it, but her fear was ſo little mixed with remorſe or pity, that ſhe curſed the unhappy creature ſhe had murdered, becauſe her bones were ſo long in conſuming, and comforted herſelf at the ſame time, by ſaying, that the fire told no tales: ſhe would have burnt the reſt of the body, but was afraid of alarming the neighbours by the ſmell; ſhe therefore, the ſame night, took the two bundles, and carried them to the great gully hole in Chick-lane, where the kennel water runs into the common ſhore, whence it falls into the Thames. When ſhe came thither, ſhe took them out of the cloths, and endeavoured to throw them piece-meal over the wall, behind which the common ſhore is open, but could not; ſhe therefore threw them down in the mud and water before the grate, and returned home.

About twelve o'clock the ſame night, the mangled body was ſeen where Metyard had left it, by two watchmen, who gave notice of it to the conſtable, who went immediately to the overſeer of the pariſh, St. Andrew's, Holbourn, and deſired he would come and remove it: the overſeer went with the conſtable and watchmen to the place, and all the parts of the body being collected, except the hand, it was carried to the workhouſe; the next day Mr. Umfreville, the coroner, was acquainted with it, who directed the parts to be put together and waſhed, which being done, he came, and having taken a view of it, he gave a warrant for its burial, without ſummoning any jury, probably ſuppoſing it had been in the hands of ſome ſurgeon.

Thus was the child murdered, and the body diſpoſed of without raiſing any ſuſpicion; no enquiry was made or apprehended, and the murderers were in the hands only of each other.

They had, however, always lived upon very ill terms, and though the daughter was between 19 and 20 years old, the mother uſed frequently to beat her; the daughter, hoping to terrify the mother into better behaviour, would, when thus provoked, threaten to accuſe her of the murder, and make herſelf an evidence to prove it, ſuppoſing that the mother's teſtimony would not then be admitted againſt her: this rendered their animoſities more bitter; ſometimes ſhe urged the mother to let her go to ſervice, and ſometimes declared ſhe would drown herſelf. The mother always oppoſed her going to ſervice, becauſe ſhe found her aſſiſtance neceſſary in her buſineſs, and conſidered her talk about drowning herſelf, as the mere unmeaning ravings of paſſion, which, as ſoon as the paſſion ſubſided, were thought of no more.

Thus they continued to hate, to reproach, and to torment each other, till about two years after the child had been dead; when one Mr. Rooker, who appears to have been a dealer in tea, took a lodging in their houſe.

Rooker obſerved, that the daughter was very ill treated by the mother, who ſtill continued to beat her, and, after lodging with them about three months, he took a houſe the upper end of Hill-ſtreet, Berkeley-ſquare; and, when he went away, he took the daughter in mere compaſſion as a ſervant.

The old woman, upon the daughter's leaving her, became quite outrageous; ſhe went almoſt every day to Rooker's, and abuſed both him and the girl in the moſt opprobrious terms, and with ſuch clamour and vehemence as frequently to breed a riot about the door; this, however, in compaſſion to the girl, he endured patiently at firſt, hoping time would put an end to it. It was not long before a little place fell to him at Ealing, and he immediately quitted his houſe in town, and went to live there, taking the girl with him; but the mother, neither ſoftened by time, nor diſcouraged by diſtance, followed her thither, and continued her abuſe with yet more malice and vociferation. When orders were given to refuſe her admittance, ſhe forced her way in, and, at other times, behaved in ſuch a manner before the houſe, that to let her in was thought the leaſt evil of the two. Rooker was loaded with reproaches, and the girl was often cruelly beaten. It is probable that ſhe would have been killed if aſſiſtance had not been at hand, for ſhe was once found forced up into a corner by the mother, who, having torn off her cap and handkerchief, and greatly bruiſed and ſcratched her face, had laid hold of a pointed knife, which ſhe was aiming at her breaſt. This continued till the 9th of June laſt, and, it had been obſerved that in the height of their quarrels, many doubtful and myſterious expreſſions were uſed that intimated ſome ſecret of importance between them.

The mother uſed to call Rooker, "The old perfume tea dog," and the daughter would reply, *Mother, remember you are the perfumer*, alluding to her having kept the child's body in a box till it could not be endured: at other times the daughter, when provoked, would ſay, *You are the Chick-lane ghoſt; remember the gully-hole in Chick-lane.*

Theſe obſcure hints made Rooker uneaſy; and one day, after the mother was gone, he urged the girl ſo preſſingly to tell what they meant, that, with many tears, and great reluctance, ſhe gave him an account of the murder, begging, at the ſame time, that it might be a ſecret.

As by this account the girl did not appear to be any otherways culpable than by concealing the mother's crime, and as Mr. Rooker ſuppoſed alſo that the fact could not be proved without her evidence, he immediately wrote an account of what he had learnt, to the officers of the pariſh of Tottenham-High-Croſs, by whom the deceaſed had been put out an apprentice, that a proſecution againſt the mother might be commenced.

In conſequence of this letter, the pariſh officers applied to Sir John Fielding, at whoſe houſe they were met by Rooker and the daughter, and

and proper perſons were ſent to bring the mother and her apprentices before the juſtice. The mother was ſoon brought, with Dowley and Hinchman, two of the girls who lived with her when the murder was committed: the daughter's examination was taken, which contained a very full, direct, and clear charge againſt the mother, who was therefore committed to New Priſon; the girls were ſent for farther examination to the workhouſe of St. George, Hanover-ſquare, and the daughter was diſmiſſed: but the mother and the apprentices being examined a ſecond and third time, ſome evidence came out which affected the daughter, who was therefore committed to the Gatehouſe on the 5th of July.

Bills of indictment were ſoon after found againſt both mother and daughter, and the evidence of the girls was thought ſufficient to convict them both.

On the 16th of July they were brought to their trial at the ſeſſions houſe in the Old Bailey, when the two girls depoſed, that the deceaſed was tied up and cruelly beaten by the daughter, and kept without victuals, till ſhe died, by the joint conſent of both daughter and mother. Mr. Rooker depoſed, that the daughter related the circumſtances of the murder to him as ſhe had related them in her examination, and told him, that the mutilated hand was burnt, and the reſt of the body thrown into the gully-hole in Chick-lane. The conſtable proved that all the corps, except the hand, was found there; and Rooker alſo depoſed, that the children who lived with her, when he lived in her houſe, were ill treated.

The mother, in her defence, alledged, that the deceaſed was ſickly, and was therefore kept apart from the reſt; that ſhe had a fit, from which ſhe was recovered by hartſhorn drops, and that ſoon after ſhe ran away. The daughter gave a long and circumſtantial account of the whole tranſaction, but imputed all the guilt to the mother. She ſaid, that the night before the child died, ſhe entreated her mother to ſend her ſome victuals, which ſhe refuſed with many oaths and execrations; that ſhe, the daughter, did not tye her, nor know ſhe was tyed the laſt morning; that ſhe generally gave the children victuals by ſtealth, for which her mother, when ſhe diſcovered it, uſed to upbraid and to beat her; that after Nanny died, ſhe urged the mother to have the body buried, which the mother refuſed, calling her fool, and ſaying, *That the body, upon view, would ſhew that the child had been ſtarved*; that the mother urged her to aſſiſt in cutting it to pieces, which ſhe refuſed; and uſed to threaten if ever ſhe ſpoke of it, that ſhe would ſwear firſt and become an evidence againſt her; ſhe alſo denied that ſhe ever beat the children, and declared that ſhe had ſuffered much from the mother's cruelty, becauſe ſhe would not be the inſtrument of it againſt them.

If this, however, had been true, the girls, on whoſe teſtimony ſhe was convicted, would have had no motive to depoſe againſt her; they neceſſarily would have loved her in proportion as they hated the old woman; and as they could have no intereſt in accuſing her, neither could they have had any inclination.

They

They were, after a long trial, both convicted, and received ſentence of death; but, even after this there continued ſo bitter an animoſity between them, that it was neceſſary to confine them apart.

Both denied the charge conſtantly and invariably, but with this difference; the mother declared the child was not ſtarved, and the daughter declared the mother ſtarved her; ſo that though the daughter accuſed the mother, the mother did not accuſe the daughter. The daughter alſo pleaded pregnancy, but a jury of matrons declared ſhe was not pregnant.

They were both overwhelmed with a ſenſe of their condition, and about ſix o'clock in the evening before the execution, the mother, who had neither eaten or drank for ſome time, fell into convulſions, and continued ſpeechleſs and inſenſible till her death. The daughter, though ſhe was preſent when this happened, took no notice of it, but continued her converſation with a friend who was come to take leave of her.

The daughter perſiſted to the laſt in declaring herſelf innocent of all but concealing the murder, which ſhe extenuated by ſaying, She thought it was her duty. *What could I do, ſays ſhe, it was my mother!* She alſo ſolemnly declared, that ſhe had no criminal connection with any man, particularly with Mr. Rooker, whom yet ſhe always mentioned rather as a friend than a maſter; and that though ſhe pleaded pregnancy, it was only done as an expedient to gain a ſhort reſpite, not knowing that a jury would determine the fact immediately. This declaration has been confirmed by the teſtimony of ſome perſons who were preſent at the diſſection of her body; and it is ſaid, that though a little woman, ſhe was remarkably pretty, and had a form extremely delicate, and well proportioned.

The mother was executed in the 44th, and the daughter in the 24th year of her age.

Some account of a remarkable forgery committed by John and Joſeph Kello.

JOHN KELLO was 26 years old, and Joſeph 24; John came over in partnerſhip with a gentleman from Virginia about three years ago, as his brother Joſeph ſwore at his trial; but it does not appear that this partnerſhip produced him more than one remittance of 300l. in three years. From his coming over to his being apprehended he lived in Bloomſbury, and Joſeph was, during the ſame time, clerk to Mr. Charles More of Aldermanbury, and ſwore that for the laſt year and a half he ſupported not only himſelf but his brother John, though, when queſtioned by John at the trial, it appeared he had received above 30 guineas of him to pay his debts.

Joſeph had before ſerved an apprenticeſhip to Mr. John Howell, a Blackwell-hall factor, and during that apprenticeſhip he became acquainted with Mr Joſeph Cotton, who was alſo then apprentice to a packer, and uſed to be ſent by his maſter to aſſiſt Kello.

Mr. Cotton, coming into buſineſs for himſelf, ſtill continued his ac-

acquaintance with Kello, who uſed to be continually backwards and forwards at his houſe in Aldermanbury, where Kello alſo lived.

Mr. Cotton, at this time, did a good deal of buſineſs for Mr. Partridge in the preſſing and packing way, was converſant in his other branches of buſineſs, and greatly truſted by him, ſo that Kello had great opportunities of becoming acquainted with Mr. Partridge's affairs, but did not know him perſonally

The two brothers being neceſſitous, conceived a deſign of obtaining money by forgery above a year ago, but could not determine in whoſe name to practiſe the fraud. Joſeph's acquaintance with Mr. Partridge's affairs, by Mr. Cotton's means, at length determined them to practiſe it on him.

With this view Joſeph took an opportunity to take a draft of Mr. Partridge's from a file in his counting houſe, and from this draft he forged another, in the following words:

To Meſſ. Amyand, Staples, and Mercer.
Auguſt 28, 1762.

Pay to Bearer a thouſand Pounds.
£ 1000. *W. Partridge.*

He had before forged ſeveral others, all for a thouſand pounds, but the reſemblance was not thought ſo great as in this.

The 28th of Auguſt, the day of the date of the note, was Saturday, and Joſeph Kello had learnt of Mr. Cotton, that Mr. Partridge would, on that day, go to Harlow, and in his way dine at Woodford. He and his brother John, therefore, determining that this was an opportunity not to be loſt, went together to the Red-lion alehouſe in Moorfields, where John Kello wrote the following letter in Mr. Partridge's name to Mr. Cotton:

Woodford, Aug. 28, 1762.

Mr. Cotton,

"*Receive the incloſed draught yourſelf in bank, and carry it directly under cover, directed for Mr. Rous, to be left at the bar of Sam's coffee-houſe; leave the bill with the banker: ſhould not this come time enough this evening, be ſure carry it early, as above, on Monday, but don't fail this evening, if poſſible. Your's,*

Wm. Partridge."

When the body of the letter was written by John, who, it ſhould ſeem, had, by ſome means, learnt alſo to imitate Mr. Partridge's hand, Joſeph counterfeited the name to it, and dated it: they then incloſed in it the draught for 1000 l. and, to give it colour, a forged bill of exchange for 350 l. ſuppoſed to be from a clothier, in favour of Mr. Partridge.

The letters, with the draft and bill, were then put into a cover, which they directed to Mr. Cotton, at Mr. Elliot's, in Aldermanbury; and as they could procure no wax at the ale-houſe, they went to a ſtationer's in White-Chapel, where they bought a ſtick, and where they alſo borrowed the uſe of a ſeal, and ſealed up their packet.

It was now about five o'clock, and the buſineſs being thus far diſpatched, Joſeph Kello went immediately to Mr. Cotton, whom he found at his ware-houſe contiguous to Mr. Partridge's houſe; and ſoon after his brother John, with whom he had left the letter, ſent it from the change by a porter, as directed.

When Cotton received the letter, Joſeph Kello was with him: he aſked the porter whence he brought it, who anſwered, from a gentleman who

who gave it him in the ſtreet, and that it required no anſwer.

When he had read the letter, and examined the draught and bill it contained, having no ſuſpicion of forgery, as the ſimilitude was very great, he immediately ſet about obeying Mr. Partridge's orders. It was now about near the time when bankers ſhut up their ſhops; for expedition's ſake, therefore, Kello directed a blank cover to Mr. Rous, with which Cotton ran to Mr. Amyand's, taking with him the draught and bill: he happened to find Mr. Mercer, one of the partners, who expreſſed ſome ſurprize at his coming ſo late, but however, gave him a bank note for 1000 l. in exchange for the draught.

This bank note he incloſed in the cover directed by Joſeph Kello, and borrowing a wafer in the ſhop, ſealed it, and went himſelf with it to Sam's coffee-houſe, in Exchange-alley, being well acquainted with a gentleman whoſe name was Rous, who lived at Hackney, and for whom he ſuppoſed the bank note was intended by Mr. Partridge.

He aſked for the maſter or miſtreſs of the houſe, but both were abroad; he then left the cover, with the note ſealed up in it, at the bar, but did not leave the houſe.

Having waited there three hours, and nobody coming for the letter, he took it back from the waiter, and left a paper inſtead of it at the bar, on which he wrote, *The letter for Mr. Rous is at J. Cotton's, Aldermanbury*: he then went home, where he found Joſeph Kello ſtill waiting, for he would not venture to call or ſend for the letter till he knew Cotton was returned from the coffee-houſe.

Kello aſked him if he had left the letter; and he ſaid, No, he was afraid. Kello then went to his brother, who was waiting to know how matters went on, at Seymour's coffee-houſe in Pope's-head-alley. It was there agreed that John ſhould ſend a verbal meſſage by a chairman to Cotton, from the Antigallican, deſiring him to deliver to him the letter that was to have been left at Sam's for Mr. Rous.

Kello then haſted back again to Cotton, and ſoon after the chairman came for the letter.

Mr. Cotton ſaid he would go along with him, and ſee the gentleman to whom the letter was to be delivered; he did ſo; and the miſtreſs of the houſe told him the gentleman was gone, but would return in ten minutes: for John Kello had the precaution not to ſtay in the houſe, but to watch the porter's return, and ſee whether he came alone.

Cotton then ſat down, waiting the return of the gentleman: and having ſtayed till near 12 o'clock, returned again back with the letter and note, leaving a billet at the coffee-houſe, purporting, that the letter ſhould be delivered the next morning at Mr. Rous's at Hackney, by 10 o'clock.

At his return, he found Joſ. Kello ſtill waiting, who aſked if he had left the parcel: he ſaid, No: Why, ſays Kello, Mr. Partridge will be very angry; you don't know the conſequence of not leaving it. Cotton, however, ſtill continued firm in his intention of carrying it himſelf to Hackney, in the morning, and immediately wrote a letter to Mr. Partridge, telling him what he had done, and what he intended to do; with which he and Kello both went to the Poſt-office; and it being

ing paſt twelve, Cotton gave ſixpence to have it received.

Joſ. Kello lay with Cotton that night; and in the morning he got up before ſix, and went to his brother John, and acquainted him with what had happened, and with Cotton's intention of carrying the note to Hackney.

It was then agreed that another letter ſhould be written to Mr. Cotton, as from Partridge, to acquaint him that he had learnt by expreſs that he (Cotton) had not acted agreeable to the direction in the firſt letter, and deſiring that he would leave the note at Sam's without delay.

Joſeph Kello leaving his brother to write and ſend the letter, returned to Cotton, whom he found ſetting out for Hackney, and ſet out with him, in order, if poſſible, to find ſome means of delay. Mr. Cotton had propoſed to call at the Sun at London Wall, and while they were drinking a pot of beer Kello pretended to have forgotten his handkerchief, and made an excuſe to go back and fetch it. In Aldermanbury he was told by Mr. Partridge's porter, that there was a letter left for Mr. Cotton, and he directed the porter to carry it to London Wall, where Cotton, ſtill was, to whom he might deliver it.

This ſtratagem produced the deſired effect. Mr. Cotton, upon reading the contents, carried the letter with the bank note in it to the coffee-houſe, and returned to Aldermanbury to Kello, ſhewing him the letter he had received, and telling him what he had done.

As the body of the letter was written by John, and the name by Joſeph, Joſeph took care to deſtroy it, and after dining with Mr. Cotton, he went and acquainted John, that the note was left at the coffee-houſe, and that he might now receive it. This he preſently did, and then both went into the fields by Sadler's-wells, where they opened the letter, and found the note. About ſix they agreed to meet at John's lodgings, at the Crown coffee-houſe, Peter-ſtreet, Bloomſbury, and there they talked of different ways of getting it exchanged. At length it was concluded that the priſoner ſhould go to Briſtol as the moſt eligible place, but, having no money, Joſeph borrowed ten guineas of a relation, and on Tueſday morning the priſoner ſet out in a poſt-chaiſe for Briſtol.

On Friday, Sept. 3, Mr. Culverwell, the landlord of the King's-head, at Bridgewater, applied to Mr. Baker, clerk to the general receiver for the county of Somerſet, for money for a 1000 l. bank-note, and Mr. Baker told out 888 guineas, and 7s. which together with three ſmall notes, one of 30l. one of 25l. and one of 10l. made the ſum of 997l. 10s. and 5s. per hundred, to wit, 2l. 10s. for exchange, compleated the whole ſum of a 1000l. Mr. Culverwell examined the caſh, and the priſoner appeared as the owner of the note, and received the money as it was retold. Mr. Baker aſked the priſoner his name, that he might enter it in his book; and he ſaid, John Hyndman.

The priſoner, having now ſucceeded to his wiſh, inſtead of endeavouring to make his eſcape, as he probably might have done from Briſtol, returned to Weſtminſter, to the houſe where one Phœbe Laſkard lives, in Wood-ſtreet. To this woman he gave both the money and

and the bills: the money, ſealed up in a bag, he pretended to be half-pence, to the amount of about 5l. and the bills, he ſaid, was foreign bills, of no uſe to any body but himſelf: the bills ſhe afterwards delivered to a porter that was ſent for them, and the money was careleſly laid about at one time on the dreſſer, and at another time in the window, till at length Sir John Fielding, having got ſome information where the priſoner might be found, cauſed him to be apprehended.

The conſtable who found him, found alſo the money in the bag, and when he was examined, the bills were found upon him. The particulars here related were all authentically proved upon his trial; and when he was called upon to make his defence, he endeavoured to throw the whole blame upon the brother, and appealed to the court, which had the appearance of moſt guilt. The maſter of the coffee-houſe where he lived, gave him the character of an extreme ſober man, but the jury paid no regard to his former character, but brought in their verdict, *guilty, death.*

He was ſoon afterwards executed at Tyburn, purſuant to his ſentence. He behaved, during his confinement, with great obſtinacy and indecorum, making little account of religion, and the comforts a chriſtian faith. He ſaid, *he had ſome particular opinions of his own, that he ſhould never quit in his life, nor after it.* He is ſaid to have been the ſon of a mercer in Houndſditch, who gave him a liberal education, and left him about 300 l. with which he equipped himſelf for Virginia, and having reſided there ſome time returned to London, and carried on a kind of commercial correſpondence with ſome perſons there, that produced but little profit; and having rather a turn for pleaſure than buſineſs, his friends had long expected ſome unlucky iſſue to his affairs, tho' not ſo fatal as to affect his life. He was about 26 years of age, and in many reſpects, what is commonly called, a clever fellow.

A ſummary account of the proceedings in regard to ſome ſtrange noiſes, heard the beginning of the year, at a houſe in Cock-lane Weſt Smithfield.

MR. P— the officiating clerk of St. Sepulchre's obſerving, one morning at early prayers, a genteel couple ſtanding in the aile, ordered them into a pew; and, being afterwards thanked for his civility by the gentleman, was aſked if he could inform him of a lodging in the neighbourhood: P—— offered his own houſe, which was accepted of. Some time after, in the abſence of the gentleman, who was in the country, Mr. Parſons's daughter, a child of 11 years of age, being taken by Miſs Fanny (the name the gentlewoman went by) to her bed, Miſs Fanny complained one morning to the family, of both having been greatly diſturbed by violent noiſes. Mrs. P——, at a loſs to account for this, bethought herſelf of a neighbouring induſtrious ſhoe-maker, whom they concluded to be the cauſe of this diſturbance. Soon after, on a Sunday night, Miſs Fanny, getting out of bed, called

called out to Mrs. P——, "Pray does your ſhoemaker work ſo hard on Sunday nights too?" to which being anſwered in the negative, Mrs. P——, &c. were deſired to come into the chamber, and be themſelves witneſſes to the truth of the aſſertion. At this time ſeveral perſons were invited to aſſiſt, and among the reſt the late reverend Mr. Linden, but he excuſed himſelf; and the gentleman and lady removing into the neighbourhood of Clerkenwell, (where ſhe ſoon after died) the noiſe diſcontinued at the houſe of P——, from the time of their leaving it, to the 1ſt of January 1762, or thereabouts, the ſpace of above a year and a half; and then began this ſecond viſitation, as for diſtinction ſake, we may venture to call it.

In this viſitation, then, the child, upon certain knockings and ſcratching, which ſeemed to proceed from beneath her bedſtead, was ſometimes thrown into violent fits and agitations; and a woman attendant, or the father, Mr. P——, put queſtions to the ſpirit or ghoſt, as it was ſuppoſed by the credulous to be, and they alſo dictated how many knocks ſhould ſerve for an anſwer, either in the affirmative or negative; and though theſe ſcratchings and knockings, diſturbed Fanny before her death, it was now ſuppoſed to be her ſpirit, which thus harraſſed the poor family. In this manner of converſe ſhe charged one Mr. ——, whoſe firſt wife was her ſiſter, and with whom ſhe afterwards lived in fornication, with having poiſoned her, by putting arſenick in purl, and adminiſtering it to her, when ill of the ſmall-pox. Numbers of perſons, of fortune and character, and ſeveral clergymen, aſſiſted at the vagaries of this inviſible knocker and ſcratcher, and though no diſcovery could be made, by the ſeveral removals of the girl to other houſes, where the noiſes ſtill followed her, (the ſuppoſed ghoſt proteſting ſhe would follow her wherever ſhe went) though wainſcots and floorings were torn away, to facilitate a detection of any impoſture, to no purpoſe; yet the rational part of the town could not be brought to believe, but what there was ſome fraud in the affair, conſidering the known faculty, many people called *Ventriloqui* have had of uttering ſtrange noiſes, and making them appear to come from any place they thought proper, without any viſible motion of their lips; and this ſuſpicion was confirmed by the atteſtations of the clergymen, and ſome gentlemen of the faculty, who viſited the deceaſed in her illneſs, and of ſome other perſons of unqueſtionable credit; and the guilt of the impoſture, in ſome meaſure, fixed upon the parents and their friends, by ſome facts contained in the following advertiſement.

To the public.—We, whoſe names are under-written, thought it proper, upon the approbation of the lord-mayor, received on Saturday laſt in the afternoon, to ſee Mr. P—— yeſterday, and to aſk him in reſpect of the time when his child ſhould be brought to Clerkenwell. He replied in theſe words, "That he conſented to the examination propoſed, provided that ſome perſons connected with the girl might be permitted to be there, to divert her in the day-time." This was refuſed, being contrary to the plan. He then mentioned a woman,

man, whom he affirmed to be *unconnected*, and *not to have been with her*. Upon being ſent for, ſhe came, and was a perſon well known by us to have been *conſtantly with her*, and *very intimate with this Familiar*, as ſhe is called. Upon this he, Mr. P——, recommended an unexceptionable perſon, the daughter of a relation, who was a gentleman of fortune. After an enquiry into her character, he informed us, that this unexceptionable perſon *had diſobliged her father, and was out at ſervice*. Upon this we anſwered, "Mr. P——, if you can procure any perſon or perſons, of ſtrict character and reputation, who are houſe-keepers, ſuch will be with pleaſure admitted." Upon this he required a little time to ſeek for ſuch a perſon. Inſtead of coming, as he promiſed and we expected, one William Lloyd came by his direction, and ſaid as follows:

"Mr. Parſons chooſes firſt to conſult with his friends, who are at preſent not in the way, before he gives a poſitive anſwer concerning the removal of his daughter to the Rev. Mr. Aldrich's."

Signed, WILL. LLOYD,
Brook-ſtreet, Holborn.

Within three hours after, we received another meſſage from Mr. Parſons by the ſame hand, to wit:

"If the lord-mayor will give his approbation, the child ſhall be removed to the Rev. Mr. Aldrich's."

The plan before-mentioned was thus ſet forth in the public papers: The girl was to be brought to the houſe of the ſaid clergyman, without any perſon whatever that had, or was ſuppoſed to have, the leaſt connection with her. The father was to be there; not ſuffered to be in the room, but in a parlour, where there could be no ſort of communication, attended with a proper perſon. A bed, without any furniture, was to be ſet in the middle of a large room, and the chairs to be placed round it. The perſons to be preſent were ſome of the clergy, a phyſician, ſurgeon, apothecary, and a juſtice of the peace. The child was to be undreſſed, examined, and put to bed, by a lady of character and fortune. Gentlemen of eſtabliſhed character, both clergy and laity (amongſt whom was a noble lord, who deſired to attend) were to have been preſent at the examination. We have done, and ſtill are ready to do every thing in our power, to detect an impoſture, if any, of the moſt unhappy tendency, both to the public and individuals.

STE. ALDRICH,
Rector of St. John's, Clerkenwell.
JAMES PENN,
Lecturer of St. Ann's, Alderſgate.

In purſuance of the above plan, many gentlemen, eminent for their rank and character, by the invitation of the Rev. Mr. Aldrich, of Clerkenwell, aſſembled at his houſe the 31ſt of January, and next day appeared the following account of what paſſed on the occaſion:

"About ten at night the gentlemen met in the chamber, in which the girl, ſuppoſed to be diſturbed by a ſpirit, had, with proper caution, been put to bed by ſeveral ladies. They ſat rather more than an hour, and hearing nothing, went down ſtairs, where they interrogated the father of the girl, who denied, in the ſtrongeſt terms, any knowledge or belief of fraud.

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As the ſuppoſed ſpirit had before publicly promiſed, by an affirmative knock, that it would attend one of the gentlemen into the vault, under the church of St. John, Clerkenwell, where the body is depoſited, and give a token of her preſence there by a knock upon her coffin; it was therefore determined to make this trial of the exiſtence or veracity of the ſuppoſed ſpirit.

While they were enquiring and deliberating, they were ſummoned into the girl's chamber by ſome ladies, who were near her bed, and who had heard knocks and ſcratches. When the gentlemen entered, the girl declared that ſhe felt the ſpirit like a mouſe upon her back, and was required to hold her hands out of bed; from that time, though the ſpirit was very ſolemnly required to manifeſt its exiſtence by appearance, by impreſſion on the hand or body of any preſent, by ſcratches, knocks, or any agency, no evidence of any preternatural power was exhibited.

The ſpirit was then ſeriouſly advertiſed, that the perſon to whom the promiſe was made of ſtriking the coffin, was then about to viſit the vault, and that the performance of the promiſe was then claimed. The company, at one, went into the church, and the gentleman, to whom the promiſe was made, went, with one more, into the vault: the ſpirit was ſolemnly required to perform its promiſe; but nothing more than ſilence enſued. The perſon ſuppoſed to be accuſed by the ghoſt then went down, with ſeveral others, but no effect was perceived. Upon their return they examined the girl, but could draw no confeſſion from her. Between two and three ſhe deſired, and was permitted, to go home with her father.

It is therefore the opinion of the whole aſſembly, that the child has ſome art of making, or counterfeiting, particular noiſes, and that there is no agency of any higher cauſe."

To elude the force of this concluſion, it was given out that the coffin, in which the body of the ſuppoſed ghoſt had been depoſited, or at leaſt the body itſelf, had been diſplaced, or removed out of the vault. Mr. K--- therefore thought proper to take with him to the vault the undertaker, who buried Miſs F-----, and ſuch other unprejudiced perſons, as on inſpection might be able to prove the weakneſs of ſuch a ſuggeſtion.

Accordingly on February 25, in the afternoon, Mr. K---, with a clergyman, the undertaker, clerk, and ſexton of the pariſh, and two or three gentlemen, went into the vault; when the undertaker preſently knew the coffin, which was taken from under the others, and eaſily ſeen to be the ſame, as there was no plate or inſcription; and, to ſatisfy further, the coffin being opened before Mr. K---, the body was found in it.

Others, in the mean time, were taking other ſteps to find out where the fraud, if any, lay. The girl was removed from houſe to houſe, and was ſaid to be conſtantly attended with the uſual noiſes, though bound and muffled hand and foot; and that without any motion in her lips, and when ſhe appeared aſleep. Nay, they were often ſaid to be heard in rooms at a conſiderable diſtance from that where ſhe lay.

At laſt her bed was tied up, in the manner of a hammock, about a yard and a half from the ground, and her hands and feet extended as wide, as they could without injury, and faſtened with fillets for two nights ſucceſſively, during which no noiſes were heard.

The next day, being preſſed to confeſs, and being told, that if the knocking and ſcratchings were not heard any more, ſhe, her father, and mother, would be ſent to Newgate; and half an hour being given her to conſider, ſhe deſired ſhe might be put to bed, to try if the noiſes would come: ſhe lay in bed this night much longer than uſual; but no noiſes. This was on a Saturday.

Sunday, being told that the approaching night only would be allowed for a trial, ſhe concealed a board, about four inches broad, and ſix long, under her ſtays. This board was uſed to ſet the kettle upon. Having got into bed, ſhe told the gentlemen ſhe would bring F---- at ſix the next morning.

The maſter of the houſe, however, and a friend of his, being informed by the maids, that the girl had taken a board to bed with her, impatiently waited for the appointed hour, when ſhe began to knock and ſcratch upon the board; remarking, however, what they themſelves were convinced of, that "theſe noiſes were not like thoſe which uſed to be made." She was then told, that ſhe had taken a board to bed; and, on her denying it, ſearched, and caught in a lie.

The two gentlemen, who, with the maids, were the only perſons preſent at this ſcene, ſent to a third gentleman, to acquaint him that the whole affair was detected, and to deſire his immediate attendance; but he brought another along with him.

Their concurrent opinion was, that the child had been frightened into this attempt, by the threats which had been made the two preceding nights; and the maſter of the houſe alſo, and his friend, both declared, "That the noiſes, the girl had made that morning, had not the leaſt likeneſs to the former noiſes." Probably the organs, with which ſhe performed theſe ſtrange noiſes, were not always in a proper tone for that purpoſe, and ſhe imagined ſhe might be able to ſupply the place of them by a piece of board.

At length Mr. K--- thought proper to vindicate his character in a legal way. On the 10th of July, the father and mother of the child, one Mary Frazer, who, it ſeems, acted as an interpreter between the ghoſt and thoſe who examined her, a clergyman, and a reputable tradeſman, were tried at Guildhall, before Lord Mansfield, by a ſpecial jury, and convicted of a conſpiracy againſt the life and character of Mr. K---.

But the court, chuſing that Mr. K---, who had been ſo much injured on this occaſion, ſhould receive ſome reparation by the puniſhment of the offenders, deferred giving ſentence for ſeven or eight months, in hopes the parties might make it up in the mean time. Accordingly, the clergyman and tradeſman agreed to pay Mr. K--- a round ſum, ſome ſay between 5 and 600l. to purchaſe their pardon, and were thereupon diſmiſſed, with a ſevere reprimand. The father was ordered to be ſet in the pillory three times in one

one month, once at the end of Cock-lane, and after that to be imprisoned two years; Elizabeth his wife, one year; and Mary Frazer, six months in Bridewell, and to be there kept to hard labour.

The father, appearing to be out of his mind at the time he was first to stand in the pillory, the execution of that part of his sentence was deferred to another day, when, as well as on the other days of his standing there, the populace took so much compassion of him, that, instead of using him ill, they made a handsome collection for him.

State of the Land-carriage Fishery in London, to the end of September 1762; submitted to the public by the Superintendant.

THE superintendant of the land-carriage fish plan, in order that all ranks of people might reap the benefit thereof, did, at the commencement of this undertaking, direct certain prices for the several kinds and sizes of fish to be publicly fixed, at as moderate rates as the nature thereof admitted; at which they continued till four o'clock in the afternoon, and from that hour till seven they were reduced to one-third, in order that families of middling rank might partake of this desirable food, as well as the great and opulent, and at lesser prices; and what remained after the last-mentioned hour, were further reduced to half price, for the benefit of persons of lower degree; and moreover, any surplus quantity left at the shutting up the places of sale at night (as has often been the case) were directed to be sprinkled with salt, and exposed to sale the next morning, at two-thirds less than the first price the day before, for the benefit of poor families: and if not sold by twelve at noon the second day, were then given to the prisons and workhouses, so that no part thereof might be wasted.

These methods have been hitherto continued; but the superintendant has found that this proceeding, which was calculated for general benefit, has been perverted to very opposite purposes, and greatly to the disadvantage of this undertaking; several dealers in fish having made it their practice (especially since the weather has been so cool for the fish to keep good till the next, or succeeding day) to wait for the hour of half price, and then to purchase the fish; which he is informed they sell in their shops the next day, at the same (and often at a less) price, than that affixed in the morning at the land-carriage places of sale for fish newly arrived; and by this means have had an opportunity of underselling this plan with its own fish; or, in case no fish arrived by land carriage, to get extraordinary prices for the same; besides leaving a door open to impositions of another kind.

For these reasons the superintendant finds himself necessitated to make an alteration in his measures, and to direct that no fish be sold at reduced price on the day of their arrival; and thinks it proper to give this notice to the public, lest it should be imagined that such an alteration of measures proceeds from lucrative views, which is not the case, as the fish, which remains after the sale of the first day is over, will be sold the next day at proper prices, according to the state and condition thereof; and care will be

taken to diſtribute what remains unſold, while it is wholeſome and fit for uſe; and which he can with confidence aſſure the public, has hitherto been done; ſo that out of 45 tons, or 917 cwt. (the quantity brought from the commencement of this undertaking, between the 16th of May and the 30th of September laſt, both incluſive) there has not been one cwt. loſt, and that unavoidable. Moreover, he may venture to aſſert, that the prices firſt affixed in the morning, have been at leaſt one-third, or rather one-half, leſs than thoſe for which ſuch fiſh were uſually ſold before this undertaking was ſet on foot; not to mention the further benefit which has accrued to the middle and lower rank of people, by the reduced prices, and to the poor, by what has been given away, amounting together to 931 l. 9s. 10d. within the above-mentioned time, as appears in the monthly account annexed.

The ſuperintendant conceiving it may be ſome ſatisfaction to the public, to be acquainted with the ſtate and progreſs of this undertaking, has taken this early opportunity to give an account of the ſeveral ſpecies of fiſh brought in conſequence of this plan, within the time above-mentioned, with the tale and weight of the ſame, which are as follow:

		C.	*qrs.*	*lb.*
39518	Pair of Soals	684	2	14
14190	Mackerel	84	3	5
867	Brill or Pearl	32	2	4
286	Turbots	25	2	6
1443	Thornback	24	2	18
135	Salmon	15	1	25
4538	Herrings	12	0	15
704	Pipers and Gurnets	8	0	11
497	Crabs	7	3	20
570	Dories	7	0	21
1988	Plaiſe and Dabs	5	1	17
40300	Prawns	3	2	11
136	Lobſters	1	2	20
249	Trout	1	2	17
122	Eels	0	2	26
1426	Crayfiſh	0	1	27
51	Red Mullets	0	1	3
	Flounders, *&c.*	0	1	18
	Total	917	1	3

The

The MONTHLY ACCOUNT whereof ſtands as underneath:

	Weight.			Charged to Markets.			Produce of Sale.			Given away.		
	cwt.	qrs.	lb.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
In May	65	3	20	307	6	9	281	8	0	25	18	8
In June	165	0	16	783	2	8	611	0	1	172	2	7
In July	248	0	4	1771	16	0	1545	6	10	226	9	2
In Auguſt	204	0	14	1400	8	3	1260	19	8	139	8	7
In Sept.	234	0	4	1695	0	8	1327	9	10	367	10	10
Total	917	1	2	5957	14	4	5026	4	5	931	9	10

From this account it appears, that the fiſh ſent to the markets at its firſt charge, amounted nearly to 6000l. and if admitted (as it may in juſtice be) that they were rated at the firſt price, one half leſs than what they uſed to be ſold for; it will follow that the public have reaped a benefit equal to the above-mentioned ſum by this undertaking, beſides a plentiful ſupply, and ſome variety of fiſh little known in this metropolis before; ſuch as brills, pipers, dories, and red mullet; and to theſe advantages may be added near 1000l. more, by what was ſold at reduced prices, and given away as before-mentioned.

The above having been communicated to ſome friends of the plan, they were of opinion, that the public would be glad to ſee ſome ſtate of the general expences, &c. conceiving many perſons might, thro' miſtake, conclude that the deficiency of the firſt price ſent to the markets, amounting to 931l. 9s. 10d. was a ſum ſunk in the capital granted by the ſociety: the ſuperintendant, therefore, deſirous to give all the ſatisfaction in his power, hath hereunto annexed,

A ſketch of the ſtate of the land carriage fiſhery, from the commencement, to the 30th of September inclusive.

Caſh advanced by the ſociety	2000	0	0
Caſh engaged by the ſuperintendant	1500	0	0
Caſh received for fiſh	5026	4	5
Total	8526	4	5

Caſh paid for fiſh bought at the ſea-ports, boat hire, and hire of horſes for conveying the ſame to London—Sollicitor's bill for attending the fiſh-act—Salaries and wages—Fitting up the general receptacle, the office, and a place of ſale in St. James's market—Rents—Travelling expences for ſettling the fiſhery at the ſea-ports and on the roads—Coals, candles, and ſtationary—Porterage, cryers, and diſperſing hand bills—Baſkets for the carriages, &c.—Scales, weights, and other utenſils—Advertiſing, printing, and ſundry incidental expences; together with caſh paid for 23 new machines, and repairs done to the ſame — — 4918 11 3

Remains 3607 13 2

In giving this ſtate to the public, the ſuperintendant thinks it neceſſary to take notice, that though there appears but 107 l. 13 s. 2 d. over and above the capital of 3500 l. yet it is to be conſidered, that there were at the drawing up this ſketch 23 fiſh machines paid for, and then in uſe, beſides including the ſundry expences as above to the 30th of September laſt; and this appears to him beyond what he could have expected from ſuch an undertaking in its infancy, and with the many difficulties to be encountered. It is moreover to be obſerved, that the above ſum of 3607 l. 13 s. 2 d. is not to be underſtood as caſh in hand, the whole being engaged by the ſuperintendant for the purpoſes of ſupporting and extending this undertaking, by opening ſome other ports on the ſea coaſt, for procuring a greater variety of fiſh, which the town ſeems to deſire and expect; and to that end he has now in uſe 54 machines, beſides 26 made, and making, to complete the number 80; with which, and ſuch further encouragement as the public may think proper to give, fiſh of inferior ſorts may be brought for the benefit of labouring perſons at moderate prices; more eſpecially if he ſhall be aſſiſted with a proper place of general ſale, where dealers and hawkers may be ſupplied out of the quantities that may occaſionally be brought, beyond what the preſent eſtabliſhed place of ſale can find vent for, agreeable to his original plan; the want of which has hitherto been the greateſt diſadvantage he has laboured under in the proſecution of this undertaking.

An account of the ſums raiſed by the LAND-TAX *ſince the* REVOLUTION.

Years.	Tax per pound	Produce.
1688	1s.	500,000
89	2	1,000,000
90	2	1,000,000
91	2	1,000,000
92	3	1,500,000
93	3	1,500,000
94	3	1,500,000
95, 96, 97	4	6,000,000
98, 99,	3	3,000,000
1700	2s. 6d.	1,250,000
1701 to 12	4	24,000,000
13 to 15	2	3,000,000
Carried over		45,250,000

Brought forwards		45,250,000
16	4	2,000,000
17 to 21	2	5,000,000
22 to 26	4	10,000,000
27	3	1,500,000
28, 29	2	2,000,000
30, 31	3	3,000,000
32, 33	1	1,000,000
34 to 39	2	6,000,000
40 to 49	4	20,000,000
50 to 52	3	4,500,000
53 to 55	2	3,000,000
56 to 60 inclusive	4	10,000,000
Total		£ 113,250,000

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Service of the Year 1761, and not publiſhed in laſt Year's Regiſter.

NOVEMBER 27.

	£.	s.	d.
1. That for the ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, there be granted to his majeſty, during his life, ſuch a revenue as, together with the annuities payable by virtue of any acts of parliament, made in the reign of his late majeſty king George IId. (of bleſſed memory) out of the hereditary civil liſt revenues, ſhall amount to the clear yearly ſum of 800000 l. to commence from the demiſe of his ſaid late majeſty	800000	0	0
2. That the ſaid revenue, for the ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, be charged upon, and made payable out of, the aggregate fund.			
3. That the ſeveral revenues, which were payable to his ſaid late majeſty, during his life, and had continuance to the time of his demiſe (other than ſuch payments as were charged upon, and iſſuing out of, the aggregate fund) be granted and continued, from the time of the ſaid demiſe, to his preſent majeſty, during his life; and the produce of the ſaid revenues, together with the produce of the hereditary revenues, which were ſettled, or appointed to be, towards the ſupport of the houſhold of his late majeſty, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, be, during the ſaid term, carried to, and made part of, the aggregate fund.			
4. That 70000 men be employed for the ſea ſervice, for 1761, including 18355 marines.			
5. That a ſum, not exceeding 4 l. *per* man *per* month, be allowed, for maintaining them for 13 months, including the ordnance for ſea ſervice	3640000	0	0

NOVEMBER 29.

1. That a number of land forces, including thoſe in Germany, and 4008 invalids, amounting to 64971 effective men, commiſſion and non-commiſſion officers included, be employed for the ſervice of 1761.

	£.	s.	d.
2. That, for the charge of the ſaid number of men, for guards and garriſons, and other his majeſty's land forces, in Great Britain, Guernſey, and Jerſey, for 1761, *there be granted a ſum, not exceeding* *	1576985	10	7
3. That, for maintaining his majeſty's forces and garriſons, in the plantations, Gibraltar, Guadaloupe, Africa, and the Eaſt-Indies; and for proviſions for the garriſons in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, Providence, Quebec, Guadaloupe, Senegal, and Goree, for 1761 —— ——	843756	12	9
4. That, for defraying the charge of three regiments of foot, on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, ſerving in North America, for 1761 —— ——	22179	0	0
5. That, for the pay of the general, and general ſtaff officers, and officers of the hoſpitals for his majeſty's land forces, for 1761 —— ——	72896	14	2
6. That, for defraying the charge of the embodied militia, of the ſeveral counties in South Britain, and of the fencible men of Argyleſhire, and of lord Sutherland's battalion of highlanders, in North Britain, for 122 days, from 25 December, 1760, to 25 April, 1761, both days incluſive —— ——	140358	19	4
7. That, upon account, for defraying the charge of cloathing for the embodied militia, for 1761	56568	15	2
	2712745	12	0

DECEMBER 2.

1. That, for the charge of the officers of ordnance, for land ſervice, for 1761 —— ——	302267	9	2
2. That, for defraying the extraordinary expence of ſervices performed, by the office of ordnance, for land ſervice, and not provided for by parliament, in 1760 —— —— ——	426449	4	9
	728716	13	11

DECEMBER 9.

1. That, for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the ſea-officers, for 1761	258624	7	10
2. That, for compleating the works of the hoſpital for ſick and wounded ſeamen, at Haſlar, near Goſport —— —— ——	7130	0	0
3. That, towards carrying on the works of the hoſpital for ſick and wounded ſeamen, building near Plymouth, for 1761 —— ——	10000	0	0
4. That for the charge of tranſport ſervice, between the 1ſt of October, 1759, and the 30th of September,			

* *Theſe words, in Italicks, are to be repeated at the end of almoſt every reſolution.*

1760,

	£.	s.	d.
1760, including the expence of victualling his majesty's land forces within the said time	479035	19	2
5. That, towards paying off and discharging the debt of the navy	1000000	0	0
6. That, towards the buildings, rebuildings, and repairs, of his majesty's ships, for 1761	200000	0	0
	1954790	7	0

DECEMBER 11.

1. That to enable his majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids, or supplies, to be granted in this session	1000000	0	0
2. That, to be applied towards the improving, widening, and enlarging, the passage over and through London-Bridge	15000	0	0
	1015000	0	0

DECEMBER 15.

That, to enable his majesty to pay off, and discharge, such Exchequer bills, as were made out before the 11th of December, 1760, by virtne of an act passed in the last session of parliament, intitled, *An Act to enable his Majesty to raise a certain Sum of Money, towards paying off, and discharging, the Debt of the Navy, &c.* and charged upon the first aids, or supplies, to be granted in this season	1232000	0	0

DECEMBER 16.

1. That, for defraying the charge of 39773 men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe-Gotha, and count of Buckeburg, together with that of general and staff-officers, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, from 25 December, 1760, to 24 December, 1761, both inclusive, to be issued in advance every two months, in like manner as the pay of the Hessian forces, now in the service of Great Britain; the said body of troops to be mustered by an English commissary, and the effective state thereof to be ascertained by the signature of the commander in chief of the said forces	463874	19	1 ½
2. That, for defraying the charge of 2120 horse, and 9900 foot, together with the general and staff-officers, the officers of the hospital, and others, belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from 25 December, 1760, to 24 De-			

	£.	s.	d.
cember, 1761, both days inclusive; together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty	268360	8	8
3. That for defraying the charge of an additional corps of 1576 horse, and 8808 foot, together with the general and staff-officers, the officers of the hospital, and officers and others belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from 1 January, 1761, to 31 December following, both days inclusive, pursuant to treaty	147071	5	2
4. That, for defraying the charge of 1205 cavalry, and 2208 infantry, the troops of the reigning duke of Brunswick, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from 25 December, 1760, to 24 December, 1761, both days inclusive; together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty	57798	16	0
5. That, to make good a deficiency in the sum, voted last session of parliament, for the charge of the troops of Brunswick, to 24 December, 1760.	2569	10	0
6. That, for defraying the charge of five battalions, serving with his majesty's army in Germany, each battalion consisting of one troop of 101 men, and four companies of foot, of 125 men in each company, with a corps of artillery, for 365 days, from 25 December, 1760, to 24 December, 1761, both days inclusive.	25504	6	8
7. That, for defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services, incurred to the 19th of November, 1760, and not provided for by parliament	1167903	12	6
8. That, upon account, towards defraying the charges of forage, bread, bread-waggons, train of artillery, and of provisions, wood, straw, &c. and other extraordinary expences and contingencies of his majesty's combined army, under the command of prince Ferdinand.	1000000	0	0
	3133082	18	1 ¼

DECEMBER 23.

That, to enable his majesty to make good his engagements with the king of Prussia, pursuant to a convention between his majesty and the king of Prussia, concluded 12 December, 1760	670000	0	0

JANUARY 15, 1761.

1. That, to replace to the sinking fund, the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency, on the 5th of July, 1760, of the several duties on

malt,

	£.	s.	d.
malt, granted by act 33 Geo. II. to anſwer annuities, after the rate of 4 l *per cent.* charged thereupon	49424	0	0
2. That, to replace to the ſinking fund, the like ſum paid out of the ſame, to make good the deficiency, on the 5th of July, 1760, of the ſeveral rates and duties upon offices and penſions, and upon houſes, and upon windows or lights, which were made a fund, by an act 31 Geo. IId. for paying annuities, at the Bank of England, in reſpect of five millions, borrowed towards the ſupply for 1758	72011	6	11
3. That to replace to the ſinking fund, the like ſum paid out of the ſame, to make good the deficiency, on the 5th of January, 1760, of the ſubſidy of poundage upon certain goods and merchandizes imported, and an additional inland duty on coffee and chocolate, to anſwer annuities, after the rate of 3 l. *per cent.* charged thereupon, by an act of 32 Geo. IId.	5969	12	9 ½
	127404	19	8 ½

JANUARY 20.

1. That, to enable his majeſty to give a proper compenſation to the reſpective provinces in North America, for the expences incurred by them, in the levying, cloathing, and pay, of the troops raiſed by the ſame, according as the active vigour, and ſtrenuous efforts, of their reſpective provinces, ſhall be thought, by his majeſty, to merit	200000	0	0
2. That, upon account, to be paid to the Eaſt-India company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their ſettlements, to be maintained by them, in lieu of colonel Adlercron's battalion, withdrawn from thence, and now in Ireland	20000	0	0
3. That, upon account, of the reduced officers, of his majeſty's land-forces and marines, for 1761	34854	9	2
4. That, for allowances to the ſeveral officers, and private gentlemen, of the two troops of horſe-guards, and regiment of horſe, reduced, and to the ſuperannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horſe-guards, for 1761	2973	19	2
5. That, for paying penſions to the widows of ſuch reduced officers and marines, as died upon the eſtabliſhment of half-pay, in Great Britain, and who were married to them before the 25th of December, 1716, for 1761	1922	0	0
6. That, upon account, for out-penſioners of Chelſea hoſpital, for 1761	18360	2	11
7. That, upon account, for ſupporting and maintaining the ſettlement of Nova Scotia, for 1761	10595	12	9

8. That,

	£.	s.	d.
8. That, upon account, for the civil eſtabliſhment of Georgia, and other incident expences attending the ſame, from 24 June, 1760, to 24 June, 1761	4057	10	0
	292763	14	0

JANUARY 22.

That, for defraying the extraordinary expences of his majeſty's land-forces, and other ſervices incurred, from 20 November, 1760, to 24 December following, and not provided for by parliament	993844	4	4 ¼

JANUARY 29.

1. That, to enable his majeſty to pay off and diſcharge ſuch Exchequer bills, as have been made out ſince the 10th of December, 1760, by virtue of an act of laſt ſeſſion, for paying off the navy-debt (beforementioned) and charged upon the firſt aids of ſupplies, to be granted in this ſeſſion	268000	0	0
2. That, for defraying the charges of his majeſty's mints, and the coinage of gold and ſilver monies, and other incident charges of the mints, and thereby to encourage the bringing in of gold and ſilver to be coined, a revenue, not exceeding 15000 l. *per ann.* be made up, ſettled, and ſecured, for ſeven years, from 1 March, 1761, and until the end of the firſt ſeſſion of parliament then next enſuing	15000	0	0
	283000	0	0

FEBRUARY 9.

1. That, upon account, towards enabling the governors and guardians of the foundling-hoſpital, to maintain and eduate ſuch children as were received into the ſaid hoſpital, on or before the 25th of March, 1760, from 31 December, 1760, excluſive, to 31 December, 1761, inclusive; and that the ſaid ſum be iſſued and paid for the uſe of the ſaid hoſpital, without fee or reward, or any deduction whatſoever	44197	10	0
2. That, to be employed in maintaining and ſupporting the fort of Annamaboo, and the other Britiſh forts and ſettlements upon the coaſt of Africa	13000	0	0
	57197	10	0

FEBRUARY 17.

That, for diſcharging the extraordinary expences, not provided for by parliament, of bread, forage, and firewood, furniſhed by the chancery of war, at Hanover, in the years 1757 and 1758, to the Heſſian and Pruſſian forces, acting in the army in Germany	336479	14	1 ½

	£.	s.	d.
FEBRUARY 18.			
1. That, for the difference between the pay of major-general Anſtruther's regiment of foot, on the Britiſh eſtabliſhment, and the ſum paid by Ireland for the ſaid regiment, from 25 December, 1761, both days incluſive, being 365 days; and of ſeveral augmentations to his majeſty's forces, ſince the eſtimates for the year 1761 were preſented to parliament, from the reſpective times of the commencement of their eſtabliſhment, to the 24th of December, 1761, incluſive	22361	11	8
2. That, in addition to the ſum of 140,358l. 19s. 4d. already granted, for defraying the charge of the embodied militia of the ſeveral counties in South Britain, &c. from 25 December, 1760, to 24 December, 1761, both days incluſive, being 365 days.	298668	9	10
	321030	1	6
FEBRUARY 19.			
That, upon account, for paying and diſcharging the debts and wadſett ſums, with the neceſſary expences attending the payment of the ſame, claimed and ſuſtained upon the lands and eſtate, which became forfeited to the crown, by the attainder of Simon, lord Lovat, or ſo much of the ſaid debts and ſums, as ſhall be remaining unſatisfied, according to the ſeveral decrees in that behalf, reſpectively made by the lords of ſeſſion, in Scotland, and purſuant to an act of 25 Geo. IId. intitled, *An Act of annexing*, &c.	38553	12	1 $\frac{5}{4}$
FEBRUARY 23.			
1. That, to make good the deficiency of the grants, or the ſervice of 1760	89510	12	11
2. That, upon account, towards defraying the charge of the pay of the militia of England, when unembodied, and of the cloathing of the part of the ſaid militia, now unembodied, for one year, beginning 25 March, 1761	70000	0	0
	159510	12	11
MARCH 7.			
1. That, upon account, to enable his majeſty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the ſervice of 1761; and to take all ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary to diſappoint, or defeat, any enterprizes or deſigns of the enemies, and as the exigency of affairs may require	1000000	0	0
2. That, on account, towards aſſiſting his majeſty			

to

	£.	s.	d.
to grant a reaſonable ſuccour, in money, to the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, purſuant to treaty	120000	0	0
	1120000	0	0
Sum total of the ſupplies granted for the ſervice of the year 1760	19616119	19	9 $\frac{3}{4}$

On the 27th of November, 1760, as ſoon as theſe reſolutions of the committee of ſupply were agreed to, it was reſolved, That the houſe would, next morning, reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to conſider of ways and means for raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty; and the ſaid committee being thus eſtabliſhed, it was continued to the 9th of March, 1761, in which time it came to the following reſolutions, which were agreed to by the houſe as follow:

NOVEMBER 29.

1. A reſolution, in the uſual form, for continuing a land-tax of 4s. in the pound, for a year enſuing, from 25 March, 1761	2037854	19	11
2. A reſolution, in the uſual form, for continuing the annual malt-tax of 6d. *per* buſhel, for a year enſuing, from 24 June, 1761	750000	0	0
	2787854	19	11

DECEMBER 18. Reſolved,

1. That the ſum of 12 millions be raiſed in manner following; that is to ſay, That the ſum of 11400000l. be raiſed by annuities, after the rate of 3l. *per cent. per annum*, transferrable at the Bank of England, and redeemable by parliament; and that every contributor to the ſaid 11400000l. ſhall alſo be intitled to an annuity of 1l. 2s. 6d. for every 100l. contributed, to continue, for a certain term of 99 years, irredeemable, and to be transferrable at the Bank of England; the ſaid annuities of 3l. *per cent.* and 1l. 2s. 6d. *per cent.* to commence from the 5th day of January, 1761, and to be payable half yearly, on the 5th day of July, and the 5th day of January, in every year; and that the ſum of 600000l. be alſo raiſed, by a lottery, attendant on the ſaid annuities, the blanks and prizes whereof to be converted into like 3l. *per cent.* transferrable annuities, at the Bank of England, with the above-mentioned 3l. *per cent.* annuities, to be payable in reſpect of the ſaid 11400000l. the ſaid lottery annuities to be payable half-yearly, in like

manner,

£. s. d.

manner, to commence from the 5th of January, 1762; and that as well the ſaid 3 *per cent.* annuities, payable in reſpect of 11400000l. as the annuities, payable in reſpect of the ſaid 600,000l. be added to, and made part of, the joint ſtock of 3 *per cent.* annuites, conſolidated at the Bank of England; that every ſubſcriber ſhall, on or before the 3d day of January next, make a depoſit of 15l. *per cent.* on ſuch ſum as he ſhall chooſe to ſubſcribe towards the ſaid ſum of 12 millions, with the caſhiers of the Bank of England, as a ſecurity for his making the future payments, on or before the time herein limited; that is to ſay,

On the 12000000l.

£. 15 *per cent.* depoſit, on or before the 3d day of January next, on the whole 12 millions.

On the 11400000l. in Annuities.

£. 15 *per cent.* on or before the 28th day of February next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 14th day of April next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 27th day of May next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 23d day of June next,

10 *per cent.* on or before the 31ſt day of July next.

10 *per cent.* on or before he 28th day of Auguſt next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 25th day of September next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 20th day of October next.

On the Lottery for 600000l.

£ 25 *per cent.* on or before the 21ſt day of March next.

30 *per cent.* on or before the 29th day of April next.

30 *per cent.* on or before the 15th day of July next.

Which ſeveral ſums, ſo received, ſhall, by the ſaid caſhiers, be paid into the receipt of his majeſty's Exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to ſuch ſervices, as ſhall then have been voted by this houſe, in this ſeſſion of parliament, and not otherwiſe; and that every ſubſcriber, who ſhall pay in the whole of his ſubſcription to the ſaid 11400000l. on or before the 18th day of September, 1761, ſhall be allowed a diſcount, after the rate of 3l. *per cent. per annum,* from the day ſuch ſubſcription ſhall be ſo compleated, to the 20th day of October next; and that all ſuch perſons, as ſhall make their full payments on the ſaid lottery, ſhall have their tickets delivered, as ſoon as they can conveniently be made out.

2. That an additional duty be paid for every barrel of beer, or ale, above ſix ſhillings the barrel (exclu-

five

	£.	s.	d.
five of the duties of excise) brewed by the common brewer, or any other person or persons, who doth, or shall, sell, or tap out, beer or ale, publickly or privately, (to be paid by the common brewer, or by such other person or persons respectively) of three shillings, and so proportionably for a greater or lesser quantity.			
DECEMBER 20.			
That the annuities which shall be payable, in pursuance of a resolution of this house, of the 18th of this instant December, be charged upon the additional duties upon beer and ale, mentioned in a resolution of this house of the same day, for which the sinking fund shall be the collateral security —	12000000	0	0
JANUARY 22, 1761.			
That an act made 6 Geo. IId. for encouraging the trade of our sugar colonies, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.			
FEBRUARY 5.			
1. That, for defraying the charges of his majesty's mints, &c. the duties of 10s. *per* ton, upon all wines, vinegar, cyder, and beer, imported into Great Britain, which, by an act of 27 Geo. IId. were continued, be further continued for seven years, from the 1st of March, 1761, and until the end of the next session then next ensuing —	15000	0	0
2. That all the powers, privileges, and advantages, which were granted by the act 18 Charles IId. chap. 5, and are now in force, relating to the mints, and coinage of gold and silver monies, be further continued for seven years from the said day, &c.			
MARCH 3.			
That, for raising the sum of one million, granted to his majesty, towards paying off and discharging the debt of the navy, and also the sum of 500000 l. in part of the supply granted to his majesty for naval services, the sum of 1500000 l. be raised by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament; and such Exchequer bills, if not discharged, with interest thereon, on or before the 25th of March, 1762, to be exchanged and received in payment, in such manner as Exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment —	1500000	0	0
MARCH 7.			
That the sum of 88667 l. 10 s. remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, being part of the sum of 90000 l. granted to his late majesty, in 1759, upon			

account,

	£.	s.	d.
account, towards defraying the charge of pay and cloathing for the militia, from 31 December, 1758, to 25 March, 1760, and for repaying the ſum of 1332 l. 10 s. advanced by his ſaid majeſty for the ſervice of the militia, be iſſued and applied towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty in this ſeſſion of parliament	88667	10	0

MARCH 10.

1. That there be raiſed, by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged on the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament, the ſum of	1000000	0	0
2. That there be iſſued and applied, out of ſuch monies as ſhall or may ariſe, of the ſurpluſſes, exceſſes, or overplus monies, compoſing the ſinking fund, the ſum of	1762400	0	0
	2762400	0	0

And to theſe reſolutions of the committee of ways and means, we muſt add what was provided for by the 2d and 3d reſolutions of the committee of ſupply, agreed to November 27th, as before mentioned, viz. the ſum of	800000	0	0
Sum total of the proviſions made by the laſt ſeſſion of laſt parliament	19953922	6	11
Sum total granted	19616119	19	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
More provided for than granted	337802	10	1 $\frac{1}{4}$

State of the whole of the grants made by this parliament during the ſeven years of its continuance.

The firſt ſeſſion ſat but a very few days, and no money was granted by it.			
By the ſecond ſeſſion there was granted	4073779	11	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
By the third	7229117	4	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
By the fourth	8350325	9	3
By the fifth	10486457	0	1
By the ſixth	12761310	19	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
By the ſeventh	15503563	15	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
And, by the eighth and laſt	19616119	19	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Sum total of the money granted by laſt parliament	78020674	0	5 $\frac{3}{4}$

An account of all the Public Debts, *at the receipt of the* Exchequer, *ſtanding out at* Jan. 5, 1761, *with the annual intereſt or other charges payable for the ſame.*

	Principal debt.			Annual intereſt, or other charges payable for the ſame.		
EXCHEQUER.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Annuities for long terms, being the remainder of the original ſum contributed and unſubſcribed to the South-ſea company	1,836,275	17	10 ¾	136,453	12	8
Ditto for lives, with the benefit of ſurvivorſhip, being the original ſum contributed	108,100	—	—	7,567	—	—
Ditto for two and three lives, being the ſum remaining after what is fallen in by deaths	77,005	14	10 ¾	9,335	12	—
Exchequer bills made out for intereſt of old Bills	2,200	—	—			
Note, The land taxes and duties on malt being annual grants, are not charged in this account, nor the 1,000,000 l. charged on the deductions of 6 d. *per* pound on penſions, &c. nor the 1,000,000 l. charged on the ſupply *anno* 1761, nor the 1,500,000 l. towards paying off the navy debt, &c. 1760.						
EAST INDIA Company.						
By two acts of parliament 9 Will. III. and two other acts 6 and 9 Anne, at 3 *per cent.*	3,200,000	—	—	97,285	14	4
Annuities at 3 *per cent.* anno 1744, charged on the ſurplus of the additional duties on low wines, ſpirits, and ſtrong waters	1,000,000	—	—	30,401	15	8
BANK of ENGLAND.						
On their original fund at 3 *per cent.* from 1 Aug. 1743	3,200,000	—	—	100,000	—	—
For cancelling Exchequer bills 3 George I.	500,000	—	—	15,000	—	—
Purchaſed of the South-ſea company	4,000,000	—	—	121,898	3	5 ½
Annuities at 3 *per cent.* charged on the ſurplus of the funds for lottery, 1714.	1,250,000	—	—	37,500	—	—
Ditto at 3 *per cent.* charged on the duties on coals ſince Lady-day, 1719	1,750,000	—	—	52,500	—	—
Ditto at 3 *per cent.* 1746, charged on the duties on licences for retailing ſpirituous liquors ſince Lady-day, 1746.	986,800	—	—	29,604	—	—
Ditto at 3 *per cent.* charged on the ſinking fund by the acts 25, 28, 29, 32, and 33 George II. 13,537,821 5 1 ¼						
Ditto at 3 *per cent.* charged on the duties of offices and penſions, &c. by the act 31 George II. 500,000 — —						
Ditto at 3 *per cent.* charged on the additional ſubſidy on poundage, &c. by the act 32 George II. 6,600,000 — —	21,627,821	5	1 ¼	660,838	5	8
Ditto at 3 *per cent.* additional capital of 5 *per cent.* on the above 6,600,000 l. charged on the ſaid fund by the ſaid act 330,000 — —						
Ditto at 3 *per cent.* additional capital of 10 *per cent.* in lottery tickets on ditto, charged on the ſaid fund by the ſaid act 660,000 — —						

Ditto at 3 *per cent.* charged on the sinking fund by the act 25 George II. —		17,701,323 16 4	540,996 14 —
Ditto at 3 1-half *per cent.* charged on the said fund by the act 29 George II. —		1,500,000 — —	53,343 15 —
Ditto at 3 1-half *per cent.* charged on the duties on offices and pensions, &c. by the act 31 Geo. II.		4,500,000 — —	160,031 5 —
Ditto at 4 *per cent.* charged on the additional duty on malt, &c. by the act 33 George II. — — — —	8,000,000 — —	8,240,000 — —	329,600 — —
Ditto at 4 *per cent.* additional capital of 3 *per cent.* in lottery tickets on 8,000,000 l. charged on the said fund by the said act —	240,000 — —		
Memorandum. The subscribers of 100 l. to the lottery 1745, were allowed an annuity for one life of 9 s. a ticket, which amounted to 22,500 l. but is now reduced by lives fallen in to 19,089 l. 15 s. and the subscribers of 100 l. to the lottery 1746, were allowed an annuity for one life of 18 s. a ticket, which amounted to 45,000 l. but is now reduced by lives fallen in to 38,638 l. and also the subscribers of of 100 l. for 3 *per cent.* annuities, *anno* 1757, were allowed an annuity for one life of 11 l. 2 s. 6 d. which amounted to 33,750 l. but is now reduced by lives fallen in to 33,082 l. 15 s. which annuities are an increase of the national debt, but cannot be added thereto, as no money was advanced for the same. — — — —			90,810 10 —
SOUTH SEA Company.			
On their capital stock and annuities 9 George I. — — —		25,025,309 13 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	765,329 3 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Annuities at 3 *per cent.* anno 1751, charged on the sinking fund — — —		2,100,000 — —	64,181 5 —
		98,604,836 8 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	3,302,673 15 11

Memorandum. The accounts of the Exchequer continuing to be made up to the old quarter-days, is the reason that this account is made up to the 5th of January 1761, and not to Christmas last, as directed by order of the house.

SUP-

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1762.

	£.	s.	d.
NOVEMBER 21.			
1. That 70,000 men be employed for the ſea ſervice, for 1762, including 19,061 marines.			
2. That a ſum, not exceeding 4 l. *per* man, *per* month, be allowed for maintaining them for 13 months, including the ordnance for ſea-ſervice	3640000	0	0
NOVEMBER 26.			
1. That a number of land forces, including thoſe in Germany, and on an expedition, and 4008 invalids, amounting to 67,676 effective men, commiſſion and non-commiſſion officers included, be employed for the ſervice of 1762.			
2. That for defraying the charge of the ſaid number of land forces for 1762, *there be granted to his majeſty* †	1629320	18	1
3. That for maintaining his majeſty's forces and garriſons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Guadaloupe, Africa, and the Eaſt-Indies, and for proviſions for the garriſons in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, Providence, Quebec, Guadaloupe, Senegal, and Goree, for 1762	873780	18	7
4. That for defraying the charge of four regiments of foot, on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, ſerving in North America, for 1762	23284	0	6
5. That for the charge of the office of ordnance, for land ſervice, for 1762	343754	17	11
6. That for defraying the charge of an augmentation to his majeſty's forces, conſiſting of 9370 men, from 25 December 1761, to 24 December 1762, both incluſive	163711	12	6
7. That for the pay of the general, and general ſtaff officers, and officers of the hoſpitals, for the land forces, for 1762	72896	14	2
8. That for defraying the extraordinary expence of ſervices performed by the office of ordnance for land ſervice, and not provided for by parliament, in 1761	299161	4	4
	3405910	6	1

† *Theſe words in Italicks are to be repeated at the end of almoſt every reſolution.*

NOVEMBER

November 28.	£.	d.	s.
1. That for the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to ſea officers, for 1762	272226	9	1
2. That for compleating the chapel, for the uſe of the hoſpital for ſick and wounded ſeamen, at Haſtar, near Goſport, and ſuch other works, as may be afterwards found proper to be performed before the whole work is put out of hand	1000	0	0
3. That for compleating the works of the hoſpital for ſick and wounded ſeamen, building near Plymouth	6000	0	0
4. That towards the buildings, rebuildings, and repairs, of his majeſty's ſhips, for 1762	200000	0	0
5. That towards paying off, and diſcharging the debt of the navy	1000000	0	0
	1479226	9	1

December 7.	£.	d.	s.
1. That for the charge of tranſport ſervice, between the 1ſt of October 1760, and the 30th of September 1761, including the expence of victualling the land forces within the ſaid time	835025	3	8
2. That to enable his majeſty to pay off, and diſcharge the Exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act of laſt ſeſſion, and charged upon the firſt aids, or ſupplies, to be granted in this ſeſſion of parliament	1500000	0	0
	2335025	3	8

December 10.	£.	d.	s.
1. That for defraying the charge of 39,773 men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe-Gotha, and the count of Buckeburg, together with that of general and ſtaff officers, actually employed againſt the common enemy, in concert with the king of Pruſſia, from 25 Dec. 1761, to 24 Dec. 1762, both incluſive, to be iſſued in advance every two months, in like manner as the pay of the Heſſian forces, now in the ſervice of Great Britain, the ſaid body of troops to be muſtered by an Engliſh commiſſary, and the effective ſtate thereof to be aſcertained by the ſignature of the commander in chief of the ſaid forces	465638	16	2 ½
2. That for defraying the charge of 2120 horſe, and 9900 foot, together with the general and ſtaff officers, the officers of the hoſpital, and the officers,			

	£.	s.	d.
and others, belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, in the pay of Great-Britain, for 365 days, from 25 Dec. 1761, to 24 Dec. 1762, both incluſive, together with the ſubſidy for the ſaid time, purſuant to treaty —	268360	8	8
3. That for defraying the charge of an additional corps of 1576 horſe, and 8808 foot, together with the general and ſtaff officers, the officers of the hoſpital, and officers, and others, belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from the firſt of January 1762, to the 31ſt of December following, both incluſive, purſuant to treaty	147071	5	2
4. That for defraying the charge of 1444 cavalry, and 2330 infantry, the troops of the reigning duke of Brunſwick, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from 25 December 1761, to 24 December 1762, both incluſive, together with the ſubſidy for the ſaid time, purſuant to treaties —	68008	9	1
5. That for defraying the charge of five battalions, ſerving with his majeſty's army in Germany, each battalion conſiſting of one troop of 101 men, and four companies of foot of 125 men each, with a corps of artillery, for 365 days, from 25 December 1761, to 24 December 1762, both incluſive	25504	6	8
6. That for defraying the charge of the embodied militia, of the ſeveral counties in South Britain, and of the fencible men in Argyleſhire, and of Lord Sutherland's battalion of Highlanders, in North-Britain, from 25 December 1761, to 24 December 1762, both incluſive, being 365 days ——	443952	10	10
7. That for defraying the charge of cloathing for the embodied militia, for 1762, upon account	60706	4	1
8. That to enable his majeſty to diſcharge the like ſum, raiſed in purſuance of an act of laſt ſeſſion, and charged upon the firſt aids, or ſupplies, to be granted in this ſeſſion of parliament ——	1000000	0	0
9. That towards defraying the charges of forage, bread, bread-waggons, train of artillery, and proviſions of wood, ſtraw, &c. and other extraordinary expences and contingencies of his majeſty's army, under the command of prince Ferdinand —	1000000	0	0
	3479242	0	8 ¾

DECEMBER 14.

That for defraying the extraordinary expences of his majeſty's land forces, and other ſervices incurred,

to

	£.	s.	d.
to 24 November 1761, and not provided for by parliament	1353662	4	1

DECEMBER 22.

1. That for defraying the charge for allowances to the ſeveral officers, and private gentlemen of the two troops of horſe guards, and regiment of horſe reduced, and to the ſuperannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horſe guards, for 1762	2952	13	4
2. That for the paying of penſions to the widows of ſuch reduced officers of his majeſty's land forces and mariners, as died upon the eſtabliſhment of half pay in Great Britain, and who were married to them before 25 December 1716, for 1762	1838	0	0
3. That upon account of the reduced officers of his majeſty's land forces and marines, for 1762	34383	0	0
4. That, to be applied towards the improving, widening, and enlarging the paſſage over, and through, London-bridge	15000	0	3
	54173	13	4

JANUARY 26, 1762.

1. That to enable his majeſty to give a proper compenſation to the reſpective provinces in North America, for the expences incurred by them in the levying, cloathing, and paying of the troops, raiſed by the ſame, according as the active vigour and ſtrenuous efforts of the reſpective provinces ſhall be thought by his majeſty to merit, upon account	133333	6	8
2. That to be paid to the Eaſt-India company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their ſettlements, to be maintained by them, in lieu of the battalion commanded by general Adlercron, withdrawn from thence, and now returned to Ireland	20000	0	0
3. That for out-penſioners of Chelſea Hoſpital, for 1762, upon account	13749	10	5
4. That for maintaining and ſupporting the civil eſtabliſhment of Nova Scotia, for 1762, upon account	5684	1	10
5. That for defraying the charge of the civil eſtabliſhment of Georgia, and other incidental expences attending the ſame, from 24 June 1761, to 24 June 1762, upon account	4057	10	0
6. That to be employed in maintaining and ſupporting the fort of Annamaboo, and the other Britiſh forts and ſettlements upon the coaſt of Africa	13000	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
7. That to replace to the ſinking fund the like ſum, paid out of the ſame, to make good the deficiency on 5 July 1761, of the ſeveral rates and duties upon offices and penſions, and upon houſes, and upon windows, or lights, which were made a fund, by an act 31 George II. for paying annuities at the Bank, in reſpect of five millions borrowed, towards the ſupply for 1758	52393	16	9 ½
8. That to replace to the ſinking fund the like ſum, paid out of the ſame, to make good the deficiency on 5 July 1761, of ſeveral duties on malt, granted by an act 33 George II. to anſwer annuities, after the rate of 4 l. *per cent.* charged thereupon	10540	0	0
9. That to replace to the ſinking fund the like ſum, paid out of the ſame, to make good the deficiency on 5 July 1761, of the additional duty on ſtrong beer and ale, to anſwer and pay the ſeveral annuities of 3 l. *per cent.* and 1 l. 2 s. 6 d. *per cent.* on 11,400,000 l. part of 12 millions borrowed, towards the ſupply granted by an act of 1 George III. for 1761	103906	0	0
	356664	5	8 ½

JANUARY 28.

That for defraying the extraordinary expences of his majeſty's land forces, and other ſervices incurred, from 24 November 1761, to 24 December following, and not provided for by parliament	958384	0	10

FEBRUARY 1.

That towards enabling the governors and guardians of the Foundling Hoſpital, to maintain and educate ſuch children as were received thereinto, on, or before, 25 March 1760, from 31 December 1761, excluſive, to 31 December 1762, incluſive; and that the ſaid ſum be iſſued and paid, for the ſaid uſe, without fee or reward, or any deduction whatſoever	41752	10	0

MARCH 23.

1. That towards enabling the truſtees of the Britiſh Muſæum to carry on the execution of the truſt repoſed in them by parliament	2000	0	0
2. That to be applied towards new paving the ſquares, ſtreets, lanes, and alleys, of the city and liberty of Weſtminſter, the pariſhes of St. Mary-le-bone, St. Giles in the fields, St. George the Martyr, St. George Bloomſbury, that part of the pariſh of St. Andrew's Holborn, which lies in the county of Mid-			

dleſex,

	£.	s.	d.
dlesex, the several liberties of the Rolls and Savoy, and that part of the duchy of Lancaster which lies in the county of Middlesex	5000	0	0
	7000	0	0

MARCH 26.

1. That towards defraying the charge of the pay of the militia of England, when unembodied, and of the cloathing of part of the said militia, now unembodied, for one year, beginning 25 March 1762, upon account	20000	0	0
2. That towards enabling the commissioners appointed by an act passed 33 George II. *for repairing and widening the roads from* Deanburn-bridge, *thro'* Greenlaw, *and part of the* Jedburgh road, *by* Lauder, *in* Berwickshire, *to* Cornhill, *in* Durham county, *and for building a bridge over the* Tweed, *near* Coldstream, to build the said bridge, and to defray such other expences as may be found necessary in relation thereto	4000	0	0
	24000	0	0

APRIL 1.

1. That towards assisting his majesty to grant a reasonable succour, in money, to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, pursuant to treaty, on account	50000	0	0
2. That to make good the deficiency of the grants, for 1761	112613	5	5 ¼
	162613	5	5 ¼

MAY 13.

1. That to enable his majesty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of 1762, and to assist the kingdom of Portugal, an ancient and natural ally of his majesty's crown, and to take all such measures, as may be necessary to disappoint and defeat any enterprizes, or designs of his enemies, against his majesty, or his allies, and as the exigency of affairs may require, upon account	1000000	0	0
2. That to make good the like sum, issued, pursuant to address of this house, by his majesty, to Jeremiah Dyson, Esq; towards defraying the expence of printing the journals of this house, from the beginning of the 9th parliament of Great Britain, to the end of the last session of parliament, and also towards defraying the expence of making, and printing, indexes to the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes,			

	£.	s.	d.
volumes, of the ſaid journals, which have been already printed	1500	0	0
	1001500	0	0
Sum total of the ſupplies granted by this ſeſſion	18299153	18	11 ½
From hence we may ſee, that if from the ſum total of the ſupplies granted by the laſt preceding ſeſſion, we deduct the 800000 l. then granted for the ſupport of the civil liſt, and the 670,000 l. then granted to the king of Pruſſia, the ſum total of the ſupplies granted by this ſeſſion, will exceed what was granted by the laſt in the ſum of	19616119	19	9 ¾
	1470000	0	0
	18146119	19	9 ¾
	153033	19	1 ¾

And as to the proviſions made by this ſeſſion for raiſing theſe ſupplies, I ſhall obſerve, that as ſoon as the houſe had, on 21 November, agreed to the two firſt reſolutions of the committee of ſupply, it was reſolved, that the houſe would, on the 23d, reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to conſider of ways and means for raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty; and the reſolutions of this committee, as agreed to by the houſe, were as follow:

NOVEMBER 24.

1. That, *towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty*, a land tax of 4 s. in the pound, and no more, be raiſed within the ſpace of one year from, &c. 2037854 19 11

2. That the duties on malt, &c. be further continued for one year, &c. 750000 0 0

2787854 19 11

DECEMBER 15.

1. That the ſum of twelve millions be raiſed by annuities in manner following: that is to ſay, that every contributor to the ſaid twelve millions ſhall, for every 100 l. contributed, be intitled to an annuity transferrable at the Bank of England, after the rate of 4 *per cent. per annum*, for nineteen years, and then to ſtand reduced to 3 l. *per cent. per annum*, redeemable by parliament; and alſo to an annuity, transferrable at the Bank of England, of 1 l. *per cent.* to continue irredeemable for a certain term of 98 years, and then to ceaſe; the ſaid annuities of 4 l. *per cent.* and 1 l. *per cent.* to be charged upon the ſinking fund, to commence from the 5th day of January 1762, and to be payable half yearly on the 5th day of July, and on the 5th day of January in every year; and that the ſaid 4 *per cent.* annuities ſhall be added to, and

made, one joint ſtock of transferrable 4 *per cent.* annuities at the Bank of England, with ſuch other 4 *per cent.* annuities transferrable at the Bank of England, as ſhall, by any act of this preſent ſeſſion of parliament, be charged upon, and made payable out of, the ſinking fund; and that every ſuch contributor ſhall, for every ſum of 80l. *per cent.* paid in to the caſhiers of the Bank of England, upon account of his ſhare in the ſaid annuities, after the rate of 4l. *per cent. per annum*, be entitled to 100l. capital in the ſaid ſtock of 4 l. *per cent.* annuities; and for every ſum of 20l. paid in like manner, upon account of his ſhare in the ſaid annuities of 1 l. *per cent.* ſhall be intitled to an annuity of 1 l. to continue for a certain term of 98 years, in manner above-mentioned. £. s. d.

That every contributor ſhall, on, or before, the 23d of this inſtant December, make a depoſit with the caſhiers of the Bank of England of 15 l. *per cent.* on ſuch part of the ſum, or ſums, to be contributed by him towards the ſaid ſum of twelve millions, as ſhall be payable in reſpect of his ſhare in the ſaid 4 *per cent.* annuities, and alſo a depoſit of 15 l. *per cent.* on ſuch part of the ſum, or ſums, ſo to be contributed, as ſhall be payable in reſpect of his ſhare in the ſaid 1 l. *per cent.* annuities, as a ſecurity for his making the future payments reſpectively, on, or before, the times herein after limited; that is to ſay,

On 9,600,000 l. to be paid in reſpect of the ſaid 4 *per cent.* annuities,

10 *per cent.* on or before the 10th day of February next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 23d day of March next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 21ſt day of April next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 26th day of May next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 23d day of June next.

15 *per cent.* on or before the 18th day of Auguſt next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 17th day of September next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 20th day of October next.

On 2,400,000 l. to be paid in reſpect of the ſaid 1 l. *per cent.* annuities,

25 *per cent.* on or before the 10th day of March next.

30 *per cent* on or before the 12th day of May next.

30 *per cent.* on or before the 21ſt day of July next.

Which

Which ſeveral ſums ſo received ſhall, by the ſaid caſhiers, be paid into the receipt of his majeſty's exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to ſuch ſervices as ſhall then have been voted by this houſe, in this ſeſſion of parliament, and not otherwiſe.

£. s. d.

And that every contributor who ſhall pay in the whole of his contribution on account of his ſhare in the ſaid 4 *per cent.* annuities, at any time, on or before the 18th day of September next, or on account of his ſhare in the ſaid 1 *per cent.* annuities, on or before the 13th day of May next, ſhall be allowed a diſcount after the rate of 3 *per cent. per annum* on the ſum ſo compleating his contribution reſpectively, to be computed from the day of compleating ſuch contribution, to the 20th day of October next, in reſpect of the ſum paid on account of the ſaid 4 *per cent.* annuities, and to the 21ſt day of July next, in reſpect of the ſum paid on account of the 1 l. *per cent.* annuities 12000000 0 0

2. That there ſhall be paid for every window, or light, in every dwelling houſe inhabited, or to be inhabited, within the kingdom of Great Britain, which ſhall contain eight or nine windows, or lights, and no more, the yearly ſum of one ſhilling, for every window, or light, in ſuch houſe, to commence from the fifth day of April 1762.

3. That there ſhall be paid for every window, or light, in every dwelling houſe as aforeſaid, which ſhall contain ten or eleven windows, or lights, and no more, the yearly ſum of ſix-pence for each window, or light, in ſuch houſe, over and above all duties chargeable thereupon, to commence from the fifth day of April 1762.

4. That there ſhall be paid for every window, or light, in every dwelling houſe as aforeſaid, which ſhall contain twelve, thirteen, or fourteen windows, or lights, and no more, the yearly ſum of one ſhilling for each window, or light, in ſuch houſe, over and above all duties chargeable thereupon, to commence from the fifth day of April 1762.

5. That there ſhall be paid for every window, or light, in every dwelling houſe as aforeſaid, which ſhall contain fifteen, ſixteen, ſeventeen, eighteen, or nineteen windows, or lights, and no more, the yearly ſum of three-pence for each window, or light, in ſuch houſe, over and above all duties chargeable thereupon, to commence from the fifth day of April 1762.

6. That,

6. That, towards making good to the ſinking fund the annuities charged thereupon, in reſpect of the ſaid ſum of twelve millions, the ſaid additional rates and duties upon windows, or lights, be carried to, and made part of, the ſaid fund.

7. That, towards making good to the ſinking fund, the ſaid annuities charged thereupon, the ſurplus of the monies, which ſhall, from time to time, ariſe from the ſeveral additional duties laid upon ſpirituous liquors, by two acts, one made in the 24th, and the other in the 33d year of his late majeſty's reign, after ſatisfying all payments charged on the ſaid duties, which ſurplus is reſerved for the diſpoſition of parliament; and alſo the farther additional duties upon ſpirituous liquors granted to his majeſty, in this ſeſſion of parliament, be carried to, and made part of, the ſaid fund.

DECEMBER 17.

1. That the 4l. *per centum* annuities, transferrable at the Bank of England, payable in reſpect of the principal ſum of eight millions, raiſed by virtue of an act, made in the 33d year of his late majeſty's reign, and alſo upon the additional capital of 3l. added to every 100l. advanced towards the ſaid ſum of eight millions, amounting to 240000l. together with the charges and expences attending the ſame, be, with the conſent of the proprietors of the ſaid annuities, charged upon, and paid out of, the ſinking fund; and that ſuch perſons, who ſhall not, on or before the twenty-firſt day of June 1762, ſignify their diſſent in books to be opened, at the Bank of England, for that purpoſe, ſhall be deemed, and taken to aſſent thereto.

2. That all the monies that ſhall, or may ariſe, from and after the fifth day of January 1762, of the produce of the ſeveral duties on malt, which, by the ſaid act of the 33d year of his late majeſty's reign, were made a fund for payment of the ſaid four pounds *per cent.* annuities, ſhall be carried to, and made part of, the ſinking fund.

JANUARY 26, 1762.

That towards paying off and diſcharging the debt of the navy, and alſo the ſum of 500000l. in part of the ſupply granted to his majeſty, for naval ſervice, there be raiſed, by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament; and ſuch Exchequer bills, if not diſcharged with intereſt thereon, on or before, 25

March

	£.	s.	d.
March 1763, to be exchanged, and received in payment, in such manner as Exchequer bills have usually been received in payment	1500000	0	9

MAY 17.

1. That the sum granted by act 2 Geo. II. upon account of arrears of his late majesty's civil list revenues, and now, by his majesty's direction, replaced and refunded out of the arrears of the said revenues, which were standing out at the time of his late majesty's demise, be issued and applied — 115000 0 0

2. That the sum remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, being part of the sum of 100000 l. granted to his late majesty in 1758, upon account, towards defraying the charge of pay and cloathing for the militia for that year, and for defraying such expences as were actually incurred, upon the account of the militia in 1757, be issued and applied — 20000 0 0

2. That the sum remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, which was granted to his late majesty in 1760, upon account, towards defraying the charge of pay and cloathing for the unembodied militia, for the year ended 25 March 1751, be issued and applied — 80000 0 0

4. That the sum remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, which was granted to his majesty, in the last session of parliament, upon account, towards defraying the charge of the pay of the militia of England, when unembodied, and of the cloathing of the part of the said militia then unembodied, for one year, beginning 25 March 1761, be issued and applied — 70000 0 0

5. That the sum remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, being the surplus of the several duties on malt, established by an act, 33 Geo. II. for paying annuities, granted in 1760, after satisfying all charges and incumbrances thereupon, to the 5th of January 1762, be issued and applied — 73678 0 0

6. That out of such monies as shall, or may, arise of the surpluses, exceses, or overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the sinking fund, there be issued and applied the sum of — 1009217 2 8 ½

7. That towards making good and securing the payment of the sums of money, directed by an act of 32 Geo. II. to be applied in augmentation of the salaries of the judges and justices therein mentioned, within England and Wales, there be granted to his majesty an additional stamp duty of 2 l. upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of

paper,

	£.	s.	d.
paper, on which ſhall be ingroſſed or written, any admiſſion into any of the four inns of court.			
8. That towards making good and ſecuring the payment of the ſaid ſums, there be granted to his majeſty, an additional ſtamp duty of 2 l. upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or ſheet or piece of paper, on which ſhall be ingroſſed, or written, any regiſter, entry, teſtimonial, or certificate of the degree of utter barriſter, taken in any of the four inns of court.			
9. That there be raiſed by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged on the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament, the ſum of ---	1000000	0	0
	2367895	2	8 ½
Sum total of the proviſions made by this ſeſſion	18655750	2	8 ½

But to this we muſt add, what may hereafter be raiſed by the ſaid 7th and 8th reſolutions of May the 17th, which cannot be aſcertained, becauſe the deficiency of the fund, eſtabliſhed by the act therein-mentioned, is not known. However, without this addition, we may ſee that the total ſum provided for by the committee of ways and means, exceeds the total ſum granted by the committee of ſupply by the ſum of 356,596 l. 3 s. 9 d. yet notwithſtanding this exceſs, we may probably have, as uſual, a deficiency to be provided for by the next ſeſſion of parliament; beſide providing for ſuch ſervices as may this year be incurred, though not before provided for, which amounted laſt year to a very large ſum, as appears by the 8th reſolution of November 26th, the 1ſt of December 7th, that of December 14th, and that of January 28th, being in the whole, 3,646,232 l. 12 s. 11 d.

An

An account of all the Public Debts, *at the receipt of the* Exchequer, *ſtanding out at* Jan. 5, 1762, *with the annual intereſt or other charges payable for the ſame.*

	Principal debt.				Annual intereſt, or other charges payable for the ſame.		
EXCHEQUER.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Annuities for long terms, being the remainder of the original ſum contributed and unſubſcribed to the South-ſea company	1,836,275	17	10	¾	136,453	12	8
Ditto for lives, with the benefit of ſurvivorſhip, being the original ſum contributed	108,100	—	—		7,567	—	—
Ditto for two and three lives, being the ſum remaining after what is fallen in by deaths	76,005	14	10	¾	9,215	12	—
Exchequer bills made out for intereſt of old Bills	2,200	—	—		—	—	—
Note, The land taxes and duties on malt being annual grants, are not charged in this account, nor the 1,000,000 l. charged on the deductions of 6 d. *per* pound on penſions, nor the 1,500,000 l. towards paying off the navy debt, &c. *anno* 1761, nor the ſum of 1,000,000 l. charged on the ſupplies *anno* 1762.							
EAST INDIA Company.							
By two acts of parliament 9 Will. III. and two other acts 6 and 9 Anne, at 3 *per cent.*	3,200,000	—	—		97,285	14	4
Annuities at 3 *per cent.* anno 1744, charged on the ſurplus of the additional duties on low wines, ſpirits, and ſtrong waters	1,000,000	—	—		30,401	15	8
BANK of ENGLAND.							
On their original fund at 3 *per cent.* from 1 Aug. 1743	3,200,000	—	—		100,000	—	—
For cancelling Exchequer bills 3 George I.	500,000	—	—		15,000	—	—
Purchaſed of the South-ſea company	4,000,000	—	—		121,898	3	5 ¼
Annuities at 3 *per cent.* charged on the duties on coals ſince Lady-day, 1719	1,750,000	—	—		52,500	—	—
Ditto at 3 *per cent.* charged on the ſurplus of the funds for lottery, 1714.	1,250,000	—	—		37,500	—	—
Ditto at 3 *per cent. anno* 1746, charged on the duties on licences for retailing ſpirituous liquors ſince Lady-day, 1746.	986,800	—	—		29,604	—	—
Ditto at 3 *per cent.* charged on the ſinking fund by the acts 25, 28, 29, 32, and 33 George II. — 21,137,821 5 1 ¼							
Ditto at 3 *per cent.* charged on the duties on offices and penſions, &c. by the act 31 George II. — 500,000 — —							
Ditto at 3 *per cent.* charged on the additional duty on ſtrong beer and ale, by the act 1 George III. — 11,400,000 — —	33,627,821	5	1	¼	1,020,838	5	8
Ditto at 3 *per cent.* in lottery tickets charged on the ſaid fund by the ſaid act — 600,000 — —							

Ditto at 3 *per cent.* charged on the ſinking fund by the act 25 George II.	—	—	17,701,323 16 4	540,996 14 —
Ditto at 3 1-half *per cent.* charged on the ſaid fund by the act 29 George II.	—	—	1,500,000 — —	53,343 15 —
Ditto at 3 1-half *per cent.* charged on the duties on offices and penſions, by the act 31 Geo. II.			4,500,000 — —	160,031 5 —
Ditto at 4 *per cent.* charged on the additional duty on malt, &c. by the act 33 George II. — — — —	8,000,000 — —		8,240,000 — —	334,235 — —
Ditto at 4 *per cent.* additional capital of 3 *per cent.* in lottery tickets on 8,000,000 l. charged on the ſaid fund by the ſaid act —	240,000 — —			
Memorandum. The ſubſcribers of 100 l. to the lottery 1745, were allowed an annuity for one life of 9 s. a ticket, which amounted to 22,500 l. but is now reduced by lives fallen in to 18,812 l. 15 s. and the ſubſcribers of 100 l. to the lottery 1746, were allowed an annuity for one life of 18 s. a ticket, which amounted to 45,000 l. but is now reduced by lives fallen in to 38,216 l. and the ſubſcribers of 100 l. for 3 *per cent.* annuities, *anno* 1757, were allowed an annuity for one life of 1 l. 2 s. 6 d. which amounted to 33,750 l. but is now reduced by lives fallen in to 32,937 l. 9 s. 6 d. and alſo the ſubſcribers of 100 l. for 3 *per cent.* annuities, *anno* 1761, were allowed an annuity for 99 years of 1 l. 2 s. 6 d. amounting to 128,250 l which annuities are an increaſe of the national debt, but cannot be added thereto, as no money was advanced for the ſame.			— — — —	218,215 17 6
SOUTH SEA Company.				
On their capital ſtock and annuities 9 George I. —	—	—	25,025,309 13 11½	765,326 3 1½
Annuities at 3 *per cent.* anno 1751, charged on the ſinking fund	—	—	2,100,000 — —	64,181 5 —
			110,603,836 8 2¼	3,794,594 3 5

STATE PAPERS.

His majesty's most gracious speech to both houses of parliament, on June 2, 1762.

My lords and gentlemen,

THE public business, for which you were assembled, being now happily concluded, the advanced season of the year calls upon me to put an end to this session of parliament; which I cannot do, without expressing the highest approbation of the zeal, unanimity, and dispatch, which have so signally appeared in the course of your proceedings.

At the opening of this session I informed you, that it had been my earnest wish to restore the blessings of peace to my people; but that it was my fixt resolution, with your concurrence and support, to carry on the war in the most effectual manner, till that desirable object could be obtained upon equitable and honourable conditions. My sentiments in both these respects continue invariably the same, and I have the satisfaction to find them confirmed by the unanimous voice of my parliament.

The declaration, which motives of humanity have engaged the emperor of Russia to make to all the courts in that alliance, and the great and happy change in the situation of my ally, the king of Prussia, gives us just reason to hope, that the other belligerant powers may be induced to entertain the same pacific dispositions. On the other hand, our rupture with Spain, notwithstanding my utmost endeavours to prevent it, and the violent and unprovoked attack with which the dominions of my ancient ally, the king of Portugal, are threatened, sufficiently evince the wisdom and necessity of that firmness and resolution in my parliament, which have enabled me to continue our military preparations without the least interruption or delay; and considerably to augment my fleets and armies in those parts, in which our enemies can be more sensibly distressed. The signal success of my arms, in the conquest of Martinico, and the acquisition of many other valuable settlements in the West Indies, have, under the blessing of God, been the happy consequences of these measures. I trust in the Divine Providence, that they will be attended with still farther advantages, until the powers at war with us shall be disposed to such terms of accommodation, as the dignity and just rights of my crown, the future security and commercial interests of my subjects, will permit me to accept.

Gentlemen of the house of commons.

When I consider the ample supplies which you have granted, I cannot but lament the heavy burthens, which the necessities of the public service have obliged you to impose upon my people. From this consideration, I have endeavoured, in every instance, to restrain

my demands within as narrow bounds, as the difficulties, in which I found myself involved, would allow. From the same motive, my utmost care shall be employed to the most exact œconomy, consistent with the safety of my kingdoms, and the good faith and honour of my crown.

I return you my particular thanks, for the proof which you have given of your regard to me and my family, in the ample provision you have made for the queen; whose virtues, and affection to this country, will, I am confident, be found to deserve it.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have the fullest persuasion, that you will continue to diffuse in your several counties that spirit of concord, which you have yourselves so steadily exerted in parliament: and you may be assured that I will, on my part, return your zeal and affection for my person and government, by a constant attention to whatever may attribute to the ease of my subjects; and that it is my ardent wish, to found the glories of my reign on the union of my people, and on the welfare and prosperity of these my kingdoms.

His majesty's most gracious speech to both houses of parliament, on Nov. 25, 1762.

My lords and gentlemen,

I Found, on my accession to the throne, these my kingdoms engaged in a bloody and expensive war. I resolved to prosecute it with the utmost vigour; determined, however, to consent to peace, upon just and honourable terms, whenever the events of war should incline the enemy to the same pacific disposition.

A negotiation was accordingly begun last year, which proved ineffectual. The war became afterwards more general, by the resolution of the court of Madrid to take part with the enemy, notwithstanding my best endeavours to prevent it.

This, with the unexpected attack of my natural and good ally the king of Portugal, greatly affected our commerce, multiplied the objects of our military operations, and increased our difficulties, by adding to the heavy burthens under which this country already laboured.

My object still continued the same, to attain an honourable peace, by pursuing this more extensive war in the most vigorous manner. I embraced therefore an occasion offered me, of renewing the negotiation; but at the same time I exerted so effectually the strength which you had put into my hands, and have been so well served by my fleets and armies in the execution of my plans, that history cannot furnish examples of greater glory, or greater advantages acquired by the arms of this, or any other nation, in so short a period of time. My general prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and my army in Germany, have gained immortal honour, by many signal advantages obtained during the course of this campaign, over an enemy superior in numbers. The progress of the French and Spanish arms in Portugal has been stopt; and that kingdom preserved by the firmness and resolution of its sovereign, and by the military talents of the reigning count La Lippe, seconded by the valour of the troops under his command. Martinico, and other

iſlands in the Weſt Indies, have been conquered; the Havannah, a place of the utmoſt importance to Spain, is in my poſſeſſion; and with it great treaſures, and a very conſiderable part of the navy of Spain, are fallen into our hands.

I cannot mention theſe atchievements, which reflect ſuch honour on my crown, without giving my public teſtimony to the unwearied perſeverance, and unparallelled bravery of my officers and private men, by ſea and land, who, by repeated proofs, have ſhewn, that no climate, no hardſhips, no dangers can check the ardour, or reſiſt the valour of the Britiſh arms.

Next to the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, it is owing to their conduct and courage, that my enemies have been brought to accept of peace on ſuch terms, as, I truſt, will give my parliament entire ſatisfaction. Preliminary articles have been ſigned by my miniſter, with thoſe of France and Spain, which I will order in due time to be laid before you.

The conditions of theſe are ſuch, that there is not only an immenſe territory added to the empire of Great Britain, but a ſolid foundation laid for the increaſe of trade and commerce; and the utmoſt care has been taken to remove all occaſions of future diſputes between my ſubjects and thoſe of France and Spain, and thereby to add ſecurity and permanency to the bleſſings of peace.

While I carefully attended to the eſſential intereſts of my own kingdoms, I have had the utmoſt regard to the good faith of my crown, and the intereſts of my allies. I have made peace for the king of Portugal, ſecuring to him all his dominions; and all the territories of the king of Pruſſia, as well as my other allies in Germany, or elſewhere, occupied by the armies of France, are to be immediately evacuated.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

I have ordered the proper eſtimates to be laid before you; and ſhall, without delay, proceed to make reductions to the utmoſt extent, wherever they may be found conſiſtent with wiſdom and ſound policy. It is the greateſt affliction for me to find, that, though the war is at an end, our expences cannot immediately be ſo much leſſened as I deſire; but as nothing could have carried us through the great and arduous difficulties ſurrounding us, but the moſt vigorous and expenſive efforts, we muſt expect for ſome time, to feel the conſequences of them to a conſiderable degree.

My lords and gentlemen,

It was impoſſible to execute what this nation has ſo glorioufly performed in all parts of the world, without the loſs of great numbers of men. When you conſider this loſs, whether on the principles of policy or humanity, you will ſee one of the many reaſons which induced me to enter early into negotiation, ſo as to make a conſiderable progreſs in it, before the fate of many operations was determined; and now to haſten the concluſion of it, to prevent the neceſſity of making preparations for another campaign. As by this peace my territories are greatly augmented, and new ſources opened for trade and manufactures, it is my earneſt deſire, that you would conſider of ſuch methods in the ſettlements of our new acquiſitions, as ſhall moſt effectually tend to the ſecurity of

thoſe

thoſe countries, and to the improvement of the commerce and navigation of Great Britain. I cannot mention our acquiſitions, without earneſtly recommending to your care and attention my gallant ſubjects, by whoſe valour they were made.

We could never have carried on this extenſive war, without the greateſt union at home. You will find the ſame union peculiarly neceſſary, in order to make the beſt uſe of the great advantages acquired by the peace; and to lay the foundation of that œconomy which we owe to ourſelves, and to our poſterity, and which can alone relieve this nation from the heavy burthens brought upon it by the neceſſities of this long and expenſive war.

The humble addreſs of the right hon. the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, Nov. 25, 1762.

Moſt gracious ſovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

Permit us, ſir, to take this earlieſt opportunity, to entreat your majeſty to accept our moſt ſincere and fervent congratulations on the birth of an heir to your crown, which adds to your majeſty's domeſtic happineſs, and endears your royal conſort to the people of theſe realms; and promiſes, that, under a prince formed to the arts of government by your majeſty's royal example, the civil and religious liberties, the glory, the commerce, and the power of Great Britain, will be tranſmitted to poſterity.

It is with the utmoſt gratitude that we acknowledge your majeſty's unwearied attention to the proſperity and happineſs of your people; which made your majeſty conſtantly ſollicitious, even amidſt the glory of your victories, to deliver them from the burthens of war, by a juſt and honourable peace. At the ſame time, we cannot but admire the wiſdom, which pointed out to your majeſty the moſt vigorous efforts, as the ſureſt means of procuring this bleſſing for your people.

We beg leave to offer your majeſty our humble congratulations on the ſignal ſucceſſes, which have attended your majeſty's arms in the courſe of the preſent year; on the reduction of the ſtrong iſland of Martinico; on the conqueſt of the Havannah, the bulwark of the Spaniſh colonies, and on the acquiſition of ſo much treaſure, and of ſo great a part of the Spaniſh marine; on the many advantages obtained in Germany over the arms of France, although ſuperior in numbers, by the able conduct of your majeſty's general prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, and by the valour of the troops under his command; and on the preſervation of Portugal from the dangers which threatened inſtantly to overwhelm that kingdom, and which could not have been ſo long withſtood, but by the firmneſs of its ſovereign, by the military talents of the reigning count La Lippe, and by the valour of the troops employed in that ſervice. Theſe atchievements muſt be acknowledged to be equal to whatever has been performed in any former year, even

of this proſperous war; though a new enemy neceſſarily made our military operations more extenſive, and added new difficulties to thoſe we ſtruggled with before: atchievements which reflect the higheſt honour on the councils that planned them, on the commanders who carried them into execution, and on the fleets and armies, whoſe intrepidity no dangers could diſmay.

Allow us to expreſs, in the moſt fervent and grateful manner, our joy and congratulations, that, by theſe repeated efforts, your majeſty has at length compelled your enemies to conſent to terms of peace; as well as to offer to your majeſty our ſincere thanks, for your having informed your parliament, that the preliminary articles are already ſigned by your majeſty's miniſter, and by thoſe of France and Spain; for your majeſty's moſt gracious aſſurances, that you will cauſe theſe articles in due time to be laid before them; and for the lights your majeſty has been pleaſed to give concerning the conditions of them, which afford to your people the faireſt proſpect of future happineſs, proſperity, and ſecurity.

Your majeſty may be aſſured, that we will not fail on our part, to take, as ſoon as poſſible, into our conſideration, the proper methods for the ſettlement of our new acquiſitions; for improving their commerce, and thereby rendering them uſeful to the mother country. Truly ſenſible of the merits of thoſe gallant men, by whoſe valour theſe acquiſitions have been made, we ſhall be ready to concur in every reaſonable propoſition for rewarding them; lamenting at the ſame time, as we do, the loſs of ſo many of our fellow-ſubjects, by which the national ſtrength is ſo much impaired. We cannot ſufficiently admire that wiſdom, which ſeized the fortunate hour of reaping the advantages of our victories, while we were yet on the ſummit of our glory, and before we had experienced any reverſe of fortune. In grateful return of thoſe many bleſſings, which your majeſty's royal wiſdom and fortitude have procured for us, your majeſty may depend on our warmeſt zeal, on our conſtant endeavours to promote that unanimity your majeſty recommends in all our proceedings, and on our attention to thoſe meaſures of œconomy, which are the peculiar buſineſs of times of peace, and which alone can relieve your majeſty's faithful people, from the oppreſſive burthens of ſo long and ſo expenſive a war.

His majeſty's moſt gracious anſwer.

My lords,

THis very affectionate and loyal addreſs gives me the trueſt ſatisfaction. I thank you heartily for it; as well as for your congratulations on the birth of the prince, my ſon; and for the regard you expreſs, on this occaſion, for the queen.

The chearful and ſteady ſupport of my parliament throughout the war, has been attended with uninterrupted ſucceſs: and the ratification of the preliminary articles will, I truſt, ſoon be followed by the completion of peace on ſafe and honourable conditions.

My only wiſh is, and ever will be, to promote the laſting happineſs, proſperity, and ſecurity of my faithful people.

The

The humble addreſs of the houſe of commons to the king.

Moſt gracious ſovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty the moſt humble and hearty thanks of this houſe, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

Permit us, at the ſame time, to congratulate your majeſty on the auſpicious birth of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, and the recovery of your royal conſort, endeared to this country not only by this important event, but by her own perſonal virtues.

We acknowledge, with the utmoſt gratitude, your majeſty's great attention to the welfare of your people in the vigorous proſecution of the war, and congratulate your majeſty on that happy effect of it, the proſpect of ſuch a peace as may give ſtability and permanency to the bleſſings we promiſe ourſelves under your majeſty's moſt auſpicious reign.

We aſſure your majeſty, that your faithful commons are truly ſenſible of the wiſdom with which your plans have been concerted, as well as of the ſucceſsful zeal with which they have been carried into execution by your fleets and armies.

The reſolution and intrepidity of your majeſty's army in Germany, and the military ſkill and diſtinguiſhed activity of your general prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, which have obtained ſo many ſignal advantages over an enemy ſo ſuperior in numbers, are objects of our higheſt admiration. The ſtopping the progreſs of the French and Spaniſh arms in Portugal, and the preſervation of that kingdom, by the firmneſs and reſolution of its ſovereign, and by the ſuperior talents and able conduct of the reigning count La Lippe, ſeconded by the valour of the troops under his command, are events of the higheſt importance to this nation and its commerce. The reduction of Martinico, ſo glorious to your majeſty's arms, and the ſtill more glorious and important conqueſt of the Havannah, by which great treaſure, and a very conſiderable part of the navy of Spain, are fallen into your majeſty's hands, ſpeak the wiſdom of your councils, and the valour of thoſe employed in the execution of theſe great commands, and fill our hearts with gratitude and ſatisfaction.

The publick teſtimony which your majeſty has, therefore, graciouſly given to the unwearied perſeverance, and unparalleled bravery of your officers and private men, by ſea and land, to which, under God, theſe glorious atchievements are to be attributed, is a no leſs honourable than deſerved reward of their ſervices, and muſt be an additional recommendation of them to the eſteem and gratitude of their country.

Allow us, ſir, to thank your majeſty for having promiſed to direct the preliminary articles of the peace to be laid before us. And we receive with the greateſt ſatisfaction the information which your majeſty has condeſcended, in the mean time, to afford us; from which we promiſe ourſelves, that, with your majeſty's dominions, our trade will be increaſed; and that, all occaſions of future diſputes being removed, the bleſſings of peace will be thereby rendered permanent and ſecure.

We return your majeſty our moſt ſincere and humble thanks for your

great goodneſs and tender regard for the welfare of your ſubjects, in proceeding without delay to the concluſion of the negotiation of peace, ſo expedient for this country; and for your gracious intentions, as ſoon as it ſhall be concluded, to reduce the public expences.

Your majeſty may be aſſured, that your faithful commons will chearfully aſſiſt in the ſupport of ſuch expences as may be ſtill neceſſary, with due regard to that œconomy, which your majeſty recommends to us, as far as may be conſiſtent with wiſdom and true policy.

We will not fail to conſider of the moſt effectual methods of ſettling our new acquiſitions, of ſecuring thoſe countries to us, and of improving our commerce and navigation. And, lamenting the loſs of thoſe many brave men who have fallen in this glorious war, we will pay all due attention to the ſervices of thoſe who yet remain, by whoſe valour thoſe acquiſitions have been made. And we will continue to cultivate that union to which we greatly owe the ſucceſſes of the war, in order thereby to make the beſt advantages of peace, and lay the foundation of that œconomy, which we owe to ourſelves and to our poſterity.

His majeſty's moſt gracious anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I Return you my hearty thanks for this very dutiful and affectionate addreſs; and I receive your congratulations on the birth of the prince, my ſon, as a freſh proof of your attachment to my perſon, and of your regard for the queen. The aſſurances of your ready ſupport in ſuch expences as may be ſtill neceſſary, afford me the higheſt ſatisfaction; and the ratification of the preliminary articles gives me the pleaſing hope of ſoon eaſing my faithful ſubjects, by a ſafe, honourable, and permanent peace, of the heavy, but unavoidable burdens they have ſo chearfully born during the war.

The addreſs of the archbiſhop, biſhops, and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation aſſembled, preſented December 4, 1762.

Moſt gracious ſovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt loyal and dutiful ſubjects, the archbiſhop, biſhops and clergy of the province of Canterbury in convocation aſſembled, beg leave to take the firſt occaſion of jointly congratulating your majeſty on the bleſſing, for which we have ſeparately offered up our fervent thankſgivings to God, of his vouchſafing, and that ſo early, to you and your excellent conſort the queen, a ſon to inherit the crown of theſe realms.

We feel a very ſenſible pleaſure from the increaſe of your majeſty's domeſtic felicity, in the addition of paternal to conjugal tenderneſs. But our views extend much further; and, as we owe to your auguſt houſe the preſervation of every thing dear to us as men or chriſtians, and have found each of your illuſtrious anceſtors faithful guardians of all thoſe diſtinguiſhed advantages, which we enjoy to the height under your majeſty's gracious government; ſo we truſt, that Providence hath deſigned us a pledge of the perpetuity of our happineſs, in giving us a prince deſcended from ſuch progenitors. For we know, that

that his hereditary good diſpoſitions will be ſolicitouſly ſtrengthened and improved by the daily inſtruction and example of his parents; who will compleat their merit to theſe nations, by forming his youthful mind to the love of religion, of liberty, of our civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution; to a judicious zeal for the proſperity of Great Britain, and a ſincere benevolence to mankind in general.

May theſe pleaſing labours be ſucceſsful in the higheſt degree. May the royal infant grow up in health and ſtrength, become the joy and boaſt of the public by every valuable attainment, delight your majeſties by the moſt affectionate duty and gratitude, through an uncommon length of days mercifully granted you; and, born at the dawning of peace, may he ſee all his life, the people of this land reaping the beneficial fruits of it to the utmoſt.

It ſhall be our conſcientious care to remind our fellow-ſubjects of the ineſtimable privileges which they poſſeſs; and the glorious expectations which they may juſtly entertain for themſelves and their poſterity, from your majeſty and your family, if they will ſecure the Divine Protection, by leading thankfully, quiet and peaceable lives in godlineſs and honeſty, as their holy profeſſion requires. And we moſt dutifully intreat the continuance of your majeſty's attention to the ſacred intereſts of Chriſtian piety and moral virtue, which we are fully ſatisfied you have deeply at heart.

His majeſty's moſt gracious anſwer.

My lords, and the reſt of the clergy,

I Accept with thanks theſe new aſſurances of your regard to the queen; and ſee with particular pleaſure the expreſſions of your gratitude to Almighty God, for the birth of the prince, my ſon.

Your opinion of my fixed intention to educate him in every principle of religious and civil liberty, is truly acceptable to me.

Be aſſured, that no endeavour on my part ſhall be wanting to promote the ſacred intereſts of Chriſtian piety, and moral virtue; and to tranſmit to poſterity our preſent moſt happy conſtitution.

Summary of the papers relative to the rupture with Spain; publiſhed by authority.

THESE papers contain a ſeries of the moſt material tranſactions between the two courts, from the time that M. Buffy preſented the memorial in the name of his Catholic majeſty, to that when the E. of Briſtol left the court of Madrid, and war was declared with Spain.

They begin with a letter of inſtructions from Mr. Pitt to the E. of Briſtol on that unlooked for event, in which the ſecretary remarks, that the engagements between the crowns of France and Spain were, by the French miniſter, avowed to be previous to the overtures of peace by France, and conſequently were from that time as *diſingenuouſly* ſuppreſſed, as they were in the moment *inſolently* produced: That the memorial relative to the diſputes between England and Spain, was ſo offenſive, that the king's ſervants were unanimouſly of opinion utterly to reject it; that nothing could equal the king's ſurprize and regret at a tranſaction ſo unprecedented as that of an attempt to

to mingle the diſputes of a neutral power with the negotiations now carrying on with France; and that, in caſe the Spaniſh miniſter ſhall avow, that this ſtrange piece has really been authorized by the court of Madrid, then his excellency is enjoined to remonſtrate with *energy* and *firmneſs* againſt the unexampled irregularity of ſuch a proceeding on the part of Spain, and to aſſure M. Wall, that as, on the one hand, his majeſty will by no means add any new facilities from the conſideration of an union of councils, or of preſent, or future conjunctions between France and Spain; ſo, neither on the other hand, will his majeſty's equity and moderation ceaſe to diſpoſe his royal mind to the ſame reaſonable terms of accommodation with Spain, as the king, excited by inclination, and determined by ſyſtem, has, through the courſe of this negotiation, invariably declared himſelf ready to embrace.—Then follows the anſwer to be given to three points in diſpute: Firſt, concerning the reſtitution of prizes made againſt the flag of Spain, or in violation of the territory of that kingdom; it ſuffices to ſay, that the courts here inſtituted to take cognizance of all matters of ſuch a nature, are always open to the parties who think fit to ſeek redreſs in due courſe of juſtice; and it is ſuperfluous to obſerve, that the miniſters of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty are not a tribunal to which Great Britain allows an appeal.

Next, as to the ſtale and inadmiſſible pretenſions of the Biſcayans and Guipuſcoans to fiſh at Newfoundland, let M. Wall clearly underſtand, that this is a matter held ſacred: and that no conceſſion, on the part of his majeſty, ſo deſtructive to this true and capital intereſt of Great Britain, will be made to Spain, however abetted and ſupported: And it is ſtill hoped, that prudence as well as juſtice will induce that court no longer to expect, as the price of an union, which it is at leaſt as much her intereſt as ours to maintain inviolate, a ſacrifice, which can never be granted.

Theſe clear and diſtinct anſwers being given, Mr. Pitt continues his inſtructions, &c. as follows: After the above memorial, and the intimation therein, little ſhort of a declaration of a war in reverſion, and that not at a diſtance, held out *in terrorem* on the part of France and Spain, M. Wall cannot wonder that your excellency is ordered by his majeſty, as you hereby are, to deſire again, in this conjuncture, a proper explanation with regard to the naval armaments that have been ſo long preparing in the various ports of Spain: And his excellency cannot but himſelf be ſenſible how ſtrongly the king is called upon, in the order of things, and from the indiſpenſible motives of what he owes to his crown and people, to expect that the court of Madrid will come to ſome explicit and categorical eclairciſſement, with regard to the deſtination of her fleets, as well as with reſpect to her diſpoſitions to maintain and cultivate friendſhip and good correſpondence with Great Britain: And this meaſure is become the more highly neceſſary, as the emiſſaries and partizans of France here, are not a little active in endeavouring to infuſe, particularly into people's minds in the city, for purpoſes too obvious to mention, that a rupture with Spain, in conjunction with France, is approaching.

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Although, in the courſe of this inſtruction to your excellency, I could not, with ſuch an inſolent memorial from France before me, but proceed on the ſuppoſition, that, inſidious as that court is, ſhe could not dare to commit in ſuch a manner the name of his Catholic majeſty, without being authorized thereto; I muſt not, however, conceal from your excellency, that 'tis thought poſſible here that the court of France, though not wholly unauthorized, may, with her uſual artifice in negotiation, have put much exaggeration into this matter; and, in caſe, upon entering into remonſtrance on this affair, you ſhall perceive a diſpoſition in M. Wall to explain away and diſavow the authorization of Spain to this offenſive tranſaction of France, and to come to categorical and ſatisfactory declarations relatively to the final intentions of Spain, your excellency will, with your uſual addreſs, adapt yourſelf to ſo deſirable a circumſtance, and will open to the court of Madrid as handſome a retreat as may be, in caſe you perceive from the Spaniſh miniſter that they ſincerely wiſh to find one, and to remove, by an effectual ſatisfaction, the unfavourable impreſſions which this memorial of the court of France has juſtly and unavoidably made on the mind of his majeſty.

In this diſpatch, which bears date July 28, 1761, was incloſed the memorial already mentioned; Mr. Pitt's letter to M. Buſſy, when he returned it, with two ſupplemental memorials *of a moſt extraordinary nature* as Mr. Pitt expreſſes it, which the public has not yet ſeen; the receipt of all which the E. of Briſtol acknowledges, and, in conſequence of the inſtructions contained therein, his excellency had no leſs than five conferences with the Spaniſh miniſter, in which he had urged all that he had received in commiſſion with great force of argument; the anſwers to which are as follows:

M. Wall owned, that he had been informed of all that had paſſed at the court of London on the ſubject of the memorial in queſtion, and that in conſequence of a propoſal made by the court of Verſailles to the king his maſter, his majeſty had conſented to guarantee the intended peace between France and England; and, at the ſame time, to accept of Frace's expreſs offer of endeavouring to accomodate the diſputes ſubſiſting between England and Spain; but, in aſſenting to this, his excellency declared, that his Catholic majeſty had no deſign of offending the Britiſh court, and was not a little ſurprized that it could be productive of ſuch an effect; that, as to England's declaration of adding no new facilities to Spain, in conſideration of any intimation or threatnings whatever, the Catholic king could not but applaud thoſe ſentiments in his majeſty, which he felt ſo ſtrongly within himſelf; adding, that the court of London was certainly at liberty to reject any propoſals coming from the French miniſtry, but that the king of Spain no doubt had an equal right to communicate whatever meaſures he thought conducive to his intereſts, to the moſt Chriſtian king, his majeſty's friend, ally, and near relation.

M Wall purſued his diſcourſe, by acquainting the earl with France's having ſpontaneouſly offered, (in caſe the diſputes of Great Britain and Spain ſhould, at any time hereafter,

after, occaſion a rupture between the two courts) to unite her forces with thoſe of Spain, to prevent the Engliſh encroachments in America: An offer which the Spaniſh monarch had received with great cordiality.

General Wall then aſked, whether it was poſſible to be imagined in England, that the Catholic king could ſeek to provoke the court of London at a time when the Britiſh nation was in the moſt flouriſhing and moſt exalted ſituation it had ever known? Aſſuring the earl, on the contrary, that the Catholic king, both before, and at preſent, eſteemed, as well as valued, the frequent profeſſions he had made of his majeſty's deſire to adjuſt our mutual differences amicably; but, he perceived, the terms on which thoſe diſputes were ſought to be accommodated, occaſioned the difficulty. The Catholic king, he ſaid, did not think England would look upon the French miniſters as a tribunal to which the court of London would make an appeal, nor meant it as ſuch, when the firſt article of grievances was conveyed through that channel. As to the ſecond, the claim of the Guipuſcoans and Biſcayans to fiſh for baccalao; it was what Spain had always inſiſted upon, and never receded from by any treaty †: And laſtly, concerning England's evacuating all the uſurped ſettlements on the logwood coaſts, it had never been offered, but upon ſuch conditions as were inconſiſtent with the dignity of the Spaniſh crown to accept; ſince the court of London would only conſent, that, previous to her ſending orders to thoſe unjuſt ſettlers to remove, the Catholic king ſhould be compelled to make known to the Engliſh, in what manner the logwood was to be aſſured to the king's ſubjects, notwithſtanding the Spaniſh monarch had repeatedly given his royal word, a method ſhould be found out for that purpoſe; and that, till it was adjuſted, in what manner Great Britain ſhould enjoy that privilege, the Engliſh cutters of logwood ſhould continue, without interruption, or moleſtation of any kind, to carry on their commerce upon the footing they at preſent exerciſe it. His Catholic majeſty only aſking, that, for his own royal decorum, the uſurped eſtabliſhments ſhould be relinquiſhed by the Engliſh, to prove that good faith we piqued ourſelves upon, and to convince Spain, we did not maintain thoſe forcible poſſeſ-

† In a paper which Mr. Wall communicated to the earl, by way of anſwer to all the earl had urged, is the following ſhrewd remarks on the two laſt articles: Concerning the liberty of the Biſcayners and Guipuſcoans to fiſh for bacallao, an abſolute negative, ſays he, is given to that right by England, tho' it is well proved: And with reſpect to evacuating the eſtabliſhments, it is only offered upon terms inadmiſſible with the Catholic king's decorum, that before doing it, he ſhould aſſure to the Engliſh the logwood. Hard proceeding certainly, for one to confeſs, that he is gone into the houſe of another to take away his jewels; and to ſay, "I will go out again, but firſt you ſhall engage to give me what I want to take." And ſtill harder, when ſet in oppoſition with the bacallao; for the Spaniards want that for their food, as the Engliſh want the logwood for their fabricks: Yet the Engliſh would by force take away the logwood, and hinder by force the Spaniards from taking away the bacallao. One would think that the Engliſh themſelves ought with reluctance to produce ſuch a pretenſion.

ſions,

ſions, as pledges, which ſooner or later we imagined would compel the court of Madrid to grant us our own terms, and in the mean time to increaſe (which the Britiſh ſubjects did daily) the encroachments upon the coaſts of Honduras.

With regard to the naval armaments of Spain, the deſtination of her fleets, and the diſpoſitions of his court to maintain friendſhip, and to cultivate a good correſpondence with his Britannic majeſty, M. Wall ſaid, firſt, as to the naval preparations of Spain, that ſince the acceſſion of his preſent Catholic majeſty, including both the ſhips of the line and frigates, the whole number did not exceed that of 20; that, 2dly, with regard to their deſtination, ſome were frequently paſſing between Spain and Naples; others were intended to convoy the homeward, or outward bound flotas, aſſogues, or regiſter ſhips; and the remainder were to ſerve as a check upon the Barbary corſairs, and to defend their coaſts, or ſmaller veſſels, from inſults. And, in relation to the third queſtion, his Catholic majeſty's diſpoſition and profeſſions had invariably been the ſame, and were ever meant to cement and cultivate the friendſhip ſo happily ſubſiſting between the two courts.

For the greater exactneſs in this buſineſs, it was mutually agreed between the earl of Briſtol and M. Wall, to deliver each other in writing the heads of the principal arguments made uſe of by both, in the frequent conferences they had on this occaſion. Theſe papers are inſerted; and then follows another letter from the E. of Briſtol, dated Segovia, Sept. 14, in which his excellency informs M. Pitt, That the governor of Sanroque had enquired into the behaviour of the inhabitants of Tariffa, and had given ſuch effectual orders, reſpecting their illegal protection of the French row-boats, as would effectually prevent any farther remonſtrances on that head; that the Spaniſh miniſter had complained of ſome additional works carrying on at Gibraltar, and that he had aſked, Whether Great Britain could ſeriouſly entertain any apprehenſions of a rupture between the courts; adding, *That the Catholic king had at no time been more intent on cultivating a good correſpondence with his majeſty than at preſent.* This letter did not come to hand till October 5, the day on which Mr. Pitt reſigned the ſeals.

In another letter, his excellency informs Mr. Pitt of the ſafe arrival of the flota, in the bay of Cadiz, on board of which he ſays there is little more than 330,000 l. upon the Catholic king's account, and this paltry ſum, the produce of the royal revenue for two years, owing to want of management in the viceroys and governors, and to the knavery of the aſſeſſors and collectors, who are the principal people concerned in defrauding the king of his dues.

Another letter from his excellency, dated Sept. 28, exhibits a complaint made by the Spaniſh court againſt the Engliſh logwood cutters, who had begun to fortify themſelves at Rio Tinto, on the river Wallis, and about the Laguna Azul; and an intimation from M. Wall, that if thoſe ſettlers were ordered to withdraw, no kind of moleſtation whatever ſhould be given to any of the Engliſh logwood cutters, either on the coaſt of Honduras, or the bay

bay of Campeachy, till a convention could be concluded, by which this long conteſted buſineſs ſhould be finally adjuſted. M. Wall, the earl adds, was the more preſſing on this occaſion, in order to put a ſtop to the repeated intimations of the French emiſſaries, who were continually repreſenting to the court of Spain the indignity of entering into any negotiations with a power, who avowedly withheld from his Catholic majeſty ſeveral illegal ſettlements in his territories. This the earl ſeems to wiſh was complied with, as he has no reaſon to ſuſpect the ſincerity of M. Wall, and as, at the ſame time that it would ſilence the clamours of the French party, it would facilitate the court of Spain's coming to a ſpeedy adjuſtment with England.

In the next letter, dated Segovia, Oct. 5, his excellency acknowledges the receipt of a diſpatch notifying his majeſty's marriage, &c. In this letter the earl writes, that M. Wall had expreſſed his concern that the hopes of peace were now more remote than ever, as Mr. Stanley and M. Buſſy were ſoon to return to their reſpective courts. He adds, that the prevailing opinion in Spain was, that France had made as great conceſſions as could be expected; that if Great Britain was ſo ſtrenuous in favour of the K. of Pruſſia, it was equally laudable in France not to deſert the empreſs queen; and that to inſiſt on ſupporting the former with our whole force, while the latter was only to be aſſiſted with 24,000 men by France, was almoſt equivalent to the abandoning the houſe of Auſtria.

The next letter in this collection is that in which the E. of Egremont, the new ſecretary, opens his correſpondence with the E. of Briſtol. In this moſt ſecret letter, which is dated Oct. 28, his lordſhip expreſſes his majeſty's particular ſatisfaction at that part of his excellency's letter of the 14th paſt, wherein mention is made, *that the Catholic king had at no time been more intent on cultivating a good correſpondence with his majeſty than at preſent*; and highly approves the aſſurances which his excellency had given M. Wall, that no additional works had been begun at Gibraltar, as, upon enquiry, his lordſhip finds that no orders had been iſſued with regard to the fortifications of that place. His lordſhip, at the ſame time, aſſures his excellency, that the friendly intimation of M. Wall, to evacuate the moſt recent ſettlements on the coaſt of Honduras, was conſidered by his majeſty as a happy preſage of a ſpeedy and amicable concluſion of all diſputes ſubſiſting between the two crowns, with this additional declaration, on the part of his majeſty, that he continues to have nothing more at heart, than to cultivate the moſt cordial friendſhip with the Catholic king; truſting, however, to find this diſpoſition reciprocal on the part of Spain; "theſe being the king's ſentiments, ſays his lordſhip, his majeſty cannot imagine that the court of Spain ſhould think it unreaſonable to deſire a communication of the treaty acknowledged to have been lately concluded between the courts of Madrid and Verſailles, &c." adding, as a reaſon, that the honour of his majeſty's crown, and the intereſt of his people, equally call for an explanation on this head, before he can, conſiſtent with his dignity, proceed in any negotiation with

with Spain, becauſe, no fair or candid diſcuſſion of the rights or differences of the two courts can take place, while Spain, informed as ſhe is of the full extent of all his majeſty's alliances and connections, maintains a ſuſpicious and unfriendly reſerve with regard to a treaty recently concluded with his majeſty's declared and inveterate enemy, by whom it is openly and induſtriouſly aſſerted throughout Europe, that the purport thereof is hoſtile to Great Britain. Lord Egremont, in this letter, does not forget to acquaint the earl, that, in his firſt conference with the count du Fuentes, he had explained this matter fully, but that this miniſter had avoided entering into it, and ſeemed to wiſh that it might be paſſed through another channel; he therefore enforces it as the king's pleaſure, that his excellency ſhould uſe the moſt preſſing inſtance to M. Wall, to obtain ſuch communication as is already mentioned; but, at the ſame time, recommends it to be done in the moſt polite and friendly terms, "giving, at the ſame time, the Spaniſh miniſter the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that, this obſtacle once removed, his majeſty is moſt ſincerely and cordially diſpoſed to enter into an amicable diſcuſſion of other matters in diſpute, little doubting but that a confirmed reciprocal confidence would naturally point out expedients to ſave the honour of both kings, adjuſt things to mutual ſatisfaction, and eſtabliſh a harmony as permanent as advantageous to both courts."

To the ſecret and preciſe inſtructions contained in this excellent letter, the whole of which we could have wiſhed to have preſerved in our collection, his lordſhip adds this moſt intereſting and ſpirited declaration: That, in order to prevent any perverſe impreſſions, which Mr. Pitt's retiring from public buſineſs, at this juncture, might occaſion, it is proper that I ſhould aſſure your excellency, that the meaſures of government will ſuffer no relaxation on that account; on the contrary, I may venture to promiſe, that the idea ſuggeſted by ſome malevolent perſons at home, and perhaps induſtriouſly propagated abroad, of the whole ſpirit of the war ſubſiding with him, inſtead of diſcouraging, will only tend to animate the preſent miniſtry to a more vigorous exertion of their powers, to avoid every poſſible imputation of indeciſion or indolence, which ignorant prejudice might ſuggeſt: and the example of the ſpirit of the late meaſures, will be a ſpur to his majeſty's ſervants to perſevere, and to ſtretch every nerve of this country, towards forcing the enemy to come into a ſafe, honourable, and, above all, a laſting peace. I further have the pleaſure to inform your excellency, that the moſt perfect harmony, mutual confidence and unanimity, now reign in his majeſty's councils; with a thorough determination to puſh the war with ſuch vigour, as will, it is hoped, under the hand of Providence, procure ſtill farther ſucceſſes to the juſt cauſe for which this country drew the ſword. The king, at the ſame time, continues to be diſpoſed, with equal moderation, to put an end to the dreadful calamities of war, the moment the enemy will liſten to ſuch terms of peace as ſhall be conſiſtent with his majeſty's honour, in ſome degree adequate to the ſucceſſes of his arms, and calculated, by promiſing permanency, to preſerve

ſerve mankind from the various diſtreſſes and miſeries, which have been ſo fatally experienced during the courſe of this cruel and bloody war.

To this diſpatch was added two letters from his lordſhip to his excellency, both of the ſame date with the diſpatch; the firſt, *ſecret* and *confidential*, informing the earl for his private direction, that, in caſe he ſhould find inſuperable objections to the deſired communication, but in lieu thereof the moſt ſolemn aſſurances upon the royal word ſignified in writing, of the innocence of the treaty in queſtion with reſpect to the king's intereſts, his excellency was not totally to reject the alternative, but to take it *ad referendum*, to be tranſmitted to the Britiſh court. The ſecond letter, *ſeparate* and *ſecret*, enjoined his excellency to penetrate, as far as he could, his Catholic majeſty's real views, the prevailing temper and ſentiments of his principal miniſters, the order and regulation of the ſea and land forces, the ſtate of public credit and the finances, and the diſpoſition of the court to depart in any manner from the neutrality, by openly or ſecretly aſſiſting the king's enemies; but, in doing this, to avoid the leaſt mark of offenſive diffidence.

In a letter from his excellency to Mr. Pitt, dated Oct. 12, he juſt mentions his having received a letter from gen. Parſlow at Gibraltar, concerning the works carrying on there, which conſiſted only in ſome neceſſary repairs and conveniencies for the garriſon, which he had reported to M. Wall, requeſting him to acquaint his Catholic majeſty with that very authentic contradiction of what had been maliciouſly conveyed to this court.

The next paper, in this collection, is a letter from his excellency to the E. of Egremont, dated Nov. 2, in which he informs his lordſhip of the haughty language now held by the court of Spain, ſo different from all the former profeſſions and declarations of the Spaniſh ſecretary of ſtate, that his excellency could not help expreſſing his uneaſineſs, by deſiring to know whether there were any grounds for the rumour ſo generally propagated of an approaching rupture between Great Britain and Spain, grounded upon a treaty ſaid to be lately concluded between the courts of Madrid and Verſailles; and, if it were poſſible, after all that had paſſed, that ſuch a treaty could be concluded, then he deſired to be told of what nature it was, whether offenſive, or ſingly defenſive; what were its views, and what its conditions? But, inſtead of anſwering directly to theſe queſtions, ſays his excellency, gen. Wall began, by declaiming againſt the conduct of England, as unwarrantable, as his Catholic majeſty never could obtain an anſwer from the Britiſh miniſtry to any paper ſent thither, either by his own ambaſſador, or his Britannic majeſty's; alledging, that we were intoxicated with our ſucceſſes, and aimed at ruining the French power, in order more eaſily to cruſh that of Spain; and having worked up his anger to a degree his excellency had never ſeen before, he added, that ſince his Catholic majeſty's dominions were to be overwhelmed, he would himſelf be the firſt man to adviſe his maſter, at leaſt to have them ſeized with arms in his ſubjects hands, and not to continue the paſſive victim he had hitherto been ſuppoſed to be in the eyes of the world.

world. When the general's warmth was a little abated, his excellency mildly renewed his former queſtions, but, inſtead of giving any ſatisfactory anſwer, he fell again into an uncommon warmth, inſiſting that we had ſet the Spaniſh power at defiance; that we had attacked and plundered their veſſels, inſulted their coaſts, violated our neutrality, encroached upon the territorial juriſdiction of the king's dominions in America, by illegally ſeizing logwood, erecting freſh ſettlements in the bay of Honduras, and had withheld from his ſubjects the right which they had long enjoyed of fiſhing upon the banks of Newfoundland for bacallao. He added, that he had, indeed, given his royal maſter hopes that juſtice would be granted to attone for theſe repeated grievances, and therefore wanted to know where, when, and how, it was to be expected? His excellency, notwithſtanding this ſecond digreſſion, did not depart from his former queſtions, and at length received for anſwer, that he [M. Wall] had no orders to acquaint him with any meaſures but what he had formerly communicated.

Finding no ground to be gained by farther enquiries at this time, his excellency took his leave, and, after paying his court as uſual to his Catholic majeſty, he returned in about an hour, and, under pretence of ſhewing an attention to gen. Wall, which he always paid before he ſent off a meſſenger to England, to know if he had any commands thither; he took occaſion to renew the former topic of converſation, which was only productive of a repetition of former grievances, with this additional intimation, That the court of France was determined to publiſh to the world the mortifying terms ſhe had conſented to for the ſake of peace, and to expoſe the arbitrary and unreaſonable demands of Great Britain, whoſe unbounded ambition had fruſtrated his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's good intentions, in yielding ſo much from motives of humanity.

His excellency thought he had liſtened ſufficiently to all theſe accuſations; and therefore, having recollected himſelf by a ſhort abſence, he begun by anſwering the charge to all that complicated heap of grievances which the Spaniſh miniſter ſeemed purpoſely to have thrown out to divert his excellency from perſevering in the purſuit of getting his curioſity gratified; and, after having expoſed the weakneſs of all thoſe ſpecious arguments which the general had made uſe of, he concluded his diſcourſe with repeating his inſtances for information concerning the treaty; but the moſt he could obtain, was, *That his Catholic majeſty had judged it expedient to renew his family compact with the moſt Chriſtian king.*

His excellency concludes this diſpatch with aſſigning what he thinks the cauſe of this very different language from the Spaniſh court, *the ſafe arrival of all the wealth that was expected from Spaniſh America*; the progreſs of the French army in the king's electoral dominions; and the ſucceſs that has attended the Auſtrian operations in Sileſia; adding, That he had long obſerved the jealouſy of Spain at the Britiſh conqueſts, and was convinced that the conſciouſneſs of their naval inferiority, was the only motive that inclined them to maintain harmony and friendſhip with Great Britain.

To this dispatch, which was received November the 14th, the E. of Egremont returned an answer on the 19th, in which he expresses his majesty's astonishment at the abrupt and unprovoked transition of the Spanish secretary of state from the most cordial and conciliatory tone of friendly profession, and amicable adjustment, to the most peremptory and haughty style of menace and hostility, and the rather as the count de Fuentes had the very day before his excellency's dispatches arrived, repeated the strongest assurances of the friendly dispositions of the king his master, and of his steady purpose to maintain the strictest amity with the court of Great Britain. It were, continues his lordship, both tedious and useless to enter minutely into the answers so obvious to be given to the offensive digressions by which M. Wall determinately evaded giving any satisfaction to your excellency's most reasonable demand with regard to the treaty lately concluded with France; a few observations will therefore suffice on the order of your dispatch.

As the assertion, That his Catholic majesty never could obtain an answer from the British ministry to any memorial, or paper, &c. a proposition so notoriously groundless, considering the ample materials in your excellency's hands, scarce deserves a serious answer; and as to the language held relative to the negotiation with France, and our unbounded ambition and thirst of conquest, as it consists of mere abusive assertions, without the least show of argument, it deserves nothing but plain contradiction.

The intemperate and rash advice which the Spanish minister talked of proposing to the king his master, gives his majesty the greater concern, as M. Wall cannot but know with what particular delicacy our plans of military operations have been concerted, in order to avoid all hostilities towards objects that might give the least jealousy or umbrage to the court of Spain; his unjust suggestions must therefore be looked upon as a mere pretext, that in case the court of Spain should have meditated hostilities against England, the court of London might appear as the source of all the misfortunes that may ensue from the rupture.

The *vague* declamation, by which the Spanish secretary eluded a second time an answer to the question you so properly persevered in urging, has so unpromising an aspect, as to give the king very little reason to hope for good effects from further patience and forbearance; it is therefore his majesty's express command, that your excellency demand of the Spanish secretary of state an immediate, clear, and categorical answer to that question; but at the same time, that you cannot be too firm and explicit, you will be particularly cautious not to use the least harshness in your manner, or mix any thing in your conversation which can have the least tendency to indispose or irritate him; that whatever the consequences may be, his majesty may have the consolation of appealing to all the world for the rectitude and purity of his intentions, and for the moderation observed in endeavouring to prevent a rupture, by every step which his honour and dignity could permit.

To this public letter was added one *most secret*, of the same date, in which his lordship signifies the king's

king's pleasure to his excellency, in case he could not succeed agreeable to his instructions, to come from Madrid forthwith, without taking leave, and to repair to Lisbon, where he would find a ship of war ready to receive him. A refusal of the satisfaction on the question demanded, or of disavowing any intentions of taking part with the enemy, being to be looked upon as an aggression on the part of Spain, and as an absolute declaration of war.

Another letter that accompanied these, *separate and secret*, directed his excellency, *if little or no hopes of succeeding remained*, to take the most secret and expeditious manner of giving immediate notice to major general Parslow at Gibraltar, and to all his majesty's consuls in Spain and Portugal, of the critical situation of our affairs with Spain, and likewise to make the same communication to Sir Charles Saunders; and if *all hopes were at an end*, and his excellency's departure from Madrid was inevitable, then to send off a letter to admiral Saunders, and another to commodore Keppel, acquainting them with this final resolution; and left his excellency should have reason to apprehend that the messengers with these letters should be intercepted in the dominions of Spain, he is himself directed to set out immediately for the frontiers of Portugal, and from thence to dispatch duplicates of his letters, &c. leaving a person at Madrid to take care of his private affairs.

The next letter in this collection, is dated Escurial, Nov. 9, in which the earl of Bristol gives an account of the military preparations on the part of Spain; particularly, that two men of war were ordered from Cadiz, the one to convoy the assogues, and the other to protect some Dutch transports with ammunition and stores for Carthagena and America. Eleven ships of the line, he adds, lie at Ferrol, rigged, manned, and ready to put to sea, with two frigates, one of which is bound to the South Seas, with ball, powder, and implements of war; that two ships of war, with two large barks under convoy, having 3500 barrels of gun-powder, 1500 bomb shells, 500 chests of arms, and a considerable quantity of other warlike stores, were failed from Barcelona to the West Indies; and that five battalions of different regiments, making in all about 3600 men, were waiting at Cadiz for final orders to embark for America.

By another letter, dated Madrid, Nov. 16, his excellency acknowledges the receipt of the secretary's dispatches of the 28th of October; and adds, that the military preparations of Spain are far from slackening; that 1500 men had entered the town of Ferrol, with a design soon to embark for the West Indies; that a regiment of foot was gone to Majorca, and another had orders to hold itself in readiness to be sent to the same island; and that in the West Indies they had 19 ships of war, and not fewer than 16 frigates to attend them.

His excellency's letter, dated Escurial, Dec. 14, is more important, he having entered minutely into every argument suggested by the British secretary: "and though, says his excellency, I dare not flatter myself with having gained any ground upon the Spanish minister, yet I never before observed M. Wall listen with greater attention to my discourse. When he answered me,

it was without warmth; when he applied to me it was friendly; and after long reasonings on both sides, we parted with reciprocal protestations to each other of our earnest desire to continue in peace." On this favourable opportunity, his excellency urged the inseparable connection of interest that unites the two crowns, and which could not fail of soon producing a good effect, notwithstanding the mean artifices of France to sow dissentions with a view to drain the royal coffers, without any real regard to the retentions of Spain.

The next paper in this collection is, the translation of a paper delivered by the count de Fuentes to the earl of Egremont, being an answer to a memorial delivered by the earl of Bristol to the court of Spain. This is followed by a letter from lord Egremont to his excellency, dated Dec. 22, disclaiming any knowledge of a seizure, which it was reported in the city, that admiral Holmes had made of some Spanish barks laden with sugar at Monte Christi, expressing his majesty's concern upon hearing it, and adding assurances, that if the fact proved true, not a moment should be lost in taking such steps as should satisfy his Catholic majesty, with regard to the unjustifiable and unauthorized conduct of any of his majesty's servants upon this occasion, in order to prevent any malicious use which might be made of this unlucky event.

The next letter that follows, is dated Madrid, Dec. 11, 1761, which gives the first account of the earl's final resolution of leaving the court of Spain, and setting forth the difficulties attending the execution of his majesty's orders in sending the letters to the proper officers by land and sea for the better security of his majesty's subjects. He adds, that he was denied post-horses; that he was surrounded with spies; that the roads were almost impassable between Spain and Portugal; that he was himself so ill as to be unable to travel; but that he had tried a method which he does not chuse to mention, to convey the necessary intelligence to admiral Saunders, general Parslow, and the consuls; and that M. Porter, seeing how ill his excellency was, had promised to set out for Lisbon, by whom the letters he had then ready should be forwarded.

Having thus given at large the instructions which the earl of Bristol received from time to time from the court of Great Britain, relative to his conduct with the Spanish ministry; it remains only to shew in what manner his excellency executed his commission; and the treatment he met with on this memorable occasion.

What passed at the first conference with the Spanish minister, after his excellency had received final orders to insist on a categorical answer, or to retire from the Spanish court, is contained in a letter to lord Egremont, dated Madrid, Dec. 7, 1761, the substance of which is as follows: The messenger Potter, having arrived at Madrid on the 5th at night, his excellency the earl of Bristol acquainted M. Wall, the next morning, that he had received dispatches from England of the last importance, and M. Wall being confined to his room by an accident that had happened to his foot, appointed one o'clock for a conference in his own apartment. At this conference the earl began by ac-

acquainting the Spaniſh miniſter with the aſtoniſhment and concern which the unprovoked tranſition in his language, ſo diametrically oppoſite to the pleaſing aſſurances he had formerly received, had occaſioned at the Britiſh court, and the rather, as the count de Fuentes had but juſt given the Engliſh miniſtry the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the king his maſter's ſteady reſolution to maintain the ſtricteſt amity with Great Britain; that notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, his Britannic majeſty, equally attentive to his own dignity, and the intereſt of his ſubjects, was determined religiouſly to adhere to all his ſolemn declarations; that Spain had done injuſtice to the purity of the king's intentions, ſince his majeſty had been particularly delicate in cauſing ſuch military plans to be concerted, as was not, in the leaſt, likely to give umbrage to Spain; and that in all the royal councils, every thing had likewiſe been avoided that could tend to an interruption of a friendly intelligence between the two courts. His excellency proceeded to renew his former enquiries about the treaty lately concluded between the courts of Madrid and Verſailles; and, finally, to aſk a categorical anſwer relative to the intentions of Spain with regard to Great Britain, but with that moderation as could not but expreſs the king's deſire to obtain ſuch an anſwer as might contribute to the continuation of that amicable intercourſe which it was equally the intereſt of both courts to maintain; adding, however, that this deſire did not proceed from any timidity, or apprehenſion on the king's ſide, but from the rectitude and humanity of his royal mind.

It was impoſſible to liſten with more obliging attention than M. Wall did to all his excellency ſaid; when his excellency appealed to him on any point, he anſwered friendly; when he reaſoned, he reaſoned candidly and minutely; and acknowledged the caution that had been obſerved in attacking thoſe poſſeſſions belonging to our enemies that had any connection with the Spaniſh territory; but concluded, that the copy he delivered to his excellency of his * diſpatch to the count of Fuentes, [at the Britiſh court] was the only anſwer he could give about the treaty in queſtion.

His lordſhip obſerves, that at this viſit he had only dwelt in general terms on the intentions of Spain towards England; and his motives for acting in this manner were, that he perceived M. Wall's *tone to be of a conciliating nature*; that he *flattered himſelf* from thence, that he might obtain the categorical anſwer he was ordered to demand; that he had obſerved for ſome time before, the ſtile of the Spaniſh miniſtry to be gradually ſoftening; and that all that ſudden wrath and paſſion which he had diſcovered, had ariſen on the notice of the change which had happened in the Engliſh adminiſtration, having been occaſioned by the meaſures propoſed to be taken againſt the Spaniſh court.

His excellency proceeds, in his letter of the 9th, to give an account of his ſecond conference with the Spaniſh miniſter, on the ſame ſubject. At this conference, which, was on the 8th of December, the Spaniſh miniſter ſaid, he had re-

* This diſpatch was by way of memorial. (See pag. [199] [200]).

ceived his Catholic majesty's commands, to inform him, that, with regard to the treaty, and the intentions of Spain, M. Wall's dispatch to the count of Fuentes, was the only answer the Catholic king judged it expedient to give. But, at last, having declared frankly that the British court expected to have a categorical answer to the following questions, Whether the Catholic king intended to join the French, our enemies, or purposed acting hostilely? or would, in any manner, depart from his neutrality? adding, that Spain's refusal of this satisfaction, would be deemed an aggression, and a declaration of war; the surprize of M. Wall is not to be expressed. He only brought out these words, "What is to follow? you have then orders to withdraw from hence?" Being answered in the affirmative, he said, the categorical answer required was such an attack upon the Catholic king's dignity, that it was impossible for him to give advice to his sovereign upon so delicate a subject; but being pressed, for the sake of humanity, as the ruin of thousands of thousands, and the distress of nations were now depending, not to let any rash or precipitate measure be taken, M. Wall desired, for greater precision, that what the British minister was ordered to demand, might be put into writing; his excellency therefore wrote down the following short sentences; "Whether the court of Madrid intends to join the French, our enemies, to act hostilely against Great Britain, or to depart, in any manner, from its neutrality? A categorical answer is expected to these questions; otherwise a refusal to comply will be looked upon as an aggression on the part of Spain, and a declaration of war." It was not till the 10th of December that his excellency received the Spanish minister's letter, in which it was said, *That the spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which dictated this inconsiderate step, and which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns so much in the British government, is what made, in the same instant, the declaration of war, and attacked the king's dignity. Your excellency may think of retiring when, and in the manner most convenient to you; which is the only answer that, without detaining you, his majesty has ordered me to give you.* With this letter a friendly note of a private nature was enclosed, in which M. Wall hopes for the honour of seeing his excellency, and of confirming to him, by word of mouth, the esteem and respect with which he was his lordship's obedient servant; but, notwithstanding, when his lordship, at his departure, applied for post-horses to facilitate his journey out of Spain, an order for that purpose was refused, spies were every where planted about his house, and, in short, he found himself so closely guarded, that though he was ill of a fever, he thought it best to risque all, even at the hazard of his life, in order to quit the dominions of that unfriendly monarch. Such was the treatment which the British minister received at the court of Madrid, when it was no longer in the power of that court to treat under the mask of deceit and treachery. The breach with England had, no doubt, been long determined; but the time was not yet come when the declaration was to be made. Under the character of friends, they, upon every occasion of dispute, decided in favour of our enemies; but

not

not yet being in a condition to repel force by force, they chose this notable way of manifesting their intentions, till the preparations they were making should enable them to act without reserve.

The manifesto so often alluded to, which was dispatched by the Spanish ministry to the count de Fuentes, and by him delivered to the court of London, with the paper delivered by the earl of Bristol to M. Wall, November 18, which occasioned it, both follow at large, that the reader may judge on which side that spirit of haughtiness is most manifest, with which the Spanish ministry have charged the British councils.

Translation of a paper delivered by the earl of Bristol, November 18, 1761.

THE king has learnt, with particular satisfaction, the justice of his Catholic majesty, in giving orders for the restitution of the ship the Speedwell; and his majesty is equally sensible of the moderation with which the privateer the King George has been treated: the count de Fuentes having given a memorial, complaining of the behaviour of the said privateer, the most exact enquiries are to be immediately begun; and, as soon as the facts are proved, a suitable satisfaction, agreeable to our laws, will be given to the court of Spain.

Having communicated to the secretary of state, in a dispatch of the month of September last (agreeable to the assurance I had then received) his Catholic majesty's intentions to cultivate a good correspondence with the king; I have been expressly ordered to testify the real pleasure which such a declaration, of the sentiments of this court, has occasioned: and I must not omit to assure, that no order has been sent for augmenting the fortifications of Gibraltar, consequently they have only been working there on the usual repairs.

His majesty having nothing more at heart, than to maintain and strengthen the most cordial, and the most sincere friendship with the Catholic king, does not doubt of meeting with the same dispositions as his, on the part of Spain: for there is nothing more evident, than the mutual advantage which must, at all times, result to the two kingdoms by such a reciprocity.

After this declaration, it is not surprizing, that the court of London desires and demands of the Spanish ministers, a communication of the treaty lately concluded between their Catholic and most Christian majesties; or that they would impart the articles which may be thought relative now, or in future, directly, or less immediately, to the interests of Great Britain. These instances do not proceed from any disadvantageous suspicion of the assurances of friendship, so often repeated by Spain to the court of London: they only tend to obtain some explanation, with regard to the language which the king's enemies have affected to hold; namely, that Spain was on the point of taking part in the present war, by joining France against England. Such are the reports which have made so rapid a progress in all Europe; and the king's honour is concerned in putting a stop to them, as far as the interests of his people require their being contradicted; without which, how can his majesty persuade himself

felf to enter into a negotiation with Spain, for accommodating the differences which have unhappily fubfifted, for fo long a time, between the two courts? The Catholic king is informed of all the alliances and engagements of Great Britain; and it would be an unfriendly referve, at this juncture, not to comply with giving his majefty this fatisfaction on the contents of a treaty, fo recently figned with a power actually at war with the king; and efpecially, when France does not ceafe to give out, that the conditions of this new engagement tend towards hoftilities which Spain will, very foon, manifeft againft the Britifh nation.

This obftacle once removed, his majefty is determined, without lofs of time, to enter into an amicable difcuffion of the matters, which make the fubject of the difputes of the two crowns; not at all doubting, but that they may be eafily adjufted; and being convinced, that a reciprocal and extenfive confidence will not fail to fuggeft expedients, for faving the dignity, and the honour, of the two kings, and for adjufting, to the reciprocal fatisfaction of their majefties, every thing that has, till now, retarded that folid and permanent harmony, which has always been the object, the wifhes, the follicitude, and the defires, of thofe who wifh the eſſential advantages, and the true glory, of the two monarchs.

In order to prevent every perverfe impreffion, which the change that has juft happened in the Engliſh miniſtry might occafion, it is neceſſary to declare, that the moft perfect unanimity now reigns in the king's councils; and that it is refolved there, to continue the war with all poffible vigour; his majefty, however, only wifhing for the moment to put an end to the terrible misfortunes, which are the inevitable conſequences of it, as ſoon as he ſhall find his enemies diſpoſed to make peace, on conditions which may correſpond to the ſucceſſes with which Providence has been pleaſed to bleſs the king's arms, and which ſhall, at the ſame time, give appearances of a ſolid and durable peace, after all the miſeries which have been ſuffered during the courſe of theſe laſt years.

Tranſlation of a paper received by the lord Egremont from the count de Fuentes, December 3, 1761; in anſwer to the foregoing.

Moſt excellent Sir,

MY lord Briſtol delivered to me, ſome few days ago, the memorial, whereof I ſend you a copy. In the firſt paragraph is ſeen the ſatisfaction of his court at the king's juſtice, in cauſing the Engliſh ſhip the Speedwell to be reſtored; and at the moderation with which the offence of the King George privateer had been chaſtiſed, to which there is nothing to reply, only, that his majeſty is glad that the miniſtry acknowledge the uprightneſs and moderation of his proceedings.

In the ſecond paragraph, my lord Briſtol ſets forth, that having wrote in September to his court, the intention he had been aſſured of by us, in which the king was, of cultivating a good correſpondence with the king of Great Britain, he had been ordered to declare the real pleaſure ſuch a declaration, from us, had given. *I do not remember having made it then in a more particular manner than at many other times;*

times; nor do I comprehend the motive for their making such a point of it; however, it is certain, that in the various occasions that have presented themselves, in the life-time of king Ferdinand (who is in heaven) as well as of the king our lord (whom God save) the Spanish ministers have repeated the wishes of their court, to cultivate the best correspondence with that of London. My lord adds, in the same paragraph, that he can ascertain, that no order has been transmitted for increasing the fortifications of Gibraltar; which does not surprize the king, as he has given no room for the least mistrust; nor would the contrary surprize him, the English being as much the masters to increase them, as his majesty is any one place of his own.

My lord Bristol continues, in another paragraph, to express, that there is nothing the king, his master, has so much at heart, as to form a closer and more sincere friendship with the king, our lord; and that he does not doubt finding the same dispositions on the part of Spain; the mutual advantages that will accrue to both nations therefrom, being evident: And all this is in order to come, by degrees, to what, after such a declaration, was not to surprize us; that his court should desire and ask of the Spanish ministers, the communication of the treaty lately concluded between their Catholic and most Christian majesties, or the articles that relate to England. Your excellency knows how easy it would be for the king to give a direct answer; but his own decorum prevents him, from the consideration, that this demand is made as a compulsive condition for commencing a negotiation with Spain, about differences which are confessed to have subsisted so long. Whoever heard speak of commencing a negotiation, would think that, hitherto, nothing had been negotiated about our differences; and besides, would believe, that their considering them as worthy of negotiating, was doing us a favour. It is a very singular method in that ministry of misunderstanding so many offices, memorials, and conferences, which have passed for these six years thereupon, and particularly since the king sent your excellency to that court, proving the incontestible grounds of our complaints and just cares, and repeating, that, without satisfying them, it is impossible to fix the good correspondence of the two monarchies, nor the friendship of the two monarchs, so deserving of each other's love. If all that has been declared by word of mouth, or in writing, the answers and replies that have intervened, the points that have been concluded upon, is not a negotiation, I do not know what is called such.

My lord Bristol offers, that, when the king our lord should declare himself upon the existence or non-existence of the supposed treaty, or upon the articles relating to the English, the king, his master, has determined to enter, without loss of time, into a friendly discussion of the points which occasion our differences; not doubting but that they may be accommodated, and expedients found out, for saving the dignity and honour of the two sovereigns. In this court they must consider only, as a mere trifle, what they seek after; since, in recompence, they only promise what we are already tired of practising.

What

What greater diſcuſſion upon the points of our diſputes can be made, than that which has been in ſo long a negotiation? What expedients can be fallen upon now to ſave the honour of the two kings, which, in arguments and diſputes of ſix years, have not occurred? And if in London they are to be found, *Spain is the creditor for her patience in the purſuit of her complaints*, and for *having ſeen the various ſucceſſes of the war the Engliſh were carrying on*, whilſt ſhe only *propoſed*, without offering to *impoſe*, conditions upon that account. The moſt noble expedient, and which does the greateſt honour to kings, as well as to thoſe who are not ſo, is, not to with-hold the property of another unlawfully, but to reſtore and even puniſh the uſurpers, without minding (if it falls out ſo) from whom the injured perſon aſks it.

My lord Briſtol concludes with a paragraph entirely foreign to our buſineſs, declaring, that a perfect unanimity ſubſiſts in the councils of Great Britain; and, that the king was reſolved to continue the war with all poſſible vigour, till he had reduced his enemies to a peace adequate to the ſucceſſes of the Engliſh arms, and which might have the appearance of being a firm and laſting one. It is not directly our intention to anſwer thereto; but the two points which the Engliſh deſire by the peace, are contradicted evidently by what all the world has juſt ſeen. All impartial perſons can decide, whether the terms offered by the French, and refuſed by the Engliſh, do not beſpeak the advantages of the Engliſh arms; and their inadmiſſion will be attributed by them to other views, *which ought not to be indifferent to the other maritime powers*, and proprietors of dominions beyond ſea. And it muſt occaſion ſurprize to them, that, if the court of London deſires a peace, that wears the appearance of being firm and laſting, it ſhould pique itſelf upon that of Paris's inſinuating, how neceſſary it would be to adjuſt, at the ſame time, our differences, to cut off all riſk of its renewing the war in favour of us.

My lord Briſtol then, by means of another memorial, aſked, if France had taken that ſtep with the king's conſent, in the ſame manner he now aſks us, whether there is ſuch a treaty, or not, with France? We anſwer frankly, yes; proving the regularity of it: And with this motive we reply to the repeated expreſſions of the court, about deſiring a good correſpondence with ours, eſteeming them at all times, however, thinking it was neceſſary, effects ſhould have accompanied them; and as if ſuch a memorial had never been given by us, forgetting it entirely, they preſent us another, with a new queſtion, with the ſame general expreſſions, and the unexpected novelty of offering to commence a negotiation ſo long diſcuſſed, and ſo well digeſted, that it has been reduced, during your excellency's ambaſſy, to the laſt *yes*, or laſt *no*.

Your excellency, being thoroughly informed of every thing I have ſet forth, may tell it, or give it in writing, if it is neceſſary, to that miniſtry, in order that, upon no account, it may charge us with leaving my lord Briſtol's memorial unanſwered, and that it may acknowledge the impropriety there is, *that the king ſhould ſatisfy their curioſity at every turn, whilſt no ſatisfaction is given to his juſt demands*.

We

We cannot help contrasting the parts of two letters, both written by the same minister, within little more than a month of each other; the one from the Escurial, dated November 2, the other from Madrid, dated December 7.

Escurial, Nov. 2, 1761.

TWO ships have lately arrived at Cadiz with very extraordinary rich cargoes from the West Indies, so that all the wealth that was expected from Spanish America, is now safe in Old Spain. Perhaps THIS CIRCUMSTANCE has raised the language of the Catholic king's ministry, added to *the progress which the French army is making in the king's electoral dominions, and the success that has attended the Austrian operations in Silesia.* I have long observed the jealousy of Spain at the British conquests, and am NOW CONVINCED that the consciousness of this country's naval inferiority has occasioned the soothing declarations so repeatedly made of a desire to maintain harmony and friendship with England.

Madrid, Dec. 7, 1761.

YOUR lordship will, no doubt, have remarked, that, from the time of Potter's departure with my dispatches of the 2d past, the stile of the Spanish minister has been softening gradually; what had occasioned the great fermentation during that period at this court, the effects of which I felt from general Wall's animated discourse at the Escurial, was, *the notice having about that time, reached the Catholic king, that the change which had happened in the English administration, was relative to measures proposed to be taken against this country.* HENCE arose that sudden wrath and passion which, for a short time, affected the whole Spanish court, *as it was thought most extraordinary here* that the declaring war against the Catholic king should EVER have been moved in his majesty's councils, *since the Spaniards have always looked upon themselves as the aggrieved party*; and of course, never could imagine that the English would be *the first to begin a war.*

Papers relating to the rupture of France and Spain with Portugal.

Translation of a memorial of the Spanish ambassador, and of the minister plenipotentiary of France, to his most faithful majesty.

DON Joseph Torrero, ambassador extraordinary of the Catholic king, and Don James O'Dun, minister plenipotentiary of the most Christian king, at this court, by the express and positive orders of their masters, declare, with the greatest respect, to the most faithful king;

That the two sovereigns of France and Spain, being obliged to support a war against the English, have found it proper and necessary, to establish several mutual and reciprocal obligations between them; and to take other indispensible measures to curb the pride of the British nation, which by an ambitious project to become despotic over the

the sea, and consequently over all maritime commerce, pretends to keep dependent the possessions of other powers in the new world, in order to introduce themselves there, either by an underhand usurpation, or by conquest.

That the first measure, which the kings of France and Spain agreed on, was to have the most faithful king in their offensive and defensive alliance, and to desire him to join their majesties forthwith: That they expected, that the most faithful king would acquiesce therein, conformably to what he owes to himself, and to his kingdom, since his subjects feel, much more than other nations, the yoke which Great Britain lays, and which she means to extend over all those, who have possessions beyond sea; and that it would be unjust for France and Spain to sacrifice themselves for an object, in which Portugal is so much interested; and that, instead of assisting them, they should make it impossible for them to succeed, by allowing the English to enrich themselves by their commerce, and to enter their ports, not only to make use of them as an asylum, but to be more at hand to hurt the defenders of the cause of Portugal.

That, in this spirit, the ambassador of Spain, and the minister plenipotentiary of France, desire the most faithful king to declare himself united with their Catholic and most Christian majesties in the present war against the English, to break off all correspondence and commerce with that power, as the common enemy of all the three, and even of all maritime nations; to send away from his ports, and to shut them against, all their men of war and merchant ships; and to join to the forces of France and Spain, those which the Most High has put in his hands, in order to make them equal to those of the enemy.

This declaration made by the two monarchs of France and Spain, as being agreed and concerted between them; his Catholic majesty has, in the mean time, instructed his ambassador to make this reflection to the most faithful king (in order that his magnanimous breast may the more easily and the more speedily determine, without being stopped by other impressions, to take the part the most consonant to his advantage, and to his glory) that it is the brother of the queen his wife, a true friend, and a moderate and quiet neighbour, who has made this proposal to him, and who has agreed to it, considering the interests of the most faithful king, as his own, and wishing to unite the one with the other, so as that, either in peace or in war, Spain and Portugal may be considered as belonging to one master; and in order that, if any power shall think of making war with Spain, they may not imagine they shall find, in her own house, shelter and succours to attack her, as happened, with regard to Portugal, in the wars, which king Philip the fifth, his father, and father-in-law of the most faithful king, was obliged to support against England: How much more glorious and more useful will it be for the most faithful king to have, for his ally, a Catholic king, his near relation, his neighbour in Europe and America, to assist each other mutually and with ease, than the English nation, incapable, by their haughtiness, of considering other sovereigns with equality,

equality, and always desirous to make them feel the influence of their power; and what occasion can the most faithful king have for the assistance of England, when, by an offensive and defensive league, he shall be united with Spain and France?

These considerations are so strong, that the Catholic king thinks, there can be no doubt, but that the most faithful king, his brother-in-law, will yield to them, without stopping a moment; so much the more, as his Catholic majesty, before making this invitation, and in order to prevent the danger which the maritime places of Portugal might run, when the part taken by his most faithful majesty should come to the knowledge of the English, his Catholic majesty has caused his troops to march to the frontiers of Portugal, so that, in a very few days, they may garrison the principal ports of the kingdom, and they will do it, after the answer of the most faithful king, which, doubtless, will be as speedy, as clear, and as decisive, as the necessity, and the positive determination of his Catholic majesty to prevent the designs of his enemies, require. Lisbon, the 16th of March, 1762.

(Signed)

DON JOSEPH TORRERO.

JAQUES BERNARD O'DUN.

The two ministers added to this memorial, That they were ordered by their courts to demand a categorical answer in four days, and that every delay beyond that term would be considered as a negative.

Translation of the answer of the secretary of state, of his most faithful majesty, to the foregoing memorial of the Spanish ambassador, and the minister plenipotentiary of France.

DON Lewis da Cunha, secretary of state to the most faithful king, having laid before his majesty, the memorial, which his excellency M. Torrero, the Catholic king's ambassador, and M. O'Dun, minister plenipotentiary from the most Christian king, at this court, delivered to him the 16th of this month, wherein, after having declared the reasons of the present war, broken out between the said two monarchs, and England, his most faithful majesty is invited to unite himself, by an offensive and defensive league, to the two courts of Versailles and of Madrid, against England; to break off all communication and commerce with the English; to treat them as common enemies, not only of the three allied powers, but of all the maritime ones, to drive them from his ports, to shut them against all ships of war and merchant ships, and to join the Portuguese forces to those of France, and of Spain, to obtain, by this means, the object of the said war; the ambassador of the Catholic king finally declaring, That that monarch, before he caused the above-mentioned memorial to be presented to the king, had ordered his troops to march to the frontiers of Portugal, to prevent the designs of the English, who might have surprized the maritime places of this kingdom, when the offensive union of his most faithful majesty, with their Catholic and most

moſt Chriſtian majeſties, ſhould come to their knowledge.

The king having taken the contents of the aforeſaid memorial into ſerious conſideration, in the preciſe term of four days, has ordered his ſecretary of ſtate to anſwer;

That his moſt faithful majeſty is ſenſibly affected, at ſeeing the flames of war kindled between the powers with whom he is cloſely connected by ties of blood, and of friendſhip, and by ſolemn treaty, ſuch as Spain, France, and Great Britain: That his moſt faithful majeſty wiſhes that thoſe ſame ties, and the neutrality he obſerves, may enable him to propoſe by his mediation, a renewal of the conferences broken off at London, ſome time ſince, and to ſee, if, by this means, it may be poſſible to reconcile intereſts and minds; ſo that, without further effuſion of human blood, an advantageous, neceſſary, and uſeful peace may be obtained.

That his moſt faithful majeſty, diſpoſed as much as poſſible to comply with the propoſal made on the part of the Catholic and moſt Chriſtian kings, deſires them nevertheleſs, to reflect on the inſurmountable obſtacles, which hinder him from entering into the offenſive league propoſed to him. That the court of Portugal having ancient and uninterrupted alliances with the Britiſh court, for many years paſt, by ſolemn and public treaties, purely defenſive, and, as ſuch, innocent; and not having received any immediate offence on the part of Great Britain, to break the ſame treaties, his moſt faithful majeſty could not enter into an offenſive league againſt that court, without being wanting to the public faith, religion, fidelity, and decorum, which are the invariable principles of his majeſty's mind, and of all religious and magnanimous princes, ſuch as the Catholic and moſt Chriſtian kings.

That beſides theſe conſiderations, his moſt faithful majeſty, loving his ſubjects as a father, and being obliged to attend to their preſervation as king, it is eaſy to ſee, that he would be wanting both to one and the other, if he ſhould oblige them to endure the calamities of an offenſive war, which they are not in a condition to ſupport, after the misfortunes, which have happened in Portugal, by the long ſickneſs of the late king, his majeſty's glorious father; by the earthquake in the year 1755; and by the horrible conſpiracy of 1758.

That his moſt faithful majeſty, upon theſe principles of religion, humanity and public faith, having embraced the ſyſtem of neutrality, has given orders to repair his ports, and maritime places, and to provide them with every thing neceſſary, and to equip a ſufficient number of ſhips of war to protect them; he has cauſed his troops to be held ready, and at hand, to prevent, in the ſaid ports and maritime places, thoſe accidents which might happen there: all theſe diſpoſitions having been made for the common advantage of the powers at war, without diſtinction of any; and in order that the ſubjects of the ſame powers may enjoy the protection and hoſpitality granted, and religiouſly obſerved in all times, in the ports of this kingdom, according to the common rule of the law of nations, and the practice of all the courts, who have no intereſt to take part in the wars which are kindled between other nations.

In ſhort, the above-mentioned

ſecre-

secretary of state of his most faithful majesty, has the king's orders to tell his excellency don Joseph Torrero, in order that he may transmit it to the king his master, that his most faithful majesty, since the accession of his Catholic majesty to the throne of Spain, has always given him the most distinguished marks of a brother who loves him, of a brother-in-law who esteems him, of a sincere friend, and of a neighbour, who has forgotten nothing to cultivate an intimate correspondence with him, even so far as to stipulate by the last treaty of the 12th of February of the preceding year, even when the acquisitions of the king were in question— "That he preferred to every other interest, that of removing the smallest occasion, that might become an obstacle to, or alter, not only the good correspondence due to his friendship, and to the strict ties of blood, but that might prevent an intimate union between their respective subjects." The king hopes, that the moment his Catholic majesty shall have reflected upon all these marks of love, of friendship, and of uninterrupted dispositions to please him, and shall have weighed them with the force of the reasons above-cited, he will see on the one hand that these reasons alone, which exceed the limits of the king's power, hinder him from entering into the league proposed to him; and, on the other hand, he will also see, that it is impossible for any thing to be done in the ports of this kingdom contrary to the interests of his Catholic majesty, and to the firm neutrality which this court considers as a necessary principle of her system.

DON LEWIS DA CUNHA.

Palace, 20 March, 1762.

Translation of a second memorial of the ambassador of Spain, and of the minister plenipotentiary of France, delivered to M. da Cunha the 1st of April 1762.

DON Joseph Torrero, ambassador of the Catholic king, and Don James O'Dun, minister plenipotentiary of the most Christian king; the first in virtue of new orders which he has received from his Catholic majesty, after he had seen the answer given by his excellency Don Lewis da Cunha, secretary of state to the most faithful king, dated the 20th of March last, to the memorial which the two ministers delivered to him; and the second, in consequence of the system which the king his master, and the Catholic king, his cousin, have embraced, to keep themselves so united, that the interest of the one may be the interest of the other: the said ambassador and minister plenipotentiary with the profound respect due to the monarch of Portugal, desirous to satisfy the reasons set forth, by his royal order, in the said answer of his excellency Monf. da Cunha, of the 20th of March last; and at the same time, insisting on those which they produced in their memorial of 16th of the said month, they humbly declare to his most faithful majesty:

That their Catholic and most Christian majesties are thoroughly persuaded, that the misfortunes of war, which they suffer, are not indifferent to his most faithful majesty, and that he would have wished to contribute to the happiness of peace; but unfortunately it is not in his power to do it, except by force, (and that is what they invite him to) in order to reduce the enemy

not

not to despise proposals of accommodation, as they have hitherto done.

That, if there should be a new negotiation for peace, their Catholic and most Christian majesties would accept the mediation of his most faithful majesty, out of regard to his sacred person; but the partiality which his ministry has shewn for the English, desiring to defend their neutrality in the course of the present war, would make his most Christian majesty fear with reason, that the mediation of his most faithful majesty would not be favourable to him; and the Catholic king would act contrary to his own decorum, if he should, on his side, admit it, when he calls to mind the conduct of the court of Lisbon, on the king's offers to accommodate the differences with the court of Rome, without having been able to obtain from Portugal any mark of confidence, or desire of reconciliation with the holy see, (an incredible thing) except the single answer. *That hitherto God had not granted the favourable moment for reconciliation.*

That their Catholic and most Christian majesties, thoroughly believe his most faithful majesty's aversion to war, and his constant dispositions for peace: their enemies also know them, so as to make advantage of them.

That the defensive alliances with the court of London, which his most faithful majesty sets forth to shew the impossibility of his accepting the offensive and defensive league proposed to him, cannot be any obstacle to him; that the reasons, given on this subject, are not founded, and that those same alliances are not so innocent, as they would have them thought.

They are not an obstacle; because there is no alliance which is obligatory, when the question is to shake off a yoke, which one nation would lay on another; and that is the project, already far advanced, of England on Portugal.

They are not founded; because, notwithstanding it is assured, that the crown of Portugal has not received any offence from England, to induce her to a breach of treaties, the contrary is clearly manifested; for what stronger offence than that of attacking a French squadron in one of the ports of Portugal? This single insult is sufficient to give his most faithful majesty a right to declare war against his Britannic majesty, if he has not given a suitable satisfaction for it; and if he has done it, without, at the same, obtaining restitution of his most Christian majesty's ships, the most Christian king has a right to declare war against his faithful majesty.

These alliances are not so innocent, though they are called purely defensive; because they become in reality offensive, from the situation of the Portuguese dominions, and from the nature of the English power: the English squadrons cannot keep the sea in all seasons, or cruize on the principal coasts for cutting off the French and Spanish navigation, without the ports, and the assistance of Portugal: these islanders would not insult all maritime Europe; they would let others enjoy their possessions, and their commerce, if all the riches of Portugal did not pass into their hands: consequently Portugal furnishes them with the means to make war; and their alliance with the said court is offensive; and if not,

not, it is aſked, by what reaſon England ſhould be obliged to ſend troops to the aſſiſtance of Portugal, and not Portugal to the aſſiſtance of England: if it is not, becauſe England finds a compenſation in the indirect aſſiſtance of Portugal, by means whereof ſhe makes war againſt Spain and France.

The ſaid alliances were made in the beginning of this century, when there were animoſities, occaſioned by the preceding poſſeſſion of Spain and for as long as they might laſt: thoſe animoſities, however, are now ended, and two brothers are poſſeſſors of Spain and Portugal; ſhall it then be allowed between two brothers, for the one to furniſh arms to the enemy of the other? Neceſſity might, then, have authorized the king of Portugal to adopt an alliance contrary to his true ſyſtem, and to his decorum: now he ought to be glad of the neceſſity, which others lay upon him to make uſe of his reaſon, in order to take the road of his glory and common intereſt.

That, if the moſt faithful king loves his ſubjects, as a father, and if he ought to preſerve them, as king, their Catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties not only approve it, but they imitate it, by pitying their ſubjects for ſo many calamities: however, their majeſties are not blameable for thoſe they ſuffer by war, no more than his moſt faithful majeſty will be, when he enters into it, with ſo much juſtice as the preſent: he ought, on the contrary, to hope, by the aſſiſtance of God, and of his good allies, for new ſplendor to his crown, and the greateſt advantages to his ſubjects: they will then enjoy a ſtrong and ſolid ſyſtem, as well in peace, as war; whereas by that of an union with the Engliſh, the riſk and uncertainty of the aſſiſtance of Great Britain to defend them againſt Spain, may be now ſeen by the very precautions taken by Portugal; even ſuppoſing, with reaſon, that the kingdom of Portugal ought not to be indifferent to the Engliſh; and that they ought to be offended with the proceedings of Spain.

That their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic majeſties do not complain of his moſt faithful majeſty's cauſing his places to be repaired and garriſoned, his ports to be guarded by ſhips of war, and his troops to approach the places where they might be neceſſary: theſe are precautions of a wiſe and prudent prince: their majeſties might however, complain of the preference given to England, to ſend ſuccours to Portugal, for the object of thoſe ſame precautions; to keep at Liſbon an Engliſh general, ſeveral aids de camp, and other officers; ſince it is not poſſible but that they will concert military projects, according to the ſolicitations of the Portugueſe miniſter at London, which are public, and which the Engliſh themſelves do not conceal. But as his moſt faithful majeſty is ſtill in time to embrace the moſt juſt party, the two monarchs of France and Spain flatter themſelves, that the preparations of the king of Portugal may acquire an ally; being well aſſured, that they will give him but little umbrage, and, on the contrary, that they will produce much advantage to him. If the Engliſh had been convinced, that the preparations were only againſt the offenders of the neutrality, they would not have contribut-

ed thereto with ſuch good-will, ſince they would have furniſhed arms againſt themſelves.

That his Catholic majeſty is ſenſible of the good-will and tenderneſs, which his moſt faithful majeſty has ſhewn for him, ſince his acceſſion to the throne of Spain, and particularly of the readineſs with which his moſt faithful majeſty complied with the annulling the treaty of limits in Peru, by that of the 12th of February 1761, in order to avoid the conſequences which might reſult from the bad conduct of the officers and governors, to whom the execution of that treaty had been entruſted: however, the friendſhip and complaiſance of his Catholic majeſty was not leſs remarkable, when he himſelf propoſed that expedient, without thinking of others which he might have made uſe of: what he did then, and what he now propoſes, by agreement with the moſt Chriſtian king, prove, that the ties of blood are ſtronger in the mind of the Catholic king, than the flattering ideas of aggrandiſement.

Finally, The ambaſſador of Spain, and the miniſter plenipotentiary of France, repeat what they have already ſet forth in the memorial of the 16th of March: they inſiſt on the demand therein contained, and they declare to the moſt faithful king, That, without further repreſentations, or his conſent, the Spaniſh troops, already on the frontiers, will enter Portugal, for the ſingle object of advancing, till they ſhall obtain, that the ports of Portugal be not at the diſpoſal of the enemy; having, at the ſame time, the moſt preciſe orders, not to commit, without reaſon, the leaſt hoſtility againſt the ſubjects of the moſt faithful king; to pay them, in ready money, for whatever they ſhall furniſh to them, as if the one and the other belonged to the ſame maſter. It remains for his moſt faithful majeſty to chuſe, either to receive theſe troops, as allies, or to refuſe them entrance, or ſubſiſtence, and to oppoſe them, as enemies: for then the two allies will take all poſſible precautions, on the ſuſpicions, already too much founded, that the court of Liſbon, by intelligence, for ſome time paſt, with that of London, will march out to meet them, with Engliſh forces, in order to hinder their juſt deſigns, and to make them bloody, contrary to the ſentiments of their heart. Liſbon, the 1ſt of April, 1762.

(Signed)
Don Joseph Torrero.
Don Jaques O'Dun.

Tranſlation of the anſwer to the ſecond memorial of the miniſters of Spain and France, of April 1, 1762.

DON Lewis da Cunha, ſecretary of ſtate of his moſt faithful majeſty, having laid before the king the memorial, which his excellency M. Torrero, ambaſſador of the Catholick king, and M. O'Dun, miniſter plenipotentiary of France, remitted to him the 1ſt of this month; inſiſting upon all the demands which they had made in the firſt memorial of the 16th of March laſt, notwithſtanding the reaſons given on the part of the king, by the memorial, in anſwer, of the 20th of the ſaid month; and declaring farther, that, without any other

other repreſentation, and even without the conſent of his moſt faithful majeſty, the Spaniſh troops, already upon the frontiers, ſhould enter into Portugal, to ſeize his ports, and to ſhut them up; and that there only remained to his moſt faithful majeſty, the choice of receiving them as friends, or of treating them as enemies, the king has ordered his ſecretary of ſtate to anſwer;

That his moſt faithful majeſty (notwithſtanding a declaration ſo ſurpriſing and unexpected) perſiſts in the ſentiments which he has always at heart, of complying with the wiſhes of their Catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties, nevertheleſs he cannot perſuade himſelf that it is in his power to break the defenſive treaties which he has with Great Britain, without that court's having given him motives ſo ſtrong, and of ſuch immediate intereſt to Portugal, as to oblige him to undertake a war, and to make the people, whom his majeſty ought to preſerve, endure the calamities of his ſcourge.

That he can no more perſuade himſelf that the ſaid treaties which ſubſiſt, for ſo many years paſt, between Portugal and Great Britain, are offenſive, as is inſinuated in this laſt memorial, on account of the commerce which Portugal allows to the Engliſh ſubjects; on the contrary, this reaſon, and the others alledged therein, are the baſis and the ſpirit of all defenſive treaties; it being generally known to all the world, that theſe ſort of treaties conſiſt of engagements between the powers, to enable them the better to defend and maintain themſelves, by the ſuccours which one receives from the other, either in troops or money, or in ſomething elſe which may be of advantage to them; and this is the caſe of the treaties of league and commerce between Portugal and Great Britain, and it is what the law of God, of nature, and of nations, and the univerſal practice of all nations, have always deemed innocent, without there ever having been any power, who would undertake to force others to break theſe ſame treaties, becauſe they find their intereſt in it, and would prefer the ſame private and particular intereſt to the common and univerſal one, of the public tranquility of neutral powers; to attack them and invade their dominions, eſpecially among monarchs ſo religious as their Catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties.

That the unbounded confidence, which his moſt faithful majeſty has always had in the ties of blood, the friendſhip, and the good neighbourhood which he has always cultivated with his Catholic majeſty, cannot be better proved, than by the ſilence and tranquility with which the king has ſeen, for a long time paſt, his frontiers almoſt blocked up and infeſted; the commerce of corn prohibited, the Spaniſh magazines upon the ſaid frontiers filled with all ſorts of military ſtores, and the places ſwarming with troops, without his moſt faithful majeſty's having given the leaſt order to his ambaſſador at Madrid to know the object of theſe preparations.

That after having acted with ſuch ſincerity, tranquility, and good faith, at the time only when his moſt faithful majeſty ſaw that it was neceſſary for him to liſten to the clamours of his ſubjects, and to preſerve his royal decorum from the univerſal cenſure of all Europe, which had ſpread even into every

public news paper: and at the ſame time that it was known to all the world, that the kingdom of Portugal was in want of experienced officers, his moſt faithful majeſty invited over lord Tyrawley; he alſo took ſome Engliſh officers and of other nations, to exerciſe his troops, and has been conſtantly practiſed in this kingdom, and as their Catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties, and all ſovereigns in general, practiſe alſo, without there ariſing any ſuſpicious diſtruſt from ſuch a proceeding.

That his moſt faithful majeſty, paſſing over in ſilence the reproaches againſt individuals, who only execute the orders of their maſters, to give an anſwer upon the affair of M. de la Clue's ſquadron, muſt neceſſarily call to mind, that having received from the king of Great Britain, the moſt obliging reparation for what concerns the rights of the territory, and of the port, near which the French veſſels were taken, and having by repeated ſollicitations demanded reſtitution of thoſe ſhips, as he has aſſured the moſt Chriſtian king, his moſt faithful majeſty thinks that it is more natural to obtain the reſtitution of the ſaid ſhips, from the friendſhip of his Britannic majeſty, at a convenient opportunity, than to undertake it by the means of a precipitate war, which might perhaps render the ſaid reſtitution impracticable.

That his moſt faithful majeſty hopes, that the ſolidity of theſe reaſons will make upon the minds of their Catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties an impreſſion worthy of their religion, and of their humanity: and that they will perceive the crying injuſtice of purſuing againſt Portugal the war kindled againſt Great Britain; that they will give an example, that would produce the deſtruction of mankind, if neutral powers were to be attacked, becauſe they have defenſive treaties with the belligerent powers; that a maxim ſo deſtructive would occaſion deſolation in all Europe, the moment a war was kindled between two nations; and that his moſt faithful majeſty, under theſe circumſtances, could not recede from the neutrality which he adopts for his ſyſtem, without loſing, even with their Catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties, that good opinion which he prefers to every other intereſt.

That, for theſe reaſons, and, in the unexpected caſe of the Spaniſh troops entering Portugal (under any pretence whatever) not only without his moſt faithful majeſty's permiſſion, but contrary to his expreſs declaration, made in the memorial of the 20th of March, and repeated by the preſent, making a declared and offenſive war againſt him, by this violent and unexpected invaſion; in ſuch a caſe, his moſt faithful majeſty, no longer able (without offending the laws of God, of nature, and of nations, and without univerſal cenſure) to avoid doing his utmoſt for his own defence, has commanded his forces to hold themſelves in readineſs, and to join with thoſe of his allies, in ſupport of the neutrality, which is the only and ſingle object for which they ſhall be employed.

His moſt faithful majeſty declares finally, that it will affect him leſs (though reduced to the laſt extremity, of which the Supreme Judge is the ſole arbiter) to let the laſt tile of his palace fall, and to ſee his faithful ſubjects ſpill the laſt drop of

of their blood, than to ſacrifice, together with the honour of his crown, all that Portugal holds moſt dear, and to ſubmit by ſuch extraordinary means, to become an unheard-of example to all pacific powers, who will no longer be able to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war ſhall be kindled between other powers with which the former are connected by defenſive treaties. Palace of Alcantara, the 5th of April, 1762.

DON LEWIS DA CUNHA.

Tranſlation of a third memorial preſented to the ſecretary of ſtate, Don Lewis da Cunha, by Don Joſeph Torrero, his Catholic majeſty's ambaſſador, and M. James O'Dun, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary, on the 23d of April 1762.

DON Joſeph Torrero, his Catholic majeſty's ambaſſador, and M. James O'Dun, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary to the king of Portugal, agreeably to the inſtructions and orders of their auguſt ſovereigns, to put an end to the negotiation which they are jointly engaged in and have purſued, in order to bring his moſt faithful majeſty over to his true intereſt, which although expoſed to the contingencies of war, yet is ſurely for his honour and glory, to unite his forces to thoſe of France and Spain, and endeavour to ſhake off the prejudicial dependency on England, which the Portugueſe nation labours under; the ſaid ambaſſador, and miniſter plenipotentiary, having loſt all hopes that their maſters ſhould attain this ſo laudable and heroic a purpoſe; either becauſe the Portugueſe monarch and his miniſters, being accuſtomed to this evil, do not perceive it, or elſe becauſe the common enemy has gained a deſpotic power over their underſtanding; ſince they will not admit of thoſe reaſons which their Catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties have with ſo much friendſhip, and ſuch good intentions, repreſented; and knowing that although very eaſy, it would be abſolutely uſeleſs to refute thoſe contained in his excellency's Don Lewis da Cunha's laſt memorial, delivered to them the 5th of this month, they will only lay before the moſt faithful king, through his means, a curſory refutation thereof.

That it is a matter of great concern to the kings their maſters, that the moſt faithful king, by confeſſing, that England has given him cauſe to break the defenſive treaties, which he does in ſaying, that it is not of ſo great, or ſo immediate, intereſt to Portugal as to outweigh the calamities of war: if his moſt faithful majeſty has weighed in the ſame ſcale thoſe of a war with England, and thoſe of maintaining it againſt France and Spain, he has choſen the latter, with little regard to their power, and great diſregard of their friendſhip, ſince he joined himſelf, to one who has offended him, whether much or little, to offend thoſe who have given him no other motive, than that of perſuading him to what would be moſt convenient for him.

The king and his miniſters cannot, becauſe they will not, be perſuaded, that theſe defenſive treaties with the Engliſh, are offenſive ones with regard to Spain and France, the arguments to the contrary, al-

ledged in the preceding memorials, being unanſwerable; and the comparing them to thoſe of other powers ill-grounded, his ſituation and circumſtances being extremely different from theirs.

That their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic majeſties, far from finding any merit in the friendly confidence of his moſt faithful majeſty, from the ſilence obſerved by his ambaſſador, at Madrid, upon the military preparations that were making and carrying on upon the frontiers of Portugal; this has from the beginning raiſed in them a diſtruſt, which, to their great concern, is now confirmed by the experience of his preferring the alliance of the king of Great Britain to theirs; for otherwiſe he would in a friendly manner have enquired into the deſign of ſuch preparations, and have endeavoured to have ſet on foot a negotiation, which their Catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties could not immaturely ſolicit at the known hazard of having their views diſcovered by the court of Liſbon to that of London, which then held, and ſtill holds poſſeſſion of their affections. Certain it is, that that of Liſbon had already taken the reſolution within itſelf, which it is now obliged to diſcover; and that the apparent indifference with which it ſaw what is called the blockade and infeſtation of its frontiers without ſpeaking of it in Madrid, was a latent fire for ſoliciting ſuccours in London; thus, oppoſing diſguiſed preparations to open ones. That notwithſtanding the court of Liſbon inſiſts that there is no difference between her neutrality and that of other powers, and that there is no right to force them out of it, they may be aſſured, that it is by no means looked upon as a point of indifference, on account of the inconveniencies experienced by Spain in other wars with the Engliſh, and be perſuaded, that if the breach with their Catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties ſhould bring upon the moſt faithful king thoſe, which united with the king of Great Britain he does not fear, to theſe will be added the diſſatisfaction, in the opinion of the moſt ſound and judicious part of Europe, of his having had it in his power to avoid them.

That ſince his moſt faithful majeſty erroneouſly founds his own honour, and that of his crown, not in delivering himſelf from the truly oppreſſive yoke of the Engliſh, but in oppoſing the entry of Spaniſh troops into Portugal, who come to his aſſiſtance and defence, their Catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties found theirs in attempting it, and will ſuſtain it with as much inflexibility as his moſt faithful majeſty, when he heroically declares, that rather than abandon Portugal, he will ſee the laſt tile fall from his palace, and ſpill the laſt drop of his ſubjects blood.

And finally, that the moſt faithful king having, upon the alternative propoſed to him, preferred the reſiſting the entry of Spaniſh troops as enemies, to admitting them as friends; and conſequently the enmity of their Catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties to their friendſhip, there is nothing more unneceſſary, and even unbecoming, than the continuance of the above-mentioned ambaſſador of Spain, and miniſter plenipotentiary of France, near his moſt faithful majeſty; therefore they beſeech him, and hope he will be pleaſed to direct the neceſſary paſſports to be furniſhed, that

that each may immediately repair to his reſpective court. Liſbon, April 23, 1762.

DON JOSEPH TORRERO,
JACQUES BERNARD O'DUN.

Tranſlation of the anſwer to the foregoing memorial.

DON Lewis da Cunha, in execution of the orders, which he has received from the moſt faithful king, his maſter, in anſwer to what is contained in the memorial, which was preſented to him on the 23d day of the preſent month of April, by his excellency Don Joſeph Torrero, ambaſſador, from the Catholic king, and by M. James O'Dun, miniſter plenipotentiary from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, informs them;

That having poſitive orders to ſet apart from the ſubſtance of the buſineſs under conſideration, the adventitious, warm expreſſions, ſuch as have hitherto never been uſed between ſovereigns, with which the ſaid memorial is filled; his moſt faithful majeſty has found in it nothing new, that by giving an opening to negotiation, ſhould make him alter his former reſolutions, communicated in the anſwers of him, the ſecretary of ſtate, dated the 20th of March laſt, and the 5th of the preſent month of April.

That the effective rupture, which the ſaid allied miniſters have now owned, in ſuch clear and expreſs words, was not matter of ſurprize to his majeſty, after having ſeen that this unexampled negotiation was opened by notifying to his moſt faithful majeſty, in the firſt memorial of the 16th of March laſt, that it had been determined between the courts of Paris and Madrid, without any previous notice to his majeſty, to make the neutral kingdom of Portugal the theatre of war, to oblige his moſt faithful majeſty, calmly to ſee his provinces and ports occupied by Spaniſh armies; to intimate to him, that for this purpoſe, the ſaid armies were already poſted upon the frontiers of this kingdom: adding to all this, that he ought not only to infringe all the treaties of peace and commerce, which he has with the crown of England, but likewiſe to declare an offenſive war againſt the ſaid crown; the whole conceived in a ſtile, by no means gentle or perſuaſive, but rather expreſſing, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that the intention was not to negotiate, but to break: and his ſaid moſt faithful majeſty having ſeen this confirmed in the ſecond memorial, preſented by the ſaid Don Joſeph Torrero, and M. James O'Dun, on the firſt inſtant, therein declaring, that his Catholic majeſty had already given ultimate orders, that his troops ſhould enter the dominions of this kingdom, without waiting for any other anſwer, or conſent of his moſt faithful majeſty.

That his ſaid moſt faithful majeſty ſolely places his honour and glory, in being faithful to his royal word; in the obſervance of the duties of his crown; and of religion and humanity, which forbid his entering into an offenſive war againſt any power, although ever ſo indifferent to him, and although not allied by reciprocal treaties, which have been adhered to for this age paſt; as are thoſe which ſubſiſt with the crown of England.

That their Catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties have been informed with very little ſincerity, if any

any body has ſuggeſted to them that any clauſe in the anſwers, which went from this court on the 20th of March, and the 5th of the preſent month of April, could be interpreted in the ſenſe that his moſt faithful majeſty ſhould own, that England had given cauſe to break thoſe ancient defenſive alliances; becauſe on the contrary, he owes to the crown of Great Britain, all that good harmony, which is the natural effect of thoſe ancient alliances.

That his moſt faithful majeſty, who has a high opinion of the power and friendſhip of their moſt Chriſtian and moſt Catholic majeſties, cannot doubt that their ſaid majeſties would be the firſt to diſapprove of the ſtep of breaking his neutrality, to make an offenſive war againſt his allies, in the manner already related.

That his ſaid majeſty ſees no other difference between his neutrality and that of other powers, than the manner in which his frontiers are beſet, under no other pretence than the perſuaſion, that it is convenient to the courts of Paris and Madrid, that Portugal ſhould break through all the above-mentioned ties; but ſurely mere conveniency without any legitimate title, has never hitherto authorized belligerent powers to attack thoſe which are neuter, and who enjoy the advantages attending on peace.

That his moſt faithful majeſty could wiſh, that the blame imputed to him for not having complained that the frontiers of his kingdom were blocked up and infeſted, were not ſo fully proved by the ſaid memorials of the 16th of March, and the firſt inſtant, where it was declared in expreſs words, which cannot be miſunderſtood, that the ſaid blockade and infeſtation were ordered, from the time of the Family-compact, to invade and ſeize upon this kingdom; which are terms that plainly ſhew, that Portugal was neither to aſk nor expect ſuccours from the ſaid courts, which had joined themſelves in alliance to attack it; and that the latent fire has always been on the ſide of thoſe, who had determined to act offenſively, and not on the ſide of him who has endeavoured, and does only endeavour to defend and preſerve himſelf in peace, which, by all laws of God, of nature, and nations, he has a right to do.

That if his Catholic majeſty were truly informed of what has happened in preceding wars, he would find, that his crown and ſubjects have reaped many and great benefits, upon ſeveral occaſions, from the peace inſeparable from the neutrality of Portugal, and of which there are in Madrid many living witneſſes; and that it has not been the crown of England alone which has profited by the neutrality and peace of Portugal.

That, finally, his moſt faithful majeſty underſtands that he has the ſame right to defend his kingdom from invaſion, which is permitted to every private perſon, who is indiſpenſibly obliged to defend his own houſe againſt any body that ſhould enter it without his conſent.

And that his majeſty confining himſelf to this ſole point of the natural defence of the neutrality and peace of his kingdoms, ports, and ſubjects, will exert his utmoſt efforts, together with his allies, in caſe, notwithſtanding all that has been related, he be attacked; and has given the neceſſary orders, in his ſecretary's office, that Don Joſeph Torrero,

Torrero, and M. James O' Dun, be furnished with the usual passports, as soon as they please to send for them; and that, in such case, expresses be sent to his ambassador Don Joseph de Silvan da Pecantra, and to his minister Pedro da Costa de Almeeda, with orders to leave the courts of Madrid and Paris, in the same manner as the said ambassador of his Catholic majesty, and minister plenipotentiary of his most Christian majesty do here.

Palace of Alcantara, April 25, 1762.

DON LEWIS DA CUNHA.

M. da Cunha, upon delivering to the Spanish and French ministers the above answers to their memorials, acquainted them at the same time, that the passports, which they had demanded, would be ready, whenever they pleased to send for them; accordingly they took up their passports the 26th, and the barges being ready for them, they set out the 27th.

Decree, or declaration of war, issued by order of his Portuguese majesty against Spain.

WHereas the ambassador of Castile, Don Joseph Torrero, in conjunction with Don Jacob O' Dun, minister plenipotentiary of France, by their representations, and the answers I have given thereto, it appears that one of the projects agreed to between the aforesaid powers in the Family-pact was, to dispose of these kingdoms as if they were their own, to invade them, to occupy them, and usurp them, under the incompatible pretext of assisting me against enemies, which they supposed for such, that never existed; and whereas different general officers of his Catholic majesty have successively, since the 30th of April last, spread various papers through my dominions, prescribing laws and sanctions to my subjects, invading at the same time my provinces with an army divided into various bodies, attacking my fortified places, and perpetrating all the aforesaid hostilities, under pretence of directing them to the advantage and glory of my crown, and of my subjects, and in such light even the Catholic king himself has represented the case to me; and whereas, notwithstanding all these contradictory and unheard-of motives, an offensive war has been made against me, contrary to truth and justice, by the aforesaid two monarchs, through mutual consent: I have ordered it to be made known to all my subjects, that they hold all disturbers or violators of the independent sovereignty of my crown, and all invaders of my kingdom, as public aggressors and declared enemies; that from henceforward, in natural defence, and necessary retortion, they be treated as aggressors and declared enemies, in all and every sense; and to oppress them in their persons and effects, all military persons and others authorised by me, make use of the most executive means which in these cases are supported by all laws; and that in like manner, all said military persons, of whatever rank, quality or condition they be, quit all communication and correspondence with the said enemies, under the penalties decreed against rebels and traitors. I likewise order that all the subjects of France and Spain, that reside in this city, or in the kingdom of Portugal and Algarva, retire within the precise

term

term of 15 days, to reckon from the day of the publication of this decree, otherwiſe they ſhall be treated as enemies, and their effects confiſcated; and that in all the wet as well as dry ports of this kingdom, all commerce and communication ceaſe with the aforeſaid monarchies of France and Spain, and all fruits, manufactures or goods of any kind, of the produce of the ſaid monarchies, be deemed contraband, and the entry, ſale and uſe of them be prohibited. Ordered that this decree be affixed and tranſmitted to every county, that it may come to the knowledge of all my ſubjects. I have given orders to the intendant general of the police to grant paſſports to all the aforeſaid, who have entered theſe kingdoms, *bona fide*, on their buſineſs, that they be permitted to retire unmoleſted.

Palace of Noſſa Senhora da Adjuda, 18th of May, 1762.

With the rubrick of his majeſty.

Publiſhed 23d May, 1762.

ANTONIO LUIZ DE CORDES.

The king of Spain's declaration of war againſt Portugal, iſſued the 15th day of June.

NEither my repreſentations founded in juſtice and utility, nor the fraternal perſuaſives with which I accompanied them, have been able to alter the king of Portugal's blind affection for the Engliſh. His miniſters, engaged by long habit, continue obſtinate in their partiality, to the great prejudice of his ſubjects; and I have met with nothing but refuſals, and been inſulted by his injurious preference of the friendſhip of England to that of Spain and France. I have even received a perſonal affront by the arreſting of my ambaſſador, Don Joſeph Torrero at Eſtremos, who was detained there in violation of his character, after he had been ſuffered to depart from Liſbon, and had arrived on the frontier, in virtue of paſſports from that court; but notwithſtanding ſuch inſults were powerful motives for me to keep no longer any meaſures with the king of Portugal, nevertheleſs adhering to my firſt reſolution of not making an offenſive war againſt the Portugueſe, unleſs forced to it, I deferred giving orders to my general to treat them with the rigours of war; but having read the edict of the king of Portugal of the 18th of laſt month, in which, miſrepreſenting the upright intentions of the moſt Chriſtian king and myſelf, he imputes to us a pre-concerted deſign of invading his dominions; and orders all his vaſſals to treat us as enemies, and to break off all correſpondence with us, both by ſea and land; and forbids the uſe of all productions coming from our territories, confiſcating the goods of the French and Spaniards, and likewiſe ordering them to leave Portugal in a fortnight, which term, however ſtraight, has been further abridged, and many of my ſubjects have been expelled, plundered, and ill-treated, before the expiration of it. And the marquis de Sarria having found, that the Portugueſe, ungrateful to his goodneſs and moderation, and the exactneſs with which they have been paid for every thing they have furniſhed for my troops, have proceeded ſo far as to excite the people and ſoldiery againſt my army; ſo that it would be diſhonourable to carry my forbearance any farther. For theſe cauſes I have reſolved, that from this day my troops ſhall treat

treat Portugal as an enemy's country, that the property of the Portugueſe ſhall be confiſcated throughout my dominions, that all the Portugueſe ſhall leave Spain in a fortnight, and that all commerce with them ſhall be prohibited for the future.

On June 25, the king of Spain ſent to the viceroy of Navarre, and to the governors of the provinces of Spain, an order in the following terms:

"Since the Portugueſe, through an inveterate hatred for the Spaniſh name (a hatred founded only on hereditary prejudice) have carried their barbarity to ſuch extremities, as to cut off the ears and noſes, or in other cruel manner to mutilate ſeveral Spaniards who were leaving Portugal, in conſequence of the declaration of war, who are arrived on our frontiers thus mutilated and disfigured; and as the Portugueſe government has endeavoured to ſhake, by motives of intereſt, that fidelity and love which good ſubjects owe their country, by publiſhing, on the 17th, at Yelves, and without doubt through all their frontiers, that any Spaniard baniſhed from Spain, who would retire with his wealth to Portugal, ſhould enjoy all ſorts of franchiſes, and be treated as a native there: although his majeſty believes that he has no ſubject ſo unworthy the name of a Spaniard as to be tempted by ſuch offers; if, however, there ſhould be any one ſo baſe, be it known to him from this hour, that if he ſhould at any time return to Spain, he ſhall ſuffer the infamy and puniſhment due to traitors and deſerters of their country. His majeſty orders you to publiſh the preſent edict throughout your juriſdiction.

D. RICARDO WALL."

The French king's declaration of war againſt Portugal.

THE king and the Catholic king being obliged to ſupport a war againſt England, have entered into reciprocal engagements to curb the exceſſive ambition of that crown, and the deſpotiſm which it pretends to uſurp, in every ſea, and particularly in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, over the trade and navigation of other powers.

Their majeſties judged that one proper ſtep for attaining this end would be, to invite the king of Portugal to enter into their alliance. It was natural to think that the propoſals which were made to that prince on this ſubject, in the name of his majeſty and of his Catholic majeſty, would be readily accepted. This opinion was founded on the conſideration of what the moſt faithful king owed to himſelf and to his people, who, from the beginning of this preſent century, have groaned under the imperious yoke of the Engliſh. Beſides, the event hath but too clearly ſhewn the neceſſity of the juſt meaſures taken by France and Spain with regard to a ſuſpicious and dangerous neutrality that had all the inconveniencies of a concealed war.

The memorials preſented to the court of Liſbon on this ſubject have been made public: all Europe hath ſeen the ſolid reaſons of juſtice and conveniency which were the foundation of their demand on the king of Portugal: to thoſe were added, on the part of Spain, motives of the moſt

moſt tender friendſhip and affinity, which ought to have made the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſalutary impreſſion on the mind of the moſt faithful king.

But theſe powerful and juſt conſiderations were ſo far from determining that prince to unite with his majeſty and his Catholic majeſty, that he abſolutely rejected their offers, and choſe to ſacrifice their alliance, his own glory, and the good of his people, to his unlimited and blind devotion to the will of England.

Such conduct leaving no doubt concerning the king of Portugal's true intentions, the king and the Catholic king could conſider him, from that time, only as a direct and perſonal enemy, who under the artful pretext of a neutrality which would not be obſerved, would deliver up his ports to the diſpoſal of the Engliſh, to ſerve for ſheltering places for their ſhips, and to enable them to hurt France and Spain with more ſecurity, and with more effect.

Nevertheleſs, his majeſty and his Catholic majeſty thought it their duty to keep meaſures with the moſt faithful king; and if the Spaniſh troops have entered Portugal, this invaſion, which was become indiſpenſibly neceſſary, was not accompanied with any declaration of war; and the troops have behaved with all the circumſpection that could be required even in a friendly and neutral ſtate.

All this moderation has been thrown away: the king of Portugal hath juſt now declared war in form againſt France and Spain. This unexpected ſtep forced the Catholic king to make the like declaration againſt Portugal; and the king [of France] can no longer defer taking the ſame reſolution.

Independent of the motives which are common to the two monarchs, each hath ſeparate grievances to alledge againſt Portugal, which of themſelves would be ſufficient to juſtify the extremity to which their majeſties ſee themſelves with regret obliged to proceed.

Every one knows the unjuſt and violent attack made by the Engliſh, in 1759, on ſome of the [French] king's ſhips under the cannon of the Portugueſe forts at Lagos. His majeſty demanded of the moſt faithful king to procure him reſtitution of thoſe ſhips: but that prince's miniſters, in contempt of what was due to the rules of juſtice, the laws of the ſea, the ſovereignty and territory of their maſter (all which were indecently violated by the moſt ſcandalous infraction of the rights of ſovereigns and of nations) in anſwer to the repeated requiſitions of the king's ambaſſador on this head, made only vague ſpeeches with an air of indifference that bordered on deriſion.

At the ſame time, the court of Liſbon, pretending to be ignorant that ſovereigns, who hold their rank of their birth only and the dignity of their crown, can never permit, under any pretext, any potentate to attempt to infringe prerogatives and rights belonging to the antiquity and majeſty of their throne, hath pretended to eſtabliſh, without diſtinction, an alternative of precedence between all the ambaſſadors and foreign miniſters about the king of Portugal. The king, being informed by his ambaſſador, of the notification that had been made to him of this extraordinary and unex-

exampled regulation, ſignified in writing to the moſt faithful king, his juſt diſſatisfaction; and his majeſty declared, that he never would ſuffer any attempt to be made to diminiſh the right eſſentially inherent in the repreſentative character, with which he is pleaſed to honour his ambaſſadors and miniſters.

However juſtly the king was authoriſed to expreſs, at that time, his diſpleaſure on account of theſe grievances, and ſeveral other ſubjects of complaint which he had received from the court of Portugal, his majeſty contented himſelf with recalling his ambaſſador, and continued to keep up a correſpondence with the moſt faithful king, which he very ſincerely deſired to render more intimate and more laſting.

That prince, therefore, can only blame himſelf for the calamities of a war, which he ought, on every account, to have avoided, and which he hath been the firſt to declare.

His offers to obſerve an exact neutrality might have been liſtened to by the king, and the Catholic king, if paſt experience had not taught them to guard againſt the illuſion and danger of ſuch propoſals.

In the beginning of the preſent century, the court of Liſbon was very forward to acknowledge king Philip V. of glorious memory, and contracted formal engagements with France and Spain. Peter II. who at that time filled the throne of Portugal, ſeemed to enter cordially into the alliance of the two crowns: but after diſſembling his ſecret intentions, for three years, he broke all his promiſes, and the neutrality which he had afterwards ſollicited, and which, in a letter to the republic of the United Provinces he had even adviſed her to embrace, and joined the enemies of France and Spain. The ſame confidence, and the ſame ſecurity, on the part of the two crowns, in the preſent ſtate of things, would undoubtedly have been followed by the like defection in the court of Liſbon.

United to the Catholic king by indiſſoluble ſentiments of tender friendſhip and common intereſts, the king hopes that their united efforts will be favoured by the God of hoſts, and will in the end compel the king of Portugal to conduct himſelf on principles more conformable to ſound policy, the good of his people, and the ties of blood which unite him to his majeſty and his Catholic majeſty.

The king commands and enjoins all his ſubjects, vaſſals, and ſervants, to fall upon the ſubjects of the king of Portugal; and expreſly prohibits them from having any communication, commerce, or intelligence with them, on pain of death; and accordingly his majeſty hath from this date revoked, and hereby revokes, all licences, paſſports, ſafe-guards, and ſafe-conducts contrary to theſe preſents, that may have been granted by him or his lieutenant generals, and other officers; declaring them null and void, and of no effect; and forbidding all perſons to pay any regard thereto. And whereas, in contempt of the XVth article of the treaty of peace between France and Portugal, ſigned at Utrecht, April 11, 1713 (and by which it is expreſly ſtipulated, "That in caſe of a rupture between the two crowns, the ſpace of ſix months after the ſaid rupture ſhall be granted their ſubjects reſpectively, to ſell or remove their effects, and withdraw their

their perſons if they think fit") the king of Portugal hath juſt now ordered that all the French who are in his kingdom ſhould leave it in the ſpace of fifteen days, and that their effects ſhould be confiſcated and ſequeſtered; his majeſty, by way of juſt repriſals, commands, that all the Portugueſe in his dominions ſhall, in like manner, leave them within the ſpace of fifteen days from the date hereof, and that all their effects ſhall be confiſcated.

Verſailles, June 20, 1762.

Papers relative to the late revolution in Ruſſia.

Manifeſto of the preſent empreſs of Ruſſia, on her acceſſion to the throne as independent ſovereign.

'CATHERINE II. by the grace of God empreſs and autocratrix of all the Ruſſias, &c. &c. All the true ſons of Ruſſia have have clearly ſeen the great danger to which the whole Ruſſian empire hath in fact been expoſed. Firſt, the foundations of our orthodox Greek religion have been ſhaken, and its traditions expoſed to total ruin; ſo that there was abſolutely ground to fear that the faith, which hath been eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia from the earlieſt times, would be entirely changed, and a foreign religion introduced, In the ſecond place, the glory which Ruſſia has acquired at the expence of ſo much blood, and which was carried to the greateſt height by her victorious arms, has been trampled under foot by the peace lately concluded with its greateſt enemy. And laſtly, the domeſtic regulations, which are the baſis of the country's welfare, have been totally overturned.

For theſe cauſes, overcome by the imminent dangers with which our faithful ſubjects were threatened, and ſeeing how ſincere and expreſs their deſires were on this head, we, putting our truſt in the Almighty and his divine juſtice, have aſcended the ſovereign imperial throne of all the Ruſſias, and have received a ſolemn oath of fidelity from all our faithful ſubjects.'

This publication being made, the empreſs cauſed the following note to be delivered to the foreign miniſters, for their information.

'Her majeſty, the empreſs, having this day aſcended the imperial throne of all the Ruſſias, at the unanimous deſire and preſſing inſtances of all her faithful ſubjects and true patriots of this empire, hath commanded notice thereof to be given to all the foreign miniſters reſiding at her court, with an aſſurance of her imperial majeſty's invariable reſolution to live in good friendſhip with the ſovereigns their maſters.

The foreign miniſters ſhall ſoon have notice of the day when they may have the honour to pay their court and preſent their compliments of congratulation to her imperial majeſty.'

Peterſburg, June 28, O. S. 1762.

Some days afterwards the empreſs iſſued the following manifeſto, giving an account of her motives for taking the reins of government into her hands.

We Catherine II. by the grace of God, empreſs and ſovereign of all the Ruſſias,

Making known theſe preſents to all our loving ſubjects, eccleſiaſtical, military, and civil.

OUR acceſſion to the imperial throne of all the Ruſſias is a manifeſt

manifeſt proof of this truth, that when ſincere hearts endeavour for good, the hand of God directs them. We never had either deſign or deſire to arrive at empire, thro' the means by which it hath pleaſed the Almighty, according to the inſcrutable views of Providence, to place us upon the throne of Ruſſia, our dear country.

On the death of our moſt auguſt and dear aunt, the empreſs Elizabeth Petrowna, of glorious memory, all true patriots (now our moſt faithful ſubjects) groaning for the loſs of ſo tender a mother, placed their only conſolation in obeying her nephew, whom ſhe had named for her ſucceſſor, that they might ſhew thereby, in ſome degree, their acknowledgments to their deceaſed ſovereign. And, although they ſoon found out the weakneſs of his mind, unfit to rule ſo vaſt an empire, they imagined he would have known his own inſufficiency. Whereupon they ſought our maternal aſſiſtance in the affairs of government.

But when abſolute power falls to the lot of a monarch, who has not ſufficient virtue and humanity to place juſt bounds to it, it degenerates into a fruitful ſource of the moſt pernicious evils. This is the ſum, in ſhort, of what our native country has ſuffered. She ſtruggled to be delivered from a ſovereign, who, being blindly given up to the moſt dangerous paſſions, thought of nothing but indulging them, without employing himſelf in the welfare of the empire committed to his care.

During the time of his being grand-duke, and heir to the throne of Ruſſia, he often cauſed the moſt bitter griefs to his moſt auguſt aunt and ſovereign, (the truth of which all our court knows) however he might behave himſelf outwardly; being kept under her eye by her tenderneſs, he looked upon this affection towards him as an inſupportable yoke. He could not however diſguiſe himſelf ſo well, but it was perceived by all our faithful ſubjects, that he was poſſeſſed of the moſt audacious ingratitude, which he ſometimes ſhewed by perſonal contempt, ſometimes by an avowed hatred to the nation. At length, throwing aſide his cloak of hypocriſy, he thought it more fit to let looſe the bridle of his paſſions, than conduct himſelf as the heir of ſo great an empire. In a word, the leaſt traces of honour were not to be perceived in him. What were the conſequences of all this?

He was ſcarcely aſſured that the death of his aunt and benefactreſs approached, but he baniſhed her memory entirely from his mind; nay, even before ſhe had ſent forth her laſt groan. He only caſt an eye of contempt on the corpſe expoſed on the bier; and, as the ceremony at that time required obliged him to approach it, he did it with his eyes manifeſtly replete with joy; even intimating his ingratitude by his words. I might add, that the obſequies would have been nothing equal to the dignity of ſo great and magnanimous a ſovereign, if our tender reſpect to her, cemented by the ties of blood, and the extreme affection between us, had not made the care of it a duty to us.

He imagined that it was not to the Supreme Being, but only to chance, that he was indebted for abſolute power, and that he had it

it in his hands, not for the good of his ſubjects, but ſolely for his ſatisfaction. Adding therefore licence to abſolute power, he made all the changes in the ſtate, which the weakneſs of his mind could ſuggeſt, to the oppreſſion of the people.

Having effaced from his heart, even the leaſt traces to the whole orthodox religion (although he had been ſufficiently taught the principles thereof) he began firſt by rooting out this true religion, eſtabliſhed ſo long in Ruſſia, by abſenting himſelf from the houſe of God, and of prayers, in ſo open a manner, that ſome of his ſubjects, excited by conſcience and honeſty, ſeeing his irreverence and contempt of the rites of the church, or rather the railleries be made of them, and ſcandalizing them by his behaviour, dared to make remonſtrances to him concerning it; who, for ſo doing, ſcarcely eſcaped the reſentment which they might have expected from ſo capricious a ſovereign, whoſe power was not limited by any human laws. He even intended to deſtroy the churches, and ordered ſome to be pulled down. He permitted thoſe to have chapels in their own houſes, whoſe infirmities hindered them from viſiting the houſe of God. Thus he would have domineered over the faithful, in endeavouring to ſtifle in them the fear of God, which the holy ſcripture teaches us to be the beginning of wiſdom.

From this want of zeal towards God, and contempt of his laws, reſulted that ſcorn to the civil and natural laws of his kingdom; for, having but an only ſon, which God had given us, the grand-duke Paul Petrowitz, he would not, when he aſcended the throne of Ruſſia, declare him for his ſucceſſor; that being reſerved for his caprice, which tended to the detriment of us and of our ſon, having an inclination to overthrow the right that his aunt had veſted in him, and to make the government of our native country paſs into the hands of ſtrangers; contradicting this maxim of natural right, according to which nobody can tranſmit to another more than he has received himſelf.

Although with great grief we ſaw this intention, we did not believe that we ourſelves, and our moſt dear ſon, ſhould have been expoſed to a perſecution ſo ſevere: but all perſons of probity, having obſerved that the meaſures that he purſued, by their effects, manifeſted that they had a natural tendency to our ruin, and that of our dear ſucceſſor, their generous and pious hearts were juſtly alarmed: Animated with zeal for the intereſt of their native country, and aſtoniſhed at our patience under theſe heavy perſecutions, they ſecretly informed us, that our life was in danger, in order to engage us to undertake the *burthen* of governing ſo large an empire.

While the whole nation were on the point of teſtifying their diſapprobation of his meaſures, he nevertheleſs continued to chagrine them the more, by ſubverting all thoſe excellent arrangements eſtabliſhed by Peter the Great, our moſt dear predeceſſor, of glorious memory, which that true father of his country accompliſhed by indefatigable pains and labour, through the whole courſe of a reign of thirty years. The late Peter the Third deſpiſed the laws of the empire, and her moſt reſpectable tribunals, to

to such a degree, that he could not even bear to hear them mentioned.

After one bloody war, he rashly entered upon another, in which the interests of Russia were no ways concerned. He entertained an insuperable aversion to the regiments of guards, which had faithfully served his illustrious ancestors, and made innovations in the army, which, far from exciting in their breasts noble sentiments of valour, only served to discourage troops always ready to spill their best blood in the cause of their country. He changed entirely the face of the army; nay, it even seemed, that by dividing their habits into so many uniforms, and giving them so many different embellishments, for the most part fantastical to the greatest degree, he intended to infuse into them a suspicion that they did not, in effect, belong to one master, and thereby provoke the soldiers, in the heat of the battle, to slay one another; although experience demonstrated, that uniformity in dress had not a little contributed towards unanimity.

Inconsiderately and incessantly bent on pernicious regulations, he so alienated the hearts of his subjects, that there was scarce a single person to be found in the nation who did not openly express his disapprobation, and was even desirous to take away his life: But the laws of God, which command sovereign princes to be respected, being deeply engraved on the hearts of our faithful subjects, restrained them, and engaged them to wait with patience, till the hand of God struck the important blow, and by his fall delivered an oppressed people. Under those circumstances, now laid before the impartial eyes of the public, it was, in fact, impossible, but our soul should be troubled with those impending woes which threatened our *native* country, and with that persecution which we, and our most dear son, the heir of the Russian throne, unjustly suffered: being almost entirely excluded from the imperial palace; in such sort, that all who had regard for us, or rather those who had courage enough to speak it (for we we have not been able to find that there is *one* person who is not *devoted* to our interest) by expressing their sentiments of respect due to us, as their empress, endangered their life, or at least their fortune. In fine, the endeavours he made to ruin us, rose to such a pitch, that they broke out in public, and then charging us with being the cause of the murmurs, which his own imprudent measures occasioned, his resolution to take away our life openly appeared. But being informed of his purpose, by some of our trusty subjects, who were determined to deliver their country, or perish in the attempt, relying on the aid of the Almighty, we chearfully exposed our person to danger, with all that magnanimity which our native country had a right to expect, in return for her affection to us. After having invoked the Most High, and reposed our hope in the divine favour, we resolved also either to sacrifice our life for our country, or save it from bloodshed and calamity. Scarcely had we taken this resolution, by the direction of favouring Heaven, and declared our assent to the deputies of the empire, than the orders of the state crouded to give us assurances of their fidelity and submission.

It now remained for us, in purſuance of the love we bore our faithful ſubjects, to prevent the conſequences which we apprehended, in caſe of the late emperor's inconſiderately placing his confidence in the imaginary power of the Holſtein troops, (for whoſe ſake he ſtayed at Oranjebaum, living in indolence, and abandoning the moſt preſſing exigencies of the ſtate) and there occaſioning a carnage, to which our guards and other regiments were ready to expoſe themſelves, for the ſake of their native country, for ours, and that of our ſucceſſor. For theſe reaſons we looked upon it as a neceſſary duty towards our ſubjects (to which we were immediately called by the voice of God) to prevent ſo great a misfortune, by prompt and proper meaſures. Therefore, placing ourſelves at the head of the body-guards, regiment of artillery, and other troops in and about the royal reſidence, we undertook to diſconcert an iniquitous deſign, of which we were, as yet, only informed in part.

But ſcarcely were we got out of the city, before we received two letters from the late emperor, one quick on the heels of the other.—The firſt by our vice-chancellor the prince Gallitzin, entreating us to allow him to return to Holſtein, his native dominions; the other by major general Michel Iſmailoff, by which he declared, that of his own proper motion he renounced the crown and throne of Ruſſia. In this laſt he begged of us to allow him to withdraw to Holſtein with Elizabeth Woronzoff Goudowick. Theſe two laſt letters, *ſtuffed* with flattering expreſſions, came to our hands a few hours after he had given orders for putting us to death, as we have been ſince informed from the very perſons who were appointed to execute thoſe *unnatural* orders.

In the mean time, he had ſtill reſources left him, which were to arm againſt us his Holſtein troops, and ſome ſmall detachments then about his perſon; he had, alſo, in his power ſeveral perſonages of diſtinction belonging to *our* court; as he might therefore have *compelled* us to agree to terms of accommodation ſtill more hurtful to our country, (for after having learned what great commotions there were among the people, he had detained them as hoſtages at his palace of Oranjebaum, and our humanity would never have conſented to their deſtruction, but, to ſave their lives, we would have riſked ſeeing a part of thoſe dangers revived by an accommodation) ſeveral perſons of high rank about our perſon requeſted us to ſend him a billet in return, propoſing to him, if his intentions were ſuch as he declared them to be, that he ſhould inſtantly ſend us a *voluntary* and formal renunciation of the throne, wrote by his own hand, for the public ſatisfaction.—Major general Iſmailoff carried this propoſal, and now behold the writing which he ſent back.

During the ſhort ſpace of my abſolute reign over the empire of Ruſſia, I became ſenſible that I was not able to ſupport ſo great a burthen, and that my abilities were not equal to the taſk of governing ſo great an empire, either as a ſovereign, or in any other capacity whatever. I alſo foreſaw the great troubles which muſt have from thence aroſe, and have been followed with the total ruin of the empire,

pire, and covered me with eternal disgrace. After having therefore seriously reflected thereon, I declare, without constraint, and in the most solemn manner, to the Russian empire, and to the whole universe, that I for ever renounce the government of the said empire, never desiring hereafter to reign therein, either as an absolute sovereign, or under any other form of government; never wishing to aspire thereto, to use any means, of any sort, for that purpose. As a pledge of which I swear sincerely before God and all the world, to this present renunciation, wrote and signed this 29th of June, 1762, O. S.

PETER.

It is thus, without spilling one drop of blood, that we have ascended the Russian throne, by the assistance of God, and the approving suffrages of our dear country.—Humbly adoring the decrees of Divine Providence, we assure our faithful subjects, that we will not fail, by night and by day, to invoke the Most High to bless our sceptre, and enable us to wield it for the maintenance of our orthodox religion, the security and defence of our dear native country, and the support of justice; as well as to put an end to all miseries, iniquities, and violences, by strengthening and fortifying our heart for the public good. And as we ardently wish to prove effectually how far we merit the reciprocal love of our people, for whose happiness we acknowledge our throne to be appointed, we solemnly promise, on our imperial word, to make such arrangements in the empire, that the government may be endued with an intrinsic force to support itself within limited and proper bounds; and each department of the state provided with wholesome laws and regulations, sufficient to maintain good order therein, at all times, and under all circumstances.

By which means we hope to establish hereafter, the empire and our sovereign power, (however they may have been formerly weakened) in such a manner as to comfort the discouraged hearts of all true patriots. We do not in the least doubt but that our loving subjects will, as well for the salvation of their own souls, as for the good of religion, inviolably observe the oath which they have sworn to us in presence of the Almighty God; we thereupon assure them of our imperial favour.

Done at Petersburg, July 6, 1762.

Her imperial majesty's declaration, &c. on the death of the emperor her husband.

WE Catharine II. by the grace of God, empress and autocratress of all the Russias.—Greeting, &c.

The 7th day after our accession to the throne of all the Russias, we received information, that the late emperor Peter III. by the means of a bloody accident in his hinder parts, commonly called piles, to which he had been formerly subject, obtained a most violent, griping, cholic. That therefore, we might not be wanting in Christian duty, nor disobedient to the holy commandment by which we are obliged to preserve the life of our neighbour, we immediately ordered that the said Peter should be furnished with every thing that might be judged necessary to prevent the

dangerous consequences of that accident, and to restore his health by the succours of medicine. But to our great regret and affliction we learned yesterday evening, that by the permission of the Almighty, the late emperor departed this life. We have therefore ordered his body to be transported to the monastery of Newsky, in order to its being buried there. At the same time with our imperial and motherly voice, we exhort our faithful subjects to forget and forgive what is past, to pay the last duties to his body, and to pray to God sincerely for the peace of his soul; beseeching them, however, at the same time to consider this unexpected and sudden death as a special effect of the Divine Providence, whose decrees prepare for us, for our throne, and for our country, things only known to his holy will.

Done at St. Petersburg, July $\frac{7}{18}$.

Papers relating to the re-establishment of peace.

Declaration delivered by the emperor of Russia's order, to the imperial, French, and Swedish ministers residing at St. Petersburg.

HIS imperial majesty, who, upon his happy accession to the throne of his ancestors, looks upon it to be his principal duty to extend and augment the welfare of his subjects, sees with extreme regret, that the flames of the present war, which has already continued for six years, and has been for a long time burthensome to all the powers engaged in it, far from tending now to a conclusion, are, on the contrary, gathering fresh strength, to the great misfortune of the several nations; and that mankind has so much the more to suffer from this scourge, as the fortune of arms, which has been hitherto subject to so many vicissitudes, is equally exposed to them for the future.

Wherefore his imperial majesty, compassionating, through his humane disposition, the effusion of innocent blood, and being desirous, on his part, of putting a stop to so great an evil, has judged it necessary to declare to the courts in alliance with Russia, that, preferring to every other consideration, the first law, which God prescribes to sovereigns, which is the preservation of the people intrusted to them, he wishes to procure peace to his empire, to which it is so necessary, and of so great value; and, at the same time, to contribute, as much as may be in his power, to the re-establishment of it throughout all Europe.

It is in order to this, that his imperial majesty is ready to make a sacrifice of the conquests made by the arms of Russia, in this war, in hopes that the allied courts will, on their part, equally prefer the restoration of peace and tranquility, to the advantages, which they might expect from the war, and which they cannot obtain but by a continuance of the effusion of human blood. And to this end, his imperial majesty, with the best intention, advises them, to employ, on their side, all their power towards the accomplishment of so great and so salutary a work.

St. Petersburg, Feb. $\frac{12}{23}$, 1762.

The

The anſwer of the empreſs-queen to the foregoing declaration.

THAT animated with the ſame zeal, and being of the ſame opinion, as his imperial majeſty, with regard to the ſalutary work of peace, and to the putting an end to the troubles and ravages that deſolate Germany, ſhe was ready to concur with him therein; but that, for that end, ſhe deſired his imperial majeſty to furniſh her with the means of beginning the negotiation, by imparting to her the propoſed terms of peace, which ſhe would, without loſs of time, communicate to her high allies, who, as well as herſelf, would be always ready to co-operate in a matter ſo much deſired, provided the terms were not inadmiſſible, and contained nothing injurious either to their honour, or her honour.

The anſwer given by the French court to the declaration.

THE king maintaining, with regret, theſe ſix years paſt, a two-fold war for his own defence and that of his allies, has ſufficiently manifeſted, on every occaſion, how much he abhors the effuſion of human blood, and his conſtant deſire to put an end to ſo cruel a ſcourge. His perſonal diſintereſtedneſs, the ſteps which he thought could be taken conſiſtent with his dignity, and the ſacrifices which he did offer, in order to procure to Europe the deſireable bleſſing of peace, are ſure pledges of the humane ſentiments with which his heart abounds. But, at the ſame time, his paternal tenderneſs, which makes the happineſs and preſervation of his ſubjects a duty to him, cannot make him forget the firſt law that God preſcribes to ſovereigns, even that which conſtitutes the public ſafety, and fixes the condition of nations and empires, fidelity in executing treaties, and punctuality in performing engagements to their full extent, preferably to every other conſideration.

'Tis with this view, that, after having given ſo great examples of conſtancy and generoſity, his majeſty declares that he is ready to liſten favourably to propoſitions for a ſolid and honourable peace, but will always act in the moſt perfect concert with his allies; that he will receive no counſels but ſuch as ſhall be dictated to him by honour and probity; that he ſhould think himſelf guilty of a defection, in lending a hand to ſecret negotiations; that he will not tarniſh his glory, and that of his kingdom, by abandoning his allies; and that he reſts aſſured each of them will, on their part, faithfully adhere to the ſame principle.

Anſwer given by the king of Poland, electoral of Saxony, to the ſame declaration.

ALL my allies wiſh as much as myſelf, that the public tranquility may be reſtored upon ſolid foundations. It is well known to all Europe, that I did not ſeek the war; but, on the contrary, employed every means to keep the calamities of it at a diſtance from my dominions. My love to mankind in general, and to my own ſubjects in particular, ought to engage me to facilitate as much as in me lies, the reſtoration of peace, and to exer-

cise all moderation as to my equitable pretensions. I am of opinion, that a just and solid peace cannot be agreed on, but by the congress proposed and accepted by all the powers at war.

I place a full confidence in the friendship of your imperial majesty, to whom the house of Saxony is bound by sacred ties. It is not unknown to your majesty, that Saxony hath been attacked merely on account of its connections with the Russian empire; and that the king of Prussia has taken occasion to charge us with entering into defensive treaties with that empire against him. We therefore flatter ourselves with the hope, that so ancient and so equitable an ally of Saxony will not suffer our dominions, which are already reduced to the utmost distress, as well by exorbitant contributions, as by the alienation of our revenues, and of the funds which were allotted for the payment of debts, to be completely ruined.

The whole world agrees, that we are intitled to an equitable restitution and reparation of the damage sustained. But notwithstanding all these considerations, and though all the powers at war shew themselves inclined to contribute to the general pacification, yet Saxony remains threatened with irretrievable ruin.

We therefore hope that your majesty's philanthropy and magnanimity will prevail with your majesty to take care that, before all things, the electorate of Saxony be speedily evacuated, in order thereby to put an end to the calamities which overwhelm it; this being the means of facilitating and accelerating the conclusion of a general peace.

Speech made to the king by the duke de Nivernois, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the most Christian king, on his presenting his credentials to his majesty the 24th of Nov. 1762.

SIRE,

UNE reconciliation cordiale entre deux puissants monarques qui sont faits pour s'aimer; une union de système durable entre deux grandes cours que leurs interêts bien-entendus rapprochent l'une de l'autre; une liaison sincere & solide entre deux respectables nations que des malheureux préjugés ont trop souvent divisées: voilà, Sire, l'époque brillante des premiers momens du regne de votre majesté; & cette époque sera, en même tems, celle du bonheur rétabli dans les quatre parties du monde. C'est à la félicité universelle que le nom, la gloire, & les vertus de votre majesté seront unis pour jamais dans les fastes de l'histoire; & la posterité y lira avec un sentiment de respect ce traité, qui entre tous les traités portera le caractére distinctif d'une bonne foi non équivoque, & d'une solidité durable.

Qu'il me soit permis de me féliciter à vos pieds, Sire, d'avoir été choisi par le roi mon maitre pour servir, entre votre majesté & lui, d'organe aux nobles sentiments de deux cœurs si dignes l'un de l'autre, & pour travailler à cet ouvrage sacré, qui assure la gloire de votre majesté en faisant le bonheur de l'humanité entiere.

TRANSLATION.

SIR,

A cordial reconciliation between two powerful monarchs, formed to love

love each other; a permanent union of ſyſtem between two great courts attracted to one another by their intereſts rightly underſtood; and a ſincere and laſting conjunction of two reſpectable nations, whom unhappy prejudices have too long divided; form the glorious æra of the commencement of your majeſty's reign: And this æra will, at the ſame time, be that of happineſs reſtored to the four quarters of the world. Your majeſty's name, your glory, and your virtues, will be inſeparably joined in hiſtory with univerſal felicity; and poſterity will there read, with ſentiments of reſpect, that treaty which will be diſtinguiſhed, above all others, by good faith, without equivocation, and by permanent ſtability.

Permit me, Sir, to felicitate myſelf at your feet, on being choſen by the king, my maſter, to ſerve, between your majeſty and him, as the organ of the noble ſentiments of two hearts ſo worthy of each other, and to be employed in this bleſſed work which inſures your majeſty's glory by giving happineſs to the whole world.

The humble addreſs of the right hon. the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, December 9, 1762, on occaſion of his majeſty's having communicated to them the preliminary articles of peace, concluded at Fontainbleau, the 3d of Nov. 1762.

Moſt gracious ſovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our ſincereſt acknowledgments, for the important communication, which your majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to make to us, of the preliminary articles of peace, concluded the third day of laſt month at Fontainbleau, with the crowns of France and Spain:

And to expreſs, in the moſt dutiful manner to your majeſty, the ſatisfaction which we have received, at the foundation laid by theſe articles for a treaty of peace, which will greatly redound to your majeſty's honour, and the real benefit of your kingdoms; and our entire reliance, that the ſame care and attention will be ſhewn for the perfecting of this great work by the definitive treaty.

We think it our indiſpenſible duty to lay before your majeſty this early teſtimony of our warmeſt gratitude; ſeeing the great object of the war ſo fully anſwered, all proper attention ſhewn to your majeſty's allies, a vaſt extent of empire added to the Britiſh crown, new ſources opened for the trade and manufactures of this nation, and ſtability and duration inſured, under the bleſſing of Providence, to theſe great and national advantages.

We are no leſs ſenſible of the prudence and wiſdom which has guided your majeſty's conduct on this great occaſion, than of the humane diſpoſition and paternal affection to your ſubjects, which your majeſty has ſhewn, in putting a ſafe and honourable end to a burthenſome and expenſive war.

We beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that we ſhall immediately apply ourſelves to improve the bleſſings of peace, by promoting the œconomy which your majeſty has wiſely recommended, and which is ſo neceſſary to the dignity of the

crown, and the prosperity of these your kingdoms.

His majesty's most gracious answer.

My lords,

I Return you thanks for this very dutiful address.

The satisfaction which you express, in the point agreed by the preliminary articles towards a final pacification, is very acceptable to me.

In what remains to be done, you may depend upon the utmost care and attention on my part, to settle every thing, which concerns the interests of my kingdoms, upon a solid and durable foundation.

The humble address of the house of commons to the king on the same occasion.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for your most gracious condescension, in ordering to be laid before us the preliminary articles of peace concluded between your majesty on the one part, and their most Christian and Catholic majesties on the other; and to assure your majesty that we have considered them with our best attention. And, although to make peace and war be your majesty's just and undoubted prerogative, yet knowing how agreeable it must be to your royal mind to be informed of the grateful sense your people entertain of the justice and wisdom of your measures, and of your unwearied attention to their welfare, your faithful commons are impatient to express their approbation of the advantageous terms upon which your majesty hath concluded preliminary articles of peace, and to lay before your majesty the hearty applause of a faithful, affectionate, and thankful people.

While we admire your majesty's prudence in availing yourself of the successes with which Divine Providence hath blessed your arms, whereby your majesty hath procured such solid, and, in all human probability, such permanent advantages for this kingdom, we are no less sensibly affected with that humane disposition which induced your majesty to put an end to a long, bloody, and expensive, tho' glorious and successful war.

Your faithful commons will take the earliest opportunity to examine into the state of the public revenues, in order to establish the best œconomy for the future, so wisely recommended by your majesty, and so necessary to maintain the kingdom of Great Britain in that great and respectable situation in which your majesty's fortitude and wisdom have now placed us.

We are convinced that posterity, from their own experience, will hereafter agree with us, in esteeming that peace to be no less honourable than profitable, by which there will be ceded to Great Britain such an addition of territory, attended with so great an extension of our commerce.

We therefore beg leave humbly to lay before your majesty the strongest sentiments of gratitude, and to assure your majesty, that it shall be our study to improve that confidence of the people in you, which your majesty hath already so very de-

deſervedly acquired from your conduct in the preſent moſt important juncture.

His majeſty's moſt gracious anſwer.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

I Return you my hearty thanks for this moſt loyal and affectionate addreſs.

Your approbation of the meaſures I have taken for reſtoring peace, and of the terms on which it is to be concluded, gives me the higheſt ſatisfaction.

The affection and gratitude of my people are the moſt pleaſing return I can receive for my endeavours to promote their happineſs.

The Definitive Treaty of friendſhip and peace between his Britannic majeſty, the moſt Chriſtian king, and the king of Spain. Concluded at Paris, the 10th day of February, 1763. To which the king of Portugal acceded the ſame day.

In the name of the moſt Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. So be it.

BE it known to all thoſe to whom it ſhall, or may, in any manner, belong.

It has pleaſed the Moſt High to diffuſe the ſpirit of union and concord among the princes, whoſe diviſions had ſpread troubles in the four parts of the world, and to inſpire them with the inclination to cauſe the comforts of peace to ſucceed to the misfortunes of a long and bloody war, which, having ariſen between England and France, during the reign of the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the ſecond, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, of glorious memory, continued under the reign of the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the third, his ſucceſſor, and, in its progreſs, communicated itſelf to Spain and Portugal: conſequently, the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, duke of Brunſwick and Lunenbourg, arch-treaſurer, and elector, of the Holy Roman Empire; the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, Lewis the fifteenth, by the grace of God, moſt Chriſtian king; and the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, Charles the third, by the grace of God, king of Spain and of the Indies, after having laid the foundation of peace in the preliminaries, ſigned at Fountainbleau the 3d of November laſt; and the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, Don Joſeph the firſt, by the grace of God, king of Portugal and the Algarves, after having acceded thereto, determined to compleat, without delay, this great and important work. For this purpoſe, the high contracting parties have named and appointed their reſpective ambaſſadors extraordinary, and miniſters plenipotentiary, viz. his ſacred majeſty, the king of Great Britain, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord, John, duke and earl of Bedford, marquiſs of Taviſtock, &c. his miniſter of ſtate, lieutenant general of his armies, keeper of his privy ſeal, knight of the moſt noble, order of the garter, and his ambaſſador extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; his ſacred majeſty the moſt Chriſtian king, the

the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord Cæſar Gabriel de Choiſeul, duke of Praſlin, peer of France, knight of his orders, lieutenant general of his armies, and of the province of Brittany, counſellor in all his councils, and miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate, and of his commands and finances; his ſacred majeſty the Catholic king, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord, Don Jerome Grimaldi, marquis de Grimaldi, knight of the moſt Chriſtian king's orders, gentleman of his Catholic majeſty's bed chamber in employment, and his ambaſſador extraordinary to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; his ſacred majeſty the moſt Faithful king, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord, Martin de Mello and Caſtro, knight profeſſed of the order of Chriſt, of his moſt Faithful majeſty's council, and his ambaſſador and miniſter plenipotentiary to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

Who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, copies whereof are tranſcribed at the end of the preſent treaty of peace, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows.

Art. I. There ſhall be a chriſtian, univerſal, and perpetual peace, as well by ſea as by land, and a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip ſhall be reeſtabliſhed between their Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, Catholic, and moſt Faithful majeſties, and between their heirs and ſucceſſors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, ſubjects, and vaſſals, of what quality or condition ſoever they be, without exception of places, or of perſons: ſo that the high contracting parties ſhall give the greateſt attention to maintain between themſelves and their ſaid dominions and ſubjects, this reciprocal friendſhip and correſpondence, without permitting, on either ſide, any kind of hoſtilities, by ſea or by land, to be committed, from henceforth, for any cauſe, or under any pretence whatſoever, and every thing ſhall be carefully avoided, which might hereafter, prejudice the union happily re-eſtabliſhed, applying themſelves, on the contrary, on every occaſion, to procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, intereſts, and advantages, without giving any aſſiſtance or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe who would cauſe any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties; there ſhall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before or ſince the commencement of the war, which is juſt ended.

II. The treaties of Weſtphalia of 1648; thoſe of Madrid between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain of 1667, and 1670; the the treaties of peace of Nimiguen of 1678 and 1679; of Ryſwick of 1697; thoſe of peace and commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; the treaty of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; and that of Madrid between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, of 1750; as well as the treaties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, of the 13th of February 1668; of the 6th of Feb. 1715; and of the 12th of Feb. 1761; and that of the 11th of April 1713, between France and Portugal, with the guaranties of Great

Great Britain, ſerve as a baſis and foundation to the peace, and to the preſent treaty: and for this purpoſe, they are all renewed and confirmed in the beſt form, as well as all the treaties in general, which ſubſiſted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inſerted here word for word, ſo that they are to be exactly obſerved, for the future, in their whole tenor, and religiouſly executed on all ſides, in all their points which ſhall not be derogated from the preſent treaty, notwithſtanding all that may have been ſtipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties; and all the ſaid parties declare, that they will not ſuffer any privilege, favour or indulgence, to ſubſiſt, contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what ſhall have been agreed and ſtipulated by the preſent treaty.

III. All the priſoners made, on all ſides, as well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried away during the war, and to this day, ſhall be reſtored without ranſom, ſix weeks at lateſt, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty, each crown reſpectively paying the advances, which ſhall have been made for the ſubſiſtence and maintenance of their priſoners by the ſovereign of the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the atteſted receipts and eſtimates, and offer authentic vouchers, which ſhall be furniſhed on one ſide and the other: and ſecurities ſhall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the priſoners ſhall have contracted in the countries where they have been detained until their entire liberty. And all the ſhips of war and merchant veſſels which ſhall have been taken ſince the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea, ſhall be likewiſe reſtored *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes: and the execution of this article ſhall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

IV. His moſt Chriſtian majeſty renounces all pretenſions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies to the king of Great Britain: moreover, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty cedes and guaranties to his ſaid Britannic majeſty, in full right Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the iſland of Cape Breton, and all the other iſlands and coaſts in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, and, in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries, lands, iſlands, and coaſts, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwiſe, which the moſt Chriſtian king, and the crown of France, have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, iſlands, lands, places, coaſts, and their inhabitants, ſo that the moſt Chriſtian king cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid king, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form, without reſtriction, and without any liberty to depart from the ſaid ceſſion and guaranty, under any pretence, or to diſturb Great Britain in the poſſeſſions abovementioned. His Britannic majeſty on his ſide, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will con-

conſequently, give the moſt effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rites of the Romiſh church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannic majeſty further agrees that the French inhabitants, or others, who had been the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian king in Canada, may retire with all ſafety and freedom, wherever they ſhall think proper, and may ſell their eſtates, provided it be to ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions; the term, limited for this emigration, ſhall be fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty.

V. The ſubjects of France ſhall have the liberty of fiſhing and drying on a part of the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland, ſuch as is ſpecified in the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the preſent treaty, (except what relates to the iſland of Cape Breton, as well as to the other iſlands, and coaſts in the mouth and in the gulph St. Lawrence): and his Britannic majeſty conſents to leave the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian king the liberty of fiſhing in the gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition that the ſubjects of France do not exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of three leagues from all the coaſts belonging to Great Britain, as well thoſe of the continent, as thoſe of the iſlands ſituated in the ſaid gulph of St. Lawrence. And as to what relates to the fiſhery on the coaſt of the iſland of Cape Breton out of the ſaid gulph, the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian king ſhall not be permited to exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of fifteen leagues from the coaſts of the iſland of Cape Breton; and the fiſhery on the coaſts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where elſe out of the ſaid gulph, ſhall remain on the foot of former treaties.

VI. The king of Great Britain cedes the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to ſerve as a ſhelter to the French fiſhermen; and his ſaid Chriſtian majeſty engages not to fortify the ſaid iſlands, to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fiſhery, and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

VII. In order to re-eſtabliſh peace on ſolid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all ſubjects of diſpute with regard to the limits of the Britiſh and French territories on the continent of America, that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic majeſty, and thoſe of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in that part of the world, ſhall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Miſſiſippi, from its ſource to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the Lake Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the ſea; and for this purpoſe the moſt Chriſtian king cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his Britannic majeſty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he poſſeſſes, or ought to poſſeſs, on the left ſide the

the river Miſſiſippi, except the town of the New Orleans, and the iſland in which it is ſituated, which ſhall remain to France; provided that the river Miſſiſippi ſhall be equally free, as well to the ſubjects of Great Britain, as to thoſe of France, in its whole breadth or length, from its ſource to the ſea, and expreſly that part which is between the ſaid iſland of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the paſſage both in and out of its mouth. It is further ſtipulated, that the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of either nation, ſhall not be ſtopped, viſited, or ſubjected to the payment of any duty whatſoever. The ſtipulations, inſerted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, ſhall alſo take place, with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

VIII. The king of Great Britain ſhall reſtore to France the iſlands of Guadaloupe, of Marie Galante, of Deſirade, of Martinico, and of Belleiſle; and the fortreſſes of theſe iſlands ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in, when they were conquered by the Britiſh arms; provided that his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, who ſhall have ſettled in the ſaid iſlands, or thoſe who ſhall have any commercial affairs to ſettle there, or in the other places reſtored to France by the preſent treaty, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, on board veſſels, which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſlands, and other places reſtored as above, and which ſhall ſerve for this uſe only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions; and for this purpoſe, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; but, as the liberty granted to his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their perſons and their effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſly agreed between his Britannic majeſty and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, that the number of Engliſh veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſlands and places reſtored to France, ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only, all the effects, belonging to the Engliſh, being to be embarked at the ſame time. It has been further agreed, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing places, and ports of the ſaid iſlands, and places reſtored to France, and that the merchandize, which ſhall be found therein ſhall be confiſcated.

IX. The moſt Chriſtian king cedes and guaranties to his Britannic majeſty, in full right, the iſlands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines, with the ſame ſtipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inſerted in the IVth article for thoſe of Canada; and the partition of the

the iſlands, called Neutral, is agreed and fixed, ſo that thoſe of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, ſhall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that of St. Lucia ſhall be delivered to France, to enjoy the ſame likewiſe in full right; and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition ſo ſtipulated.

X. His Britannic majeſty ſhall reſtore to France the iſland of Goree, in the condition it was in when conquered: and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty cedes, in full right, and guaranties to the king of Great Britain, the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam; and with all the rights and dependencies of the ſaid river Senegal.

XI. In the Eaſt Indies, Great Britain ſhall reſtore to France, in the condition they now are in, the different factories which that crown poſſeſſed, as well on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, as on that of Malabar, as alſo in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his moſt Chriſtian majeſty renounces all pretenſion to the acquiſitions which he had made on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, ſince the ſaid beginning of the year 1749. His moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhall reſtore, on his ſide, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain, in the Eaſt Indies, during the preſent war; and will expreſly cauſe Nattal and Tapanoully, in the iſland of Sumatra, to be reſtored; he engages further, not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And in order to preſerve future peace on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, the Engliſh and French ſhall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for the lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jing for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parts ſhall renounce all demands and pretenſions of ſatisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for the depredations, or pillage, committed on the one ſide or on the other, during the war.

XII. The iſland of Minorca ſhall be reſtored to his Britannic majeſty, as well as Fort St. Philip, in the ſame condition they were in, when conquered by the arms of the moſt Chriſtian king; and with the artillery which was there, when the ſaid iſland and the ſaid fort were taken.

XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk ſhall be put into the ſtate fixed by the laſt treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and by former treaties. The cunette ſhall be deſtroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the ſide of the ſea; and proviſion ſhall be made, at the ſame time, for the wholeſomeneſs of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by ſome other means to the ſatisfaction of the king of Great Britain.

XIV. France ſhall reſtore all the countries belonging to the electorate of Hanover, to the landgrave of Heſſe, to the duke of Brunſwick, and to the count of La Lippe Buckeburgh, which are, or ſhall be occupied by his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's arms: the fortreſſes of theſe different countries ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in, when conquered by the French arms: and the pieces of artillery, which ſhall have been carried elſewhere, ſhall be replaced by the ſame number, of the ſame bore, weight, and metal.

XV. In

XV. In case the stipulations, contained in the XIIth article of the preliminaries, should not be compleated at the time of the signature of the present treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortresses of Cleves, Wezel, Gueldres, and of all the countries belonging to the king of Prussia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the British and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Westphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and in all the empire, and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their respective sovereigns; their Britannic and most Christian majesties promise to proceed, *bona fide*, with all the dispatch the case will permit of, to the said evacuations, the entire completion whereof they stipulate before the 15th of March next, or sooner if it can be done: and their Britannic and most Christian majesties further engage, and promise to each other, not to furnish any succours, of any kind, to their respective allies, who shall continue engaged in the war in Germany.

XVI. The decision of the prizes made, in the time of peace, by the subjects of Great Britain, on the Spaniards, shall be referred to the courts of justice of the admiralty of Great Britain, conformable to the rules established among all nations, so that the validity of the said prizes, between the British and Spanish nations, shall be decided and judged, according to the law of nations, and according to the treaties, in the courts of justice of the nation, who shall have made the capture.

XVII. His Britannic majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty: and his Catholic majesty shall not permit his Britannic majesty's subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed, or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood: and for this purpose, they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines which are necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects: and his Catholic majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages, and powers, on the Spanish coasts and territories, as above stipulated, immediately after the ratifications of the present treaty.

XVIII. His Catholic majesty desists, as well for himself, as for his successors, from all pretensions which he may have formed, in favour of the Guipuscoans, and other his subjects, to the right of fishing in the neighbourhood of the island of Newfoundland.

XIX. The king of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortress of the Havanna; and this fortress, as well as the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by his Britannic majesty's arms; provided, that his Britannic majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs

fairs to ſettle there, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands, and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, on board veſſels which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſland reſtored as above, and which ſhall ſerve for that uſe only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: and for this purpoſe, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. But, as the liberty granted to his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their perſons, and their effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſly agreed, between his Britannic majeſty and his Catholic majeſty, that the number of Engliſh veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſland reſtored to Spain, ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only: all the effects belonging to the Engliſh being to be embarked at the ſame time: it has been further agreed, that his Catholic majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that, for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two Spaniſh clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing places, and ports of the ſaid iſland reſtored to Spain, and that the merchandize, which ſhall be found therein, ſhall be confiſcated.

XX. In conſequence of the reſtitution ſtipulated in the preceding article, his Catholic majeſty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannic majeſty, Florida, with fort St. Auguſtin, and the bay of Penſacola, as well as all that Spain poſſeſſes on the continent of North America, to the eaſt, or to the ſouth eaſt, of the river Miſſiſippi; and, in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries and lands, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights, acquired by treaties or otherwiſe, which the Catholic king, and the crown of Spain, have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants; ſo that the Catholic king cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid king, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form. His Britannic majeſty agrees, on his ſide, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries, above ceded, the liberty of the Catholic religion: he will conſequently give the moſt expreſs and the moſt effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rites of the Romiſh church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit: his Britannic majeſty further agrees, that the Spaniſh inhabitants, or others who had been ſubjects of the Catholic king in the ſaid countries, may retire, with all ſafety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may ſell their eſtates, provided it be to his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigrations, under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or criminal proſecutions: the term, limited

mited for this emigration, being fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty. It is moreover ſtipulated, that his Catholic majeſty ſhall have power to cauſe all the effects, that may belong to him, to be brought away, whether it be artillery, or other things.

XXI. The French and Spaniſh troops ſhall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and caſtles, of his moſt Faithful majeſty, in Europe, without any reſerve, which ſhall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and ſhall reſtore them in the ſame condition they were in when conquered, with the ſame artillery, ammunition, which were found there: and with regard to the Portugueſe colonies in America, Africa, or in the Eaſt Indies, if any change ſhall have happened there, all things ſhall be reſtored on the ſame footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties, which ſubſiſted between the courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the preſent war.

XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns, and places, that are reſtored, and thoſe belonging to the countries ceded, ſhall be, reſpectively and *bona fide*, delivered, or furniſhed at the ſame time, if poſſible, that poſſeſſion is taken, or, at lateſt, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, in whatever places the ſaid papers or documents may be found.

XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatſoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannic and moſt Faithful majeſties, as well as by thoſe of their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic majeſties, which are not included in the preſent treaty, either under the title of ceſſions, or under the title of reſtitutions, ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring any compenſation.

XXIV. As it is neceſſary to aſſign a fixed epoch for the reſtitutions, and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties; it is agreed, that the Britiſh and French troops ſhall compleat, before the 15th of March next, all that ſhall remain to be executed of the XIIth and XIIIth articles of the preliminaries, ſigned the 3d day of November laſt, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the empire, or elſewhere. The iſland of Belleiſle ſhall be evacuated ſix weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done. Guadaloupe, Deſirade, Maria Galante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done. Great Britain ſhall likewiſe, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done, enter into poſſeſſion of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great Britain, on the ſide of the river Miſſiſippi, as they are ſpecified in the VIIth article. The iſland of Goree ſhall be evacuated by Great Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; and the iſland of Minorca, by France, at the ſame epoch, or ſooner if it can be done: and according to the VIth article,

France ſhall likewiſe enter into poſſeſſion of the iſlands of St. Peter, and of Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. The factories in the Eaſt Indies ſhall be reſtored ſix months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done. The fortreſs of the Havanna, with all that has been conquered in the iſland of Cuba, ſhall be reſtored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done: and, at the ſame time, Great Britain ſhall enter into poſſeſſion of the country ceded by Spain, according to the XXth article. All the places and countries of his moſt Faithful majeſty, in Europe, ſhall be reſtored immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; and the Portugueſe colonies, which may have been conquered, ſhall be reſtored in the ſpace of three months in the Weſt Indies, and of ſix months in the Eaſt Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done. All the fortreſſes, the reſtitution whereof is ſtipulated above, ſhall be reſtored with the artillery and ammunition, which were found there at the time of the conqueſt. In conſequence whereof, the neceſſary orders ſhall be ſent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal paſſports for the ſhips that ſhall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty.

XXV. His Britannic majeſty, as elector of Brunſwic Lunenbourg, as well for himſelf, as for his heirs and ſucceſſors, and all the dominions and poſſeſſions of his ſaid majeſty in Germany, are included and guarantied by the preſent treaty of peace.

XXVI. Their ſacred Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, Catholic, and moſt Faithful majeſties, promiſe to obſerve, ſincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and ſettled in the preſent treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects; and the ſaid high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

XXVII. The ſolemn ratifications of the preſent treaty, expedited in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the ſpace of a month, or ſooner if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

In witneſs whereof, We the underwritten, their ambaſſadors extraordinary and miniſters plenipotentiary, have ſigned with our hand, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, the preſent definitive treaty, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.
(L. S.) CHOISEUL, Duc de Praſlin.
(L. S.) El Marq. de GRIMALDI.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

I. SOME of the titles made uſe of by the contracting powers, either in the full powers, and other acts, during the courſe of the negotiation, or in the preamble of the preſent treaty, not being generally acknowledged; it has been agreed,

agreed, that no prejudice ſhall ever reſult therefrom to any of the ſaid contracting parties, and that the titles, taken or omitted, on either ſide, on occaſion of the ſaid negotiation, and of the preſent treaty, ſhall not be cited, or quoted as a precedent.

II. It has been agreed and determined, that the French language, made uſe of in all the copies of the preſent treaty, ſhall not become an example, which may be alledged, or make a precedent of, or prejudice, in any manner, any of the contracting powers; and that they ſhall conform themſelves, for the future, to what has been obſerved, and ought to be obſerved, with regard to, and on the part of, powers who are uſed, and have a right, to give and to receive copies of like treaties in another language than French; the preſent treaty having ſtill the ſame force and effect, as if the aforeſaid cuſtom had been therein obſerved.

III. Though the king of Portugal has not ſigned the preſent definitive treaty, their Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, and Catholic majeſties, acknowledge, nevertheleſs, that his moſt Faithful majeſty is formally included therein as a contracting party; and as if he had expreſly ſigned the ſaid treaty: conſequently, their Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, and Catholic majeſties, reſpectively and conjointly, promiſe to his moſt Faithful majeſty, in the moſt expreſs and moſt binding manner, the execution of all and every the clauſes, contained in the ſaid treaty, on his act of acceſſion.

The preſent ſeparate articles ſhall have the ſame force as if they were inſerted in the treaty.

In witneſs whereof, We the underwritten ambaſſadors extraordinary, and miniſters plenipotentiary of their Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, and Catholic majeſties, have ſigned the preſent ſeparate articles, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.
(L. S.) CHOISEUL, Duc de Praſlin.
(L. S.) El Marq. de GRIMALDI.

Declaration of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's plenipotentiary, with regard to the debts due to the Canadians.

THE king of Great Britain having deſired that the payment of the letters of exchange and bills, which had been delivered to the Canadians for the neceſſaries furniſhed to the French troops, ſhould be ſecured, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, entirely diſpoſed to render to every one that juſtice which is legally due to them, has declared, and does declare, that the ſaid bills, and letters of exchange, ſhall be punctually paid, agreeably to a liquidation made in a convenient time, according to the diſtance of the places, and to what ſhall be poſſible; taking care, however, that the bills, and letters of exchange which the French ſubjects may have at the time of this declaration, be not confounded with the bills and letters of exchange, which are in the poſſeſſion of the new ſubjects of the king of Great Britain.

In witneſs whereof, We the underwritten miniſter of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, duly authorized for this purpoſe, have ſigned the

preſent declaration, and cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) CHOISEUL, Duc de Parſlin.

Declaration of his Britannic majeſty's ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, with regard to the limits of Bengal in the Eaſt Indies.

WE the underwritten ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the king of Great Britain in order to prevent all ſubject of diſpute on account of the limits of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal, as well as of the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, declare, in the name and by order of his ſaid Britannic majeſty, that the ſaid dominions of the Subah of Bengal ſhall be reputed not to extend farther than Yanaon excluſively, and that Yanaon ſhall be conſidered as included in the north part of the coaſt of Coromandel or Orixa.

In witneſs whereof, &c. We the underwritten miniſter plenipotentiary of his majeſty the king of Great Britain have ſigned the preſent declaration, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEEFORD, C. P. S.

Acceſſion of his moſt Faithful majeſty. In the name of the moſt holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. So be it.

BE it known to all thoſe to whom it ſhall, or may belong; The ambaſſadors and plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majeſty, of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and of his Catholic majeſty, having concluded and ſigned at Paris, the 10th of February of this year, a definitive treaty of peace, and ſeparate articles, the tenor of which is as follows.

(*Fiat inſertio*)

And the ſaid ambaſſadors and plenipotentiaries having in a friendly manner invited the ambaſſador and miniſter plenipotentiary of his moſt Faithful majeſty to accede thereto in the name of his ſaid majeſty; the underwritten miniſters plenipotentiary, viz. on the part of the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the Third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, duke of Brunſwic and Lunenbourg, arch-treaſurer and elector of the holy Roman empire, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord, John, duke and earl of Bedford, marquis of Taviſtock, &c. miniſter of ſtate of the king of Great Britain, lieutenant general of his forces, keeper of his privy ſeal, knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, and his ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and on the part of the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, Don Joſeph the Firſt, by the grace of God, king of Portugal and of the Algarves, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord, Martin de Mello and Caſtro, knight profeſſed of the order of Chriſt, of his moſt Faithful majeſty's council, and his ambaſſador and miniſter plenipotentiary to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; in vertue of their full powers, which they have communicated to each other, and of which copies ſhall be added at the end of the preſent act, have agreed upon what follows; viz. his moſt Faithful majeſty

jesty desiring most sincerely to concur in the speedy re-establishment of peace, accedes, in vertue of the present act, to the said definitive treaty and separate articles, as they are above transcribed, without any reserve or exception, in the firm confidence that every thing that is promised to his said majesty, will be *bona fide* fulfilled, declaring at the same time, and promising to fulfil, with equal fidelity, all the articles, clauses, and conditions, which concern him. On his side, his Britannic majesty accepts the present accession of his most Faithful majesty, and promises likewise to fulfil, without any reserve or exception, all the articles, clauses, and conditions, contained in the said definitive treaty and separate articles above inserted. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged in the space of one month, to be computed from this day, or sooner if it can be done.

In witness whereof, We, ambassadors and ministers plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, and of his most Faithful majesty, have signed the present act, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) Bedford, C. P. S.
(L. S.) De Mello & Castro.

Declaration of his most Faithful majesty's ambassador and minister plenipotentiary, with regard to the alternating with Great Britain and France.

WHEREAS on the conclusion of the negotiation of the definitive treaty, signed at Paris the 10th day of February, a difficulty arose as to the order of signing, which might have retarded the conclusion of the said treaty. We the underwritten, ambassador and minister plenipotentiary of his most Faithful majesty, declare, that the alternative observed, on the part of the king of Great Britain, and the most Christian king, with the most Faithful king, in the act of accession of the court of Portugal, was granted by their Britannic and most Christian majesties, solely with a view to facilitate the conclusion of the definitive treaty, and by that means, the more speedily to consolidate so important and so salutary a work; and that this complaisance of their Britannic and most Christian majesties shall not be made any precedent of for the future; the court of Portugal shall not alledge it as an example in their favour; shall derive therefrom no right, title, or pretension, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever.

In witness whereof, We, ambassador and minister plenipotentiary of his most Faithful majesty, duly authorized for this purpose, have signed the present declaration, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

Martin de Mello & Castro.
(L. S.)

The following preliminary articles and declaration were omitted in the definitive treaty, as the articles were already complied with, and the peace then agreed upon between the empress queen and the king of Poland on the one hand, and the king of Prussia on the other, rendered the declaration indifferent.

XIII. After the ratification of the preliminaries, France ſhall evacuate, as ſoon as it can be done, the fortreſſes of Cleves, Weſel, and Gueldres, and in general all the countries belonging to the king of Pruſſia; and, at the ſame time, the Britiſh and French armies ſhall evacuate all the countries which they occupy, in Weſtphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and in all the empire; and each ſhall retire into the dominions of their reſpective ſovereigns: and their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties further engage, and promiſe, not to furniſh any ſuccour, of any kind, to their reſpective allies, who ſhall continue engaged in the preſent war in Germany.

XIV. The towns of Oſtend and Nieuport ſhall be evacuated by his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's troops, immediately after the ſignature of the preſent preliminaries.

Declaration, ſigned at Fontainbleau, the 3d of November, 1762, by the French plenipotentiary.

HIS moſt Chriſtian majeſty declares, that in agreeing to the XIIIth article of the preliminaries, ſigned this day, he does not mean to renounce the right of acquitting his debts to his allies; and that the remittances made on his part, in order to acquit the arrears that may be due on the ſubſidies of preceding years, are not to be conſidered as an infraction of the ſaid article.

In witneſs whereof, I, the underwritten miniſter plenipotentiary of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, have ſigned the preſent declaration, and have cauſed the ſeal of my arms to be put thereto.

Done at Fontainbleau the 3d day of November, 1762.

CHOISEUL, Duc de Praſlin.
(L. S.)

The ſtipulations relative to Dunkirk and the Eaſt Indies, ſtood as follows in the preliminaries.

V. The town and port of Dunkirk ſhall be put into the ſtate fixed by the late treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and by former treaties: the cunette ſhall remain as it now is, provided that the Engliſh engineers, named by his Britannic majeſty, and received at Dunkirk by order of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, verify, that this cunette is only of uſe for the wholeſomeneſs of the air, and the health of the inhabitants.

X. In the Eaſt Indies, Great Britain ſhall reſtore tn France the ſeveral comptoirs which that crown had, on the coaſt of Coromandel, as well as on that of Malabar, and alſo in Bengal, at the commencement of hoſtilities between the two companies in the year 1749, in the condition in which they now are, on condition that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty renounces the acquiſitions which he has made on the coaſt of Coromandel, ſince the ſaid commencement of hoſtilities between the two companies in the year 1749.

And as to the limits of the Engliſh and French, and their Indian allies in theſe countries, they were not exactly marked out as they now are in the declaration annexed to the definitive treaty.

Theſe, with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's obliging himſelf, in the definitive treaty, to diſcharge the debts due by him to his Canadian ſubjects, form all the difference between ſaid treaty and the preliminaries.

By

By the KING.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS a definitive treaty of peace and friendſhip between us, the moſt Chriſtian king, and the king of Spain, to which the king of Portugal hath acceded, hath been concluded at Paris on the 10th day of this inſtant March; in conformity thereunto, we have thought fit hereby to command, that the ſame be publiſhed throughout all our dominions: And we do declare to all our loving ſubjects our will and pleaſure, that the ſaid treaty of peace and friendſhip be obſerved inviolably, as well by ſea and land, and in all places whatſoever; ſtrictly charging and commanding all our loving ſubjects to take notice hereof, and to conform themſelves thereunto accordingly.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 21ſt day of March, 1763, in the third year of our reign.

GOD ſave the KING.

The definitive treaty of peace between the empreſs queen and the king of Pruſſia, is in ſubſtance as follows.

ARTICLE I.

THERE ſhall be henceforth an inviolable and perpetual peace, and ſincere union, and perfect friendſhip, between the Apoſtolic empreſs queen on the one part, and the king of Pruſſia on the other, their heirs and ſucceſſors.

II. There ſhall be on both ſides an eternal oblivion, and a general amneſty of all hoſtilities, loſſes, damages, and wrongs, committed during the late troubles, by either party, of what nature ſoever; ſo that there ſhall be no farther mention made of them, nor any compenſation demanded, under any pretence, or upon any conſideration whatſoever. The reſpective ſubjects of each power ſhall never be moleſted upon that account, but ſhall fully enjoy this amneſty, and all its conſequences, notwithſtanding the avocatory letters which have been iſſued and publiſhed. All confiſcations ſhall be entirely taken off; and ſuch goods as have been confiſcated or ſequeſtered, ſhall be reſtored to the proprietors, who were in poſſeſſion of them before theſe laſt troubles.

III. Both parties renounce all claims on each other's dominions or territories (particularly the empreſs queen renounces all claim to thoſe which were ceded to the king of Pruſſia by the preliminary articles of Breſlau and the treaty of Berlin) and alſo all indemnification for damages ſuffered during the laſt war.

IV. All hoſtilities ſhall entirely ceaſe on both ſides, from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty of peace. For this end the neceſſary orders ſhall be immediately diſpatched to the armies and troops of the two high contracting parties, whereſoever they may be; and in caſe, through ignorance of what has been ſtipulated in this reſpect, any hoſtilities ſhall have been committed after the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty, they ſhall not be deemed to affect this treaty in any manner; and in this caſe, the men and effects, which may have been taken and carried away, ſhall be faithfully reſtored.

V. Her Apoſtolic majeſty, the empreſs queen of Hungary and Bo-

hemia, ſhall withdraw her troops from all the countries and ſtates of Germany, which are not under her dominion, within the ſpace of 21 days after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; and within the ſame term he ſhall cauſe to be entirely evacuated, and reſtored to his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, the county of Glatz, and, in general, all the ſtates, countries, towns, places, and fortreſſes, which his Pruſſian majeſty poſſeſſed before the preſent war in Silefia, or elſewhere, and which have been occupied by the troops of her Apoſtolic majeſty the empreſs queen of Hungary and Bohemia, or by thoſe of her friends and allies, during the courſe of the preſent war. The fortreſſes of Glatz, Weſel, and Gue'dres, ſhall be reſtored to his Pruſſian majeſty in the ſame ſtate, with regard to the fortifications in which they were, and with the artillery that was found therein when they were taken. His majeſty the king of Pruſſia ſhall withdraw, within the ſame ſpace of 21 days after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, his troops from all the countries and ſtates of Germany, which are not under his dominion; and he ſhall evacuate and reſtore, on his ſide, all the ſtates, countries, towns, places, and fortreſſes, of his majeſty the king of Poland elector of Saxony, agreeably to the treaty of peace, which has been concluded this ſame day between their majeſties the kings of Pruſſia and Poland; ſo that the reſtitution and evacuation of the provinces, towns, and fortreſſes reſpectively occupied, ſhall be made at one and the ſame time.

VI. The contributions and deliveries, of what nature ſoever they be, as well as all demands of recruits, pioneers, waggons, horſes, and in general, the things furniſhed upon account of war, ſhall ceaſe from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty, and every thing that ſhall be exacted, taken, or received, after this epoch, ſhall be reſtored punctually and without delay.

Each party ſhall renounce all arrears whatſoever of contributions and deliveries. The bills of exchange, or other written promiſes, which have been given on either ſide reſpecting theſe matters, ſhall be delared void and of none effect, and ſhall be reſtored gratis to thoſe who gave them. The hoſtages alſo, which have been taken or given, with regard to the ſame, ſhall be releaſed without ranſom: every thing above-mentioned ſhall take place immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty.

VII. All priſoners of war ſhall be reciprocally and faithfully reſtored, without ranſom, and without regard to their number, or military rank, on their paying however previouſly the debts which they ſhall have contracted during their captivity. Each party ſhall mutually renounce what has been furniſhed or advanced to them for their aſſiſtance and maintenance; and the ſame proceeding, in all reſpects, ſhall be obſerved with regard to the ſick and wounded immediately after their recovery. To this purpoſe, each party ſhall name generals or commiſſioners, who ſhall, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, proceed, in the places that ſhall be agreed upon, to the exchange of all the priſoners of war. Every thing that is ſtipulated in this

article

article ſhall equally take place with reſpect to the ſtates of the empire, in conſequence of the general ſtipulation contained in the XIXth article. But as his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, and the ſtates of the empire have themſelves ſubſiſted and maintained their reſpective priſoners of war, and as, upon this account, ſome individuals may have made advances, the high contracting parties do not mean to derogate, by the above ſtipulations, from the pretenſions of the ſaid individuals in this reſpect.

VIII. The ſubjects of either party forced to enter into the ſervice of the other, ſhall be diſcharged.

IX. The empreſs queen ſhall return all the deeds, writings, and letters belonging to the places reſtored to the king of Pruſſia.

X. The inhabitants of the county and city of Glatz ſhall be at liberty to remove with their effects, in two years, without paying any duty.

XI. The king of Pruſſia ſhall confirm the nomination made by the empreſs queen during the war to vacant benefices, and to places in the exciſe, in the duchies of Cleves and Gueldres.

XII. The preliminaries of Breſlau, June 11, 1742, the treaty of Berlin, July 28, 1742, the *recès* of the limits of 1742, the treaty of Dreſden, Dec. 28, 1745, where they are not derogated from by this treaty, are renewed and confirmed.

XIII. The two parties purpoſe to ſettle a treaty of commerce as ſoon as poſſible; and in the mean time will favour the commerce between their countries.

XIV. The Roman Catholic religion ſhall be preſerved in Sileſia, as by the treaty of Dreſden, and all other privileges of the ſubjects.

XV. The two contracting powers ſhall renew article IX. and the ſeparate article of the treaty of Berlin, relative to the debts on Sileſia.

XVI. The two powers mutually guaranty the whole of each other's dominions; thoſe belonging to the empreſs queen out of Germany excepted.

XVII. The king of Poland ſhall be comprehended in this treaty on the footing of his treaty of this day with the king of Pruſſia.

XVIII. The king of Pruſſia will renew his convention with the elector Palatine in 1741, relative to Juliers and Bergue.

XIX. The whole empire is compriſed in the ſtipulations of the IId. IVth, Vth, VIth, and VII articles. And by virtue thereof, all the princes and ſtates ſhall fully enjoy the effects of the ſaid ſtipulations. And whatſoever is therein ſtipulated and agreed on between her majeſty the empreſs queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, ſhall take place equally and reciprocally between their ſaid majeſties and all the princes and ſtates of the empire. The peace of Weſtphalia, and all the other conſtitutions of the empire, are likewiſe confirmed by the preſent treaty of peace.

Papers relating to the conqueſt of Martinico.

Articles of capitulation of the citadel of Fort Royal, in the iſland of Martinico, the 4th of February, 1762.

ARTICLE I.

THE commanding officer of the citadel ſhall march out at the head of the garriſon, compoſed of troops

troops detached from the marine, the royal grenadiers, cannoniers, bombardiers, and Swiſs; the different detachments of the militia and freebooters, and the other volunteers, with the honours of war, drums beating, lighted match, colours flying, two pieces of cannon, and three rounds of ammunition each.——The troops of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty in garriſon ſhall march out with drums beating, colours flying, and two pieces of cannon, two rounds of ammunition, and ſhall be embarked and ſent to France as ſoon as poſſible, at the expence of his Britannic majeſty. The militia, freebooters, and others belonging to the iſland, ſhall lay down their arms, and be priſoners of war, until the fate of it is determined.

II. The garriſon ſhall be ſent to the port of Rochfort in France, by the moſt ſhort and expeditious way, at the expence, and in the ſhips of his Britannic majeſty.——Anſwered in the firſt.

III. The ſaid garriſon ſhall be lodged and maintained in the town of Fort Royal, till their departure, at the expence of his Britannic majeſty.——They ſhall be maintained at the expence of his Britannic majeſty, and ſhall be embarked as in the firſt article.

IV. That it ſhall be lawful for the officers, Creoles, and others, to go into the iſland, and ſtay there as long as it ſhall be neceſſary to ſettle their affairs.——A reaſonable time will be allowed to the officers to ſettle their affairs, they behaving according to the rules of war.

V. That the officers and others, who have effects in the country, ſhall keep them.——Granted.

VI. That the officers ſhall take their ſervants along with them.——Granted.

VII. That the militia and other inhabitants, that now make part of the ſaid garriſon, may retire to their homes, with their ſervants likewiſe.——Anſwered in the firſt article.

VIII. That the volunteers of St. Vincent, who came here to the ſuccour of the place, ſhall be furniſhed with a boat and proviſions, to carry them home again, with their ſervants, arms, and baggage, as ſoon as poſſible.——To remain priſoners of war.

IX. That the inhabitants likewiſe ſhall be furniſhed with ſhallops, or boats, to carry them to the different quarters of this iſland.——Refuſed.

X. That the ſick and wounded ſhall be removed to the hoſpital of this city, to be there taken care of by our own ſurgeons, till they are perfectly recovered; and that the commiſſary of his Britannic majeſty ſhall take care to furniſh them with ſubſiſtence.——They ſhall be taken the ſame care of as our own, and may be attended by their ſurgeons.

XI. That the ſaid hoſpital ſhall take away with them their medicines, and all their utenſils and effects in general.——Granted.

XII. That the chaplain of the ſhall be permitted to adminiſter ſpiritual ſuccours to the ſick, as well as others of the troops, and publickly to bury the dead without moleſtation.——Granted.

XIII. That the ſaid ſick ſhall, after their recovery, follow the fortune of their reſpective corps, as well as thoſe who ſhall be actually in the hoſpitals without the town.——Granted.

XIV. That

XIV. That there shall be a general inventory taken by commissaries named by each party, of the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and all other effects within the place.—Granted.

XV. That the English prisoners detained in this citadel shall be exchanged for ours. Among others, M de Caponé, major of this citadel and island, shall be included in the exchange, to follow the fortune of the officers of the place.——Refused.

XVI. That the effects of the officers and men belonging to the royal grenadiers, which were left upon Morne Garnier, shall be restored to them.——It cannot be complied with, as it will be impossible to recover them.

XVII. That the armed free Negroes and Mulattoes, that entered into the citadel as attendants on the companies of militia, shall go out likewise with the said companies.—They shall remain prisoners of war, until the fate of the island is determined.

XVIII. That three days shall be granted for the evacuation of the place, at the end of which time, the gate shall be given up to the troops of his Britannic majesty, whilst the garrison shall march out.——The gate of the fort shall be given up to the troops of his Britannic majesty this evening at five o'clock, and the French garrison shall march out at nine to-morrow morning.

XIX. That before the capitulation is settled, the commanding officer of the place shall be permitted to communicate it to the general, and in the mean time there shall be a suspension of arms, and that all the works shall cease on both sides.——After the capitulation is signed, and the gate of the fort possessed by the British troops, the commandant shall be allowed to acquaint his general with it.

Robert Moncton.
De Lignery. G. B. Rodney.

Capitulation demanded by the inhabitants of the island of Martinico, represented by Messr. D. Alesso, knt. Seignior Desfragny La Pierre, captain of horse, and Feryre, captain of infantry of militia, furnished with full powers from nine quarters of this island.

To their excellencies Messrs. Monckton and Rodney, generals by land and sea of his Britannic majesty.

ARTICLE I.

THE inhabitants shall quit their posts with two field pieces, their arms, colours flying, drums beating, matches lighted, and shall have all the honours of war.——The inhabitants shall march out of all their garrisons and posts (none excepted) with their arms and colours flying, upon condition that they afterwards lay them down; and that all the forts, garrisons, posts, and batteries of cannon and mortars, with all arms, ammunition, and implements of war, be delivered to proper persons appointed to receive them.

II. The inhabitants of the islands of St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, who are come to the assistance of this island, shall have the liberty to retire with their arms and baggage, and shall be furnished with a vessel to carry them to their own islands, with their servants which they have brought

brought with them, as alſo with proviſion neceſſary for their voyage. ——They muſt remain priſoners of war, as thoſe of St. Vincent, in the capitulation of Fort Royal.

III. The inhabitants ſhall have free exerciſe of their religion, the prieſts, friars, and nuns, ſhall be preſerved in their cures and convents, and it ſhall be permitted to the ſuperiors of the order, to ſend for any of them from France, delivering their letter to his Britannic majeſty's governors.——Granted.

IV. They ſhall be ſtrictly neuter, and ſhall not be obliged to take arms againſt his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, nor even againſt any other power.——They become ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, and muſt take the oath of allegiance; but ſhall not be obliged to take arms againſt his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, until a peace may determine the fate of the iſland.

V. They ſhall preſerve their civil government, their laws, cuſtoms, and ordonnances; juſtice ſhall be adminiſtered by the ſame officers who are now in employment; and there ſhall be a regulation made for the interior police between the governor of his Britannic majeſty and the inhabitants; and in caſe that at the peace the iſland ſhould be ceded to the king of Great Britain, it ſhall be allowed to the inhabitants to preſerve their political government, and to accept that of Antigua or St. Chriſtopher's.——They become Britiſh ſubjects (as in the preceding article) but ſhall continue to be governed by their preſent laws, until his majeſty's pleaſure be known.

VI. The inhabitants, as alſo the religious orders of both ſexes, ſhall be maintained in the property of their effects moveable and immoveable, of what nature ſoever, and ſhall be preſerved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions; their free negroes and mulattoes ſhall have the entire enjoyment of their liberty.——Granted in regard to the religious orders: The inhabitants, being ſubjects of Great Britain, will enjoy their properties, and the ſame privileges as in the other his majeſty's Leeward iſlands.

VII. They ſhall not pay to his majeſty any other duties than thoſe which have been paid hitherto to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and the capitation of negroes on the ſame footing it is paid at preſent, without any other charges or impoſts; and the expences of juſtice, penſions to curates, and other occaſional expences, ſhall be paid by the domain of his Britannic majeſty, as they were by that of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.——Anſwered in the 6th article in what regards the inhabitants.

VIII. and IX. The priſoners taken, during the ſiege, ſhall be reſtored on both ſides; the free mulattoes, as well as the negroes, which ſhall have been taken, ſhall be reſtored as priſoners of war, and ſhall not be treated as ſlaves.—— The inhabitants and mulattoes, now priſoners, will become Britiſh ſubjects, upon the ſubmiſſion of the whole iſland, and will enjoy the benefit of it. The negroes which have been taken in arms are deemed ſlaves.

X. The ſubjects of Great Britain, who have taken refuge in the iſland for crimes, or condemned to puniſhments, ſhall have liberty of retiring.——Refuſed.

XI. No others than the inhabitants reſident in this iſland, ſhall, till

till the peace, poſſeſs any eſtates, either by acquiſition, agreement, or otherwiſe; but in caſe, at the peace, the country ſhall be ceded to the king of Great Britain, then it ſhall be permitted to the inhabitants who ſhall not be willing to become his ſubjects, to ſell their eſtates, moveables and immoveables, to whom they pleaſe, and retire where they ſhall think proper, in which caſe they ſhall be allowed convenient time.——All ſubjects of Great Britain may poſſeſs any lands or houſes by purchaſe. The remainder of this article granted, provided they ſell to Britiſh ſubjects.

XII. In caſe any exchanges ſhall be thought of at the peace, their moſt Chriſtian and Britannic majeſties are intreated to give the preference to this iſland.——This will depend upon his Britannic majeſty's pleaſure.

XIII. The inhabitants ſhall have liberty of retiring; we ſay, of ſend their children to France for their education; the wives of officers and others, out of the iſland, ſhall have liberty of retiring with their effects, and the number of ſervants ſuitable to their rank.——The liberty of ſending their children to France to be educated, depends upon the king's pleaſure. The reſt granted.

XIV. The government ſhall procure for the inhabitants the vent of their commodities, which ſhall be looked upon as national commodities, and of conſequence ſhall have entry in England.——Granted; the iſland producing nothing but what may be imported into England.

XV. The inhabitants ſhall not be obliged to find quarters for the troops, or to do any works on the fortifications.——The inhabitants muſt furniſh barracks or quarters for the king's troops in the ſeveral diſtricts of the iſland.

XVI. The widows and others, abſent by ſickneſs, who ſhall not have ſigned the capitulation, ſhall have a time fixed for doing it.——Granted, on condition that they ſign the capitulation in one month from this date.

XVII. Veſſels ſhall be granted to the freebooters and others who have no effects in this country, and are willing to leave it, to retire.——Granted, to go to France, but no where elſe.

XVIII. It ſhall be permitted to give freedom to negro and mulatto ſlaves, as a recompence for their good ſervices, according to cuſtom.——Granted to ſervants.

XIX. The inhabitants and merchants ſhall enjoy all their privileges of commerce, as the ſubjects of Great Britain.——Granted, ſo that it does not affect the privileges of particular companies eſtabliſhed in England, or the laws of the kingdom, which prohibit the carrying on trade in other than Britiſh bottoms.

XX. It ſhall always be permitted to the inhabitants, to continue to make white and clayed ſugar, as they have been uſed to.—Granted, they paying duty in proportion to their ſuperior value to the common quality of the Muſcovado ſugar.

XXI. The ſea veſſels, as well ſhips as boats or ſchooners, which are ſunk or afloat, and which have not been taken, ſhall remain to their owners.——Refuſed to all privateers and ſhips, trading to diſtant ports. Granted to ſuch as are employed in paſſing to and from the diff rent ports of the iſland.

XXII. They money which is now made uſe of, ſhall remain upon the ſame footing, without being

ing ſuſceptible either of augmentation or diminution.——Granted.

(D'Aleſſo.) (Lapiere.)
(I'feriere.) (Mauboix.)
(Dorienterſack for)
(Dorient Hubert, and)
(Dorient Campagne.)

Demanded, All archives and papers, which may be neceſſary or relative to the government of the iſland, to be faithfully given up. Leave is granted to the gentlemen of the iſland to keep neceſſary arms for the defence of their plantations.

ROBERT MONCTON.
G. B. RODNEY.

Settled, agreed, and cloſed by us the deputies repreſentative and bearers of the powers from the major part of the quarters compoſing this colony; in the city of Fort Royal, Martinico, this ſeventh day of February, 1762.

D'Aleſſo. I'feriere. Rob. Monckton.
Lapiere. G. B. Rodney.
Deputies.
(Dorienterſack)(Berland)(Mauboix)

Capitulation offered for the whole iſland of Martinico, on the part of M. le Vaſſor Delatouche, the governor general.

PReliminary article. A ſuſpenſion of arms ſhall be agreed upon for 15 days; at the expiration of which the following capitulation ſhall take place, if no ſuccour arrives.—Twenty-four hours will be allowed the general to accede to the terms offered, from the time Meſſrs. de Bournan and Delatouche ſhall be ſet on ſhore at St. Peter's; and, if accepted of, the troops of his Britannic majeſty ſhall be immediately put in poſſeſſion of ſuch forts and poſts as his Britannic majeſty's general ſhall think fit.

Art. I. All the forts and poſts of the iſland ſhall be evacuated by the troops of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, whether regular or militia, or independent companies of freebooters, or livery ſervants; they ſhall march out with four field pieces, their arms, two rounds per man, their enſigns or colours flying, drums beating, and all the honours of war; after which the ſaid forts and poſts ſhall be occupied by the troops of his Britannic majeſty.——The troops and inhabitants ſhall march out of all their garriſons and poſts with their arms, drums beating, colours flying, and the troops to have four pieces of cannon, with two rounds each, and two rounds per man, upon condition that the inhabitants afterwards lay down their arms; and that all the forts, garriſons, poſts and batteries of cannon, or mortars, with all arms, ammunition and implements of war, ſhall be delivered up to proper perſons appointed by us to receive them.

Art. II. Tranſport veſſels ſhall be provided at the expence of his Britannic majeſty, ſufficiently victualled, to carry to the Granades the above-mentioned regular troops, and their officers, and commanders, with the four pieces of cannon, arms, baggage, and, in general, all the effects of the ſaid officers and troops.——Granted, to France only.

Art. III. Mr. Rouille, governor of Martinico, the king's lieutenants of the ſaid iſland, the officers of the ſtaff, engineers and ſub-engineers, ſhall return to France in the veſſels, and at the charge of his Britannic majeſty.——Granted.

Art.

Art. IV. There ſhall in like manner be provided, at the charges of his Britannic majeſty, a veſſel, and the neceſſary victualling, to carry to the Granades M. le Vaſſor Delatouche, commandant-general for his moſt Chriſtian majeſty of the French Leeward iſlands in America, his lady, and all perſons with him, engaged in the king's ſervice, or belonging to his houſhold, and all their effects.——Granted, to France, the Granades being blocked up.

Art. V. M. de Rochemore, inſpector of the fortifications, and artillery in this iſland, ſhall, in like manner, be conveyed to the Granades, in the ſame ſhips with the perſons in his retinue engaged in ſervice of the king, their domeſtics, and their effects.——Granted, to France.

Art. VI. There ſhall be made by two commiſſaries, who ſhall be named for that purpoſe, one of each nation, an exact inventory of all the effects, which ſhall be found to belong to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty in the arſenals, in the magazines, upon the batteries, and in general of all the arms, utenſils and ammunitions of war, to be delivered up to the commanding officer of his Britannic majeſty.——Granted.

Art. VII. Merchandizes not being arms nor munitions of war, which may be found lodged in the ſaid magazines, or upon the ſaid batteries, ſhall not be made a part of the ſaid inventory, unleſs it be in order to their being reſtored to their true owners.——All military ſtores, and others, employed as ſuch, become his Britannic majeſty's.

Art. VIII. All the priſoners made during the ſiege, or at ſea, before the ſiege, of whatever nation and quality, ſhall be reſtored on either ſide; and thoſe made in the citadel, if they be troops, ſhall follow the fortune of the other troops; and, if inhabitants, they ſhall follow the fortune of the other inhabitants.—The troops, according to the cartel; the inhabitants will be releaſed upon the ſigning of this capitulation.

Art. IX. The free negroes and and mulattoes made priſoners of war, ſhall be treated as ſuch, and reſtored like the other priſoners, in order to their continuing to enjoy their liberty.——All negroes taken in arms are deemed ſlaves. The reſt granted.

Art. X. The Sieur Nadau Dutreil, de la Potterie, and Cornette, priſoners of ſtate, ſhall be likewiſe conducted at the expence, and in the ſhips, of his Britannic majeſty, to the iſland of the Granades, to be delivered into the hands of M. le Vaſſor Delatouche.—— Meſſieurs de la Potterie, and Cornette, ſhall be delivered up when taken, but M. Nadau having had our promiſe (immediately upon his being made priſoner) to procure him a reaſonable time to ſettle his affairs, he has three months from the date hereof for that purpoſe.

Art. XI. The iſland of Martinico ſhall remain in the hands of his Britannic majeſty, till ſuch time as its condition ſhall have been determined, by treaty made between the two powers, without the inhabitants being compelled, in any caſe, to take up arms, either againſt the king of France, or againſt his allies, or even againſt any other power.——They become ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, and muſt take the oath of allegiance; but ſhall not be obliged to take up arms againſt his moſt

Chriſtian majeſty, until a peace may determine the fate of the iſland.

XII. All the inhabitants of Martinico, either preſent or abſent, even thoſe that are engaged in his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's ſervice, as well as all religious houſes, and communities, ſhall be maintained and preſerved in the poſſeſſion and propriety of their real and perſonal eſtates, of their negroes, ſhipping, and generally of all their effects, whether the ſaid real and perſonal eſtates, and effects, be actually in Martinico, or in any other iſland; and the ſlaves, which have been taken from them, during the ſiege, ſhall be reſtored to them.——The inhabitants as well as the religious orders, will enjoy their properties; and, as they become Britiſh ſubjects, they will enjoy the ſame privileges as in his majeſty's other Leeward iſlands. In regard to the ſlaves, anſwered in the 9th article.

Art. XIII. That boats or other veſſels of Martinico, which are actually out at ſea, or in neutral ports, whether they are equipped for war or not, ſhall be permitted to return into the ports and roads of this iſland, upon the declaration to be made by the owners thereof, of their intending to ſend them immediate orders to return, and upon their giving perſonal ſecurity, that the ſaid veſſels ſhall make no attempt upon any Engliſh ſhip: in conſideration of which declaration, paſſports ſhall be granted them, that they may return in all ſecurity. ——Refuſed, as foreign to the capitulation; but any applications, which may afterwards be made on this head, ſhall be conſidered according to the rules of juſtice, and of war.

Art. XIV. The inhabitants of Martinico ſhall freely and publicly exerciſe their religion; the prieſts, friars, and nuns, ſhall be maintained in the public exerciſe of their functions, and in the enjoyment of their privileges, prerogatives, and exemptions.—Granted.

Art. XV. The ſuperior, as was as inferior judges, ſhall likewiſe be maintained in their functions, privileges, and prerogatives; they ſhall continue to adminiſter juſtice to the inhabitants of this iſland, according to the laws, ordinances, cuſtoms, and uſes which have been followed hitherto: no foreigner ſhall be allowed to ſit in the council as a judge. But if any place in the magiſtracy becomes vacant, the ſuperior council of Martinico ſhall diſpoſe of it proviſionally only; and the perſon, choſen by them, ſhall perform the duties of it, till the one or the other of the two courts ſhall otherwiſe ſettle it, after that the condition of Martinico ſhall have been fixed, by a treaty between them.——They become Britiſh ſubjects, but ſhall continue to be governed by their preſent laws, until his majeſty's pleaſure be known.

Art. XVI. M. le Baron d'Huart, commanding the troops, and militia of this iſland, as well as M. de Bouran, major-general, ſhall be conveyed to the Granades, in the ſame veſſel, in which the royal grenadiers are to be embarked, together with their domeſtics and effects, as well as thoſe of all the officers of the ſame corps. The ſaid officers ſhall have leave to collect together the effects which are diſperſed in divers parts of the iſland; and the neceſſary time for the recovery of them,

them, ſhall be allowed them. Orders ſhall be given to the inhabitants, that are indebted to the officers of this corps, to pay them before their departure. The officers ſhall likewiſe be bound to diſcharge the debts they have contracted in the iſland.—They ſhall be ſent to France. The reſt granted.

Art. XVII. All the land and ſea officers, who find themſelves in the iſland, either on actual duty, or with leave, ſhall have a year's time to ſettle all the affairs they may have there.——A proper time will be allowed to ſuch as have eſtates upon the iſland, with the uſual reſtrictions; and ſuch as ſhall have M. Delatouche, the governor general, his leave.

Art. XVIII. The nobility ſhall continue to enjoy all the privileges, and exemptions, which have always been granted them.——Granted; ſo that it is not inconſiſtent with the Britiſh laws.

Art. XIX. The ſlaves that have been made free during the ſiege, or to whom their freedom has been promiſed, ſhall be reputed and declared free, and they ſhall peaceably enjoy their ſtate of freedom.—Granted.

Art. XX. The duties of the poll-tax, thoſe of importation and exportation, and in general all the duties eſtabliſhed in this iſland, ſhall continue to be paid for the future, on the ſame footing as heretofore.——Anſwered in the 15th article.

Art. XXI. As it is ſuitable to the glory and intereſt of every prince whatſoever to make it publickly known, that he honours with a ſpecial protection, all that bears the character of zeal, love, and loyalty for its king, it has been agreed, that the things furniſhed to the colony on occaſion of the ſiege, either before or during the ſame, ſuch as proviſions, utenſils, ammunition, arms, or money, ſhall continue to be conſidered as debts of the colony, juſt as they were, and ought to be, in its former ſtate; conſequently, that the amounts of theſe ſupplies ſhall not ceaſe to be reputed as debts of the colony itſelf, and which it muſt ſatisfy, into whatſoever hands it may paſs, through the fortune of arms; that conſidering the nature and quality of theſe debts, it is of his Britannic majeſty's dignity to grant them all manner of protection; conſequently, that they ſhall be paid out of the firſt funds that ſhall ariſe, as well from the poll-tax, as from the duties of importation and exportation on merchandizes that are liable to them. To which purpoſe, the ſtate of theſe debts ſhall be ſettled, and verified by M. Delareviere, intendant of the American Leeward iſlands.——Will be ſettled by the generals on both ſides, being foreign to the capitulation.

Art. XXII. In virtue of the ſame principle, and conſidering the neceſſity of ſpeedily bringing proviſions into this colony, it has likewiſe been agreed on, that ſuch merchants of the town of St. Pierre, as by orders from the intendant M. Delareviere, have entered into meaſures and engagements, to bring over hither proviſions from the neutral iſlands, ſhall be permitted to fulfil their engagements, as well to ſave them from the damage they would ſuffer by it, as to procure to this iſland a more ſpeedy ſupply: conſequently, two months ſhall be granted them, from the day of ſigning

theſe preſents, to compleat their undertakings. But to avoid all abuſes in this reſpect, M. Delareviere ſhall give a note of the nature and quantity of proviſions, which he had ordered to be procured from the neutrals: and as he had promiſed and granted an exemption of all duties on this importation, the ſaid exemption ſhall take place in the ſame manner as it was promiſed, and as it is actually practiſed; being a profit in which the colony and the merchant have both their ſhare.—All ſupplies whatever, that were engaged to be thrown into this iſland by any neutral power, for the ſupport of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's troops, and colony, will be deemed legal prize, if taken by his Britannic majeſty's ſhips; and all engagements with neutral powers for ſuch a ſupply, made before the reduction of the iſland, being void, no commerce for the future can be carried on but in Britiſh bottoms.

Art. XXIII. M. le Vaſſor Delatouche ſhall be allowed five of the inhabitants, whom he ſhall cauſe to be put on board ſuch of the veſſels as are to tranſport his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's troops. His reaſons for this demand, are, that it imports all the powers not to grant any protection to any one who breaks through the allegiance and fidelity a ſubject owes to his king.——Cannot be allowed, as we have already granted them his Britannic majeſty's protection.

Art. XXIV. M. Delareviere, intendant, and M. Guignard, commiſſary comptroller of the marine, in this iſland, ſhall be allowed time ſufficient to ſettle all the parts of their reſpective adminiſtration, and to do whatever is abſolutely neceſſary in that reſpect. A ſhip, with proviſions, ſhall afterwards be furniſhed, at the expence of his Britannic majeſty, in order to convey to the Granades the ſaid intendant, his wife, children, ſecretaries, and ſervants, with all their effects: the ſaid commiſſary comptroller of the marine ſhall go on board the ſame ſhip, and ſhall be conveyed to the ſame iſland.——Granted; afterwards to be ſent to France.

Art. XXV. The perſons employed in the adminiſtration of the domaine of the marine, the claſſes and the finances of this iſland, who ſhall be willing to return to France, ſhall be tranſported thither, with their effects, in the veſſels, and at the charge of his Britannic majeſty.——Granted.

Art. XXVI. The public records ſhall be again forthwith depoſited in their proper places, and the governor for his Britannic majeſty ſhall grant all protection in this reſpect.——They muſt be delivered to ſuch perſons as the general ſhall appoint to receive them.

Art. XXVII. With regard to any papers of accounts, they ſhall be again put into the hands of the proper accomptants, that they may be enabled to proceed to the rendering of their accounts, and to vouch them by ſuch pieces as are neceſſary for their diſcharge.——Granted.

Art. XXVIII. The inhabitants, merchants, and other private perſons, reſident or not, ſhall have leave to go to St. Domingo or Louiſiana, with their negroes and effects in cartel ſhips, at their own expence.——Granted.

Art. XXIX. If any of the grenadier ſoldiers ſhall have a mind to remain in the iſland, or to make their eſcape, a protection and guard

ſhall

shall be granted to prevent their deserting, and what remains of the said grenadiers shall be embarked compleat.——Granted, except in particular cases.

Art. XXX. The merchant-ships belonging to the French traders in Europe, which are at this time in the harbours and roads of this island, shall be preserved to their true proprietors, with the liberty of selling them, or of clearing them for France in ballast.——Refused to all privateers and ships trading to distant ports. Granted to such as trade to and from the different ports of this island.

At Martinico, February 13, 1762.

LE VASSOR DELATOUCHE.

Done at Fort Royal, in the island of Martinico, this 13*th day of February*, 1762.

ROBT. MONCKTON.
G. B. RODNEY.

Articles of capitulation agreed upon between Sir George Pocock, knight of the Bath, and the Earl of Albemarle; and the Marquis of Real Transporte, commander in chief of the squadron of his Catholic majesty, and Don Juan de Prado, governor of the Havannah, for the surrender of the city, and all its dependencies, with all the Spanish ships in the harbour.

Preliminary article.

FORT la Punta, and the Land Gate shall be delivered to his Britannic majesty's troops to-morrow morning, the 13th of August, at 12 o'clock; at which time it is expected the following articles of capitulation shall be signed and ratified.

Art. I. The garrison, consisting of the infantry, artillery-men, and dragoons, the different militia of the towns in this island, shall march out of the Land Gate the 20th inst. provided in that time no relief arrives, so as to raise the siege with all the military honours, arms shouldered, drums beating, colours flying, six field-pieces with 12 pounders each, and as many rounds to each soldier; the regiments shall take out with them the military chests. And the governor shall have six covered waggons which are not to be examined upon any pretence whatsoever.——The garrison, consisting of the regular troops, the dragoons dismounted, (leaving their horses for his Britannic majesty's service) in consideration of the gallant defence of the Moro fort and the Havannah, shall march out of the Punta Gate with two pieces of cannon, and six rounds for each gun, and the same number for each soldier, drums beating, colours flying, and all the honours of war. The military chest refused. The governor will be allowed as many boats as are necessary to transport his baggage and effects on board the ships destined for him. The military without the town, as well as those within, to deliver up their arms to the British commissary.

II. That the garrison shall be allowed to take out of this city all their effects, and transport themselves with it to another part of this island; for which purpose shall be allowed and permitted to come freely into the said city, all the beasts of burthen, and carts. And this article is to extend to, and include

clude all other officers belonging to his majesty employed in the administration of justice, intendant of marine, commissary of war, and treasurer-general, who are to have the choice of going out of the city. ——The officers of the above garrison will be allowed to carry with them all their private effects and money, on board the ships which will be provided at the expence of his Britannic majesty, to transport the garrison to the nearest part of Old Spain. The intendant of marine, commissary of war, and those employed in the management of his Catholic majesty's revenues, as soon as they have delivered over their accounts, shall have liberty to leave the island if they desire it.

III. That the marines, and the ships crews, in this harbour, who have served on shore, shall obtain, on their going out, the same honours as the garrison of the city; and shall proceed with those honours on board the said ships, that they may, together with their commander in chief, Don Gulierres de Hivia, marquis del Real Transporte, sail in the said ships, as soon as the port is open, with all their effects and money, in order to proceed to some other port belonging to the dominions of Spain, in doing which they will oblige themselves, that during their navigation to their designed port, they shall not attack any squadron, or single ship, belonging to his Britannic majesty, or his allies, nor merchant vessels belonging to his subjects; and likewise they are not to be attacked by any squadron, or single ship, belonging to his Britannic majesty, or any of his allies. Likewise liberty shall be given to go on board the said ships, the afore-mentioned troops, and ships crews, with their officers, and others belonging to them, together with the effects and monies that are in the city, belonging to his Catholic majesty, with the equipages, and effects in specie of gold or silver, belonging to the said marquis, or others employed in the different marine offices; granting them likewise every thing that should be necessary to protect them and their ships, as well as in the fitting them out from his Catholic majesty's stores, and whatever more should be wanted, at the current prices of the country. ——The marquis del Real Transporte, with his officers, sailors, and marines, as making part of the garrison, shall be treated in every respect as the governor and regular troops. All ships in the Havannah, and all money and effects whatever, belonging to his Catholic majesty, shall be delivered up to such persons as shall be appointed by sir George Pocock, and the earl of Albemarle,

IV. That all the artillery, stores, and ammunition and provisions belonging to his Catholic majesty, (except such as are well known to belong to the squadron) an exact inventory shall be made thereof, by the assistance of four persons, subjects of the king of Spain, which the governor shall appoint, and by four others, subjects to his Britannic majesty, who are to be elected by his excellency the earl of Albemarle, who shall keep possession of all till both sovereigns come to another determination. —— All the artillery and all kinds of arms, ammunition and naval stores, without reserve,

ſhall be delivered up to ſuch perſons as ſhall be appointed to receive them by ſir George Pocock and the earl of Albemarle.

V. That as by mere accident were reſiding in this city his excellency the count de Superunda, lieut. gen. of his Catholic majeſty's forces, and late viceroy of Peru, and Don Diego Tavares, major-general of his majeſty's forces, and late governor of Carthagena, both here in their return to Spain: theſe gentlemen and their families ſhall be comprehended in this capitulation, allowing them to poſſeſs their equipages, and other effects belonging to them; and to grant them veſſels to tranſport them to Spain.——The count Superunda, lieut. gen. of his Catholic majeſty's forces, and late viceroy of the kingdom of Peru, and Don Diego Tavares, knight of the order of St. James, major general, and late governor of Carthagena, ſhall be conveyed to Old Spain in the moſt commodious ſhips that can be provided, ſuitable to the rank, dignity, and character of thoſe noble perſons, with all their effects, money, and attendants, at ſuch time as may be moſt convenient to themſelves.

VI. That the Catholic Apoſtolic Roman religion ſhall be maintained and preſerved in the ſame manner and form as it has hitherto been in all the dominions belonging to his Catholic majeſty, without putting the leaſt reſtraint to any of their public worſhips; and the different orders, univerſities, and colleges, ſhall remain in the full enjoyment of all their rights, in the ſame manner as they have hitherto enjoyed.——Granted.

VII. That the biſhop of Cuba is to enjoy all the privileges and prerogatives that as ſuch belong to him, with the nomination of curates, and other eccleſiaſtical miniſters, with the annexed juriſdiction over them, as he has had hitherto, with the freedom to receive all the rents and revenues within his biſhopric; which privileges ſhall extend likewiſe to all other eccleſiaſtics in thoſe ſhares belonging to them.——Granted, with a reſerve, that in the appointment of prieſts, and other eccleſiaſtical officers, it ſhall be with the approbation of the Britiſh governor.

VIII. That within the monaſteries of religious men and women, ſhall be obſerved and kept the ſame interior government as hitherto, without any novelty or variation.——Granted.

IX. That in the ſame manner as the effects and monies in this city, belonging to his Catholic majeſty, is to be ſhipped on board of the ſquadron in this harbour, to tranſport the ſame to Spain, all the tobacco which likewiſe belongs to his Catholic majeſty. And it ſhall be permitted, even in time of war, to his Catholic majeſty, to purchaſe tobacco on the ſaid iſland, in the diſtrict ſubject to the king of Great Britain, at the eſtabliſhed prices, and the free exportation of the ſame to Spain in Spaniſh or foreign veſſels; and for which purpoſe, and receiving and keeping, and curing the ſame, ſhall be kept, and poſſeſſed the ware-houſes, with all other buildings, which are deſtined for that purpoſe; and likewiſe ſhall be allowed and maintained here, all ſuch officers as ſhould be neceſſary to manage the ſame.——Refuſed.

X. That in conſideration that this port is ſituated by nature for the relief of thoſe who navigate in

thoſe parts of Spaniſh and Britiſh America, that this port ſhall be reputed and allowed to be neutral to the ſubjects of his Catholic majeſty, who are to be admitted in and out freely, to take in ſuch refreſhments as they may be in need of, as well as repairing their veſſels, paying the current prices for every thing, and that they are not to be inſulted nor interrupted in their navigation by any veſſels belonging to his Britannic majeſty, or his ſubjects or allies, from the Capes Catoche, on the coaſt of Campeche, and that of St. Antonio, to the weſtward of this iſland; nor from the Tortuga bank to this port; and from here till they get into the latitude of 33 degrees North, till both their majeſties agree to the contrary.——Refuſed.

XI. That all the inhabitants, Europeans, and Creoles in this city, ſhall be left in the free poſſeſſion and management of all their offices and employments which they have by purchaſe, as well as of their eſtates, and all other effects whatever, without being obliged to account on any other terms than thoſe on which they did to his Catholic majeſty.——Granted. And they ſhall be allowed to continue in their offices of property as long as they conduct themſelves properly.

XII. That the ſaid offices ſhall preſerve and keep the rights and privileges which they have hitherto enjoyed, and they ſhall be governed in his Britannic majeſty's name, under the ſame laws and adminiſtration of juſtice, and under ſuch conditions as they have done hitherto in the dominion of Spain, in every particular, appointing their judges and officers of juſtice agreeable to their uſual cuſtom.——Granted.

XIII. That to any of the aforeſaid inhabitants of this city who ſhould not chuſe to ſtay, it ſhall be permitted them to take out their property and riches in ſuch ſpecie as ſhould be moſt convenient to them, and to diſpoſe of their eſtates, or to leave them under the adminiſtration of others, and to tranſport themſelves with them, to ſuch of his Catholic majeſty's dominions as they ſhould chuſe, granting them four years to execute the ſame, and veſſels to tranſport them, either upon purchaſe, or on freight, with the neceſſary paſſports, and authority to bear arms againſt the Moors and Turks, upon this expreſs condition, that they ſhall not uſe them againſt his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, or his allies, who are not to inſult them, nor abandon them; and that this and the two foregoing articles, are to comprehend and admit to be included all his Catholic majeſty's miniſters and officers, as well civil, as marine and military, who are married and eſtabliſhed with families and eſtates in this city, in order that they may obtain the ſame privileges as the other inhabitants.——The inhabitants will be allowed to diſpoſe of, and remove their effects to any part of the king of Spain's dominions in veſſels at their own expence, for which they will have proper paſſports. It is underſtood that ſuch officers as have property in this iſland, ſhall have the ſame indulgence allowed to the reſt of the inhabitants.

XIV. That to theſe people no ill conſequence ſhall ariſe on account of having taken up arms, oweing to their fidelity, and their being enliſted in the militia, on account

count of the neceſſity of war; neither ſhall the Engliſh troops be permitted to plunder; but, on the contrary, they ſhall compleatly enjoy their rights and prerogatives as other ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, allowing them to return without the leaſt hindrance or impediment from the country into the city, with all their families, equipages, and effects, as they went out of the city on account of this invaſion, and who are to be comprehended in the preſent articles; and that neither of them ſhall be incommoded with having troops quartered in their houſes, but that they ſhall be lodged in particular quarters, as it has been practiſed during the Spaniſh government.—Granted. Except that in caſes of neceſſity, quartering the troops muſt be left to the direction of the governor. All the king's ſlaves are to be delivered up to the perſons appointed to receive them.

XV. That the effects detained in this city, belonging to the merchants at Cadiz, which have arrived here in the different regiſter ſhips, and in which are intereſted all the European nations, a ſufficient paſſport ſhall be granted to the ſupercargoes thereof, that they may freely remit the ſame with the regiſter ſhips, without running the riſque of being inſulted in their paſſage.—Refuſed.

XVI. That thoſe civil, or other officers, who have had charge of the management of the adminiſtration and diſtribution of the royal treaſure, or any other affair of a peculiar nature from his Catholic majeſty, they are to be left with the free uſe of all thoſe papers which concern the diſcharge of their duty, with free liberty to carry them to Spain for that purpoſe; and the ſame ſhall be underſtood with the managers of the royal company eſtabliſhed in this city.—All public papers to be delivered to the ſecretaries of the admiral and general for inſpection, which will be returned to his Catholic majeſty's officers, if not found neceſſary for the government of the iſland.

XVII. That the public records are to remain in cuſtody of thoſe officers who poſſeſs them, without permitting any of the papers to be taken away, for fear of their being miſlaid.——Anſwered in the foregoing article.

XVIII. That the officers and ſoldiers who are ſick in the hoſpital, ſhall be treated in the ſame manner as the garriſon, and after their recovery they ſhall be granted horſes or veſſels to tranſport themſelves where the reſt of the garriſon goes, with every thing neceſſary for their ſecurity and ſubſiſtence during their voyage; and before which they ſhall be provided with ſuch proviſions and medicines as ſhall be demanded by the hoſpital keepers and ſurgeons thereof; and all others under them, who are included in this capitulation, are to ſtay or go as they ſhall prefer.——Granted. The governor leaving proper commiſſaries to furniſh them with proviſions, ſurgeons, medicines, and neceſſaries, at the expence of his Catholic majeſty, while they remain in the hoſpital.

XIX. That all the priſoners made on both ſides, ſince the 6th of June, when the Engliſh ſquadron appeared before this harbour, ſhall be returned reciprocally, and without any ranſom, within the term of two months,

months, for those who were sent away from the city to other towns in this island, which was done for want of proper places of security here, or before, if they can arrive. ——This article cannot be concluded upon, till the British prisoners are delivered up.

XX. That as soon as the articles of this capitulation are agreed upon, and hostages given on each side for the performance thereof, the Land Gate shall be delivered into the possession of his Britannic majesty's troops, that they may post a guard there; and the garrison shall have one themselves, until the place is evacuated, when the earl of Albemarle will be pleased to send some soldiers as a safe-guard to the churches, convents, and treasuries, and all other places of consequence. ——The number of safe-guards required for the security of the churches, convents, and other places, shall be granted. The rest of the article is answered in the preliminary article.

XXI. That it shall be allowed to the governor and commander in chief of this squadron, to dispatch a packet-boat with advice to his Catholic majesty, as well as to other people who have a right to the same advice, to which vessel there shall be granted a safe and secure passport for the voyage.—— As the troops are to be sent to Old Spain, a packet is unnecessary.

XXII. That the troops of the Punta castle shall have the same honours as the garrison of the town, and that they shall march out by one of the most practicable breaches. ——Granted.

XXIII. That the capitulation is to be understood literally, and without any interpretation on any pretext whatever, of making reprisals on account of not having complied with the foregoing.

ALBEMARLE. G. POCOCK.
'E. Marq. del REAL TRANSPORTE.
JUAN DE PRADO.

Head-quarters near the Havannah, 12th August 1762.

Papers relating to the recovery of St. John's in Newfoundland, from the French.

Colonel Amherst's summons to the governor of St. John's fort.

Camp before St. John's,
SIR, Sept. 16, 1762.

HUmanity directs me to acquaint you of my firm intentions.

I know the miserable state your garrison is left in, and am fully informed of your design of blowing up the fort on quitting it; but have a care; for I have taken measures effectually to cut off your retreat: and so sure as a match is put to the train, every man of the garrison shall be put to the sword.

I must have immediate possession of the fort, in the state it now is, or expect the consequences.

I give you half an hour to think of it. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

WM. AMHERST.

To the officer commanding at St. John's.

Letter from the count d'Haussonville to lieut. col. Amherst; dated at St. John's, Sept. 16, 1762.

WITH regard to the conduct that I shall hold, you may, sir, be misinformed. I wait for your troops and your cannon; and nothing

thing shall determine me to surrender the fort, unless you shall have totally destroyed it, and that I shall have no more powder to fire. I have the honour to be, sir, your most humble, and most obedient servant,

The count D'HAUSSONVILLE.

Count d'Haussonville to lieut. col. Amherst.

SIR,

UNDER the uncertainty of the succours which I may receive either from France or its allies, and the fort being entire, and in a condition for a long defence, I am resolved to defend myself to the last extremity. The capitulation which they may think proper to grant me will determine me to surrender the place to you, in order to prevent the effusion of blood of the men who defend it.

Whatever resolution you come to, there is one left to me, which would hurt the interests of the sovereign you serve. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant, *Count* D'HAUSSONVILLE.

Fort St. John's, Sept. 18, 1762.

Camp before St. John's,
SIR, Sept. 18, 1762.

I Have just had the honour of your letter. His Britannic majesty's fleet and army co-operating here, will not give any other terms to the garrison of St. John's than their surrendering prisoners of war.

I don't thirst after the blood of the garrison; but you must determine quickly, or expect the consequences; for this is my final determination. I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

WM. AMHERST.

To count d'Haussonville.

Letter from count d'Haussonville to col. Amherst, dated at St. John's, Sept. 18, 1762.

I Have received, sir, your letter, which you did me the honour to write to me.

I am as averse as you to the effusion of blood. I consent to surrender the fort in a good condition, as I have already acquainted you, if the demands, which I enclose herewith, are granted to my troops. I have the honour to be, sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

Le compte D'HAUSSONVILLE.

ARTICLES *of* CAPITULATION.

Demands of the garrison of St. John, and, in general, of the troops that are in it.

The French troops shall surrender prisoners of war.—Agreed to.

The officers and subaltern officers shall keep their arms to preserve good order among their troops.—Agreed to.

Good ships shall be granted to carry the officers, grenadiers, and private men, either wounded, or not, to France, in the space of one month, on the coast of Brittany.—Agreed to. Lord Colville will, of course, embark them as soon as he possibly can.

The goods and effects of both the officers and soldiers shall be preserved.—His Britannic majesty's troops never pillage.

The gate will be taken possession of this afternoon, and the garrison will lay down their arms.

This

This is to be signed by Lord Colville, but will remain at present, as afterwards, in full force.

Signed, WM. AMHERST.
Le compte D'HAUSSONVILLE.

Camp before St. John's,
Sept. 18, 1762.

The French troops that served in Cana, being desirous of erecting a monument in honour of Montcalm their general, who fell in the action at Quebec, when we also lost the brave Wolfe, a French colonel wrote to the academy of Belles Lettres *for an epitaph, to be placed over Montcalm's tomb, in a church in that city; which occasioned the following letter from M. De Bougainville, member of the academy, to Mr. Pitt.*

SIR,

THE honours paid, under your ministry, to Mr. Wolfe, assure me, that you will not disapprove of the grateful endeavours of the French troops, to perpetuate the memory of the marquis de Montcalm. The body of this general, who was honoured by the regret of your nation, is interred in Quebec. I have the honour to send you an epitaph made for him by the academy of inscriptions: I beg the favour of you, sir, that you will be pleased to examine it, and, if not improper, obtain leave for me to send it to Quebec, engraved on marble, and to be placed on the marquis de Montcalm's tomb. Should such leave be granted, may I presume, sir, that you will be so good as to inform me of it, and, at the same time, to send me a passport, that the marble, with the epitaph engraved on it, may be received into an English ship, and Mr. Murray, governor of Quebec, allow it to be placed in the Ursuline church. You will be pleased, sir, to pardon me for this intrusion on your important occupations; but endeavouring to immortalize illustrious men and eminent patriots, is doing honour to yourself.

I am with respect, &c.
DE BOUGAINVILLE.

Mr. Pitt's answer.

SIR,

IT is a real satisfaction to me, to send you the king's consent on a subject so affecting, as the epitaph composed by the academy of inscriptions, at Paris, for the marquis de Montcalm, and which, it is desired, may be sent to Quebec, engraved on marble, to be placed on the tomb of that illustrious soldier: It is perfectly beautiful; and the desire of the French troops, which served in Canada, to pay such a tribute to the memory of their general, whom they saw expire at their head, in a manner worthy of them and himself, is truly noble and praiseworthy.

I shall take a pleasure, sir, in in facilitating, every way, such amiable intentions; and on notice of the measures taken for shipping this marble, I will not fail immediately to transmit you the passport you desire, and send directions to the governor of Quebec for its reception.

I withal beg of you, sir, to be persuaded of my just sensibility of that so obliging part of the letter with which you have honoured me relating to myself, and to believe that I embrace as a happiness, the opportunity of manifesting the esteem and particular regard with which I have the honour to be, &c.

London, April 10, 1761. W. PITT.

The EPITAPH was as follows:

Utroque in urbe æternum victurus
Ludovicus Josephus de MONTCALM GOZON,
Marchio sancti Verani, Baro Gabriaci,
Ordinis sancti Ludovici Commendator,
Legatus Generalis Exercituum Gallicorum;
Egregius et Civis & Miles,
Nullius rei appetens præterquam veræ laudis,
Ingenio felici, & literis exculto;
Omnes Militiæ gradus per continua decora emensus,
Omnium Belli Artium, temporum, discriminum gnarus,
In Italia, in Bohemia, in Germania
Dux industrius.
Mandata sibi ita semper gerens ut majoribus par haberetur.
Jam clarus periculis
Ad tutandam Canadensem Provinciam missus,
Parva militum manu Hostium copias non semel repulit,
Propugnacula cepit viris armisque instructissima.
Algoris, inediæ, vigiliarum, laboris patiens,
Suis unice prospiciens, immemor sui,
Hostis acer, Victor mansuetus.
Fortunam virtute, virium inopiam peritia & celeritate compensavit;
Imminens Coloniæ fatum & consilio & manu per quadriennium sustinuit,
Tandem ingentem Exercitum Duce strenuo & audaci,
Classemque omni bellorum mole gravem,
Multiplici prudentia diu ludificatus,
Vi pertractus ad dimicandum,
In prima acie, in primo conflictu vulneratus,
Religioni quam semper coluerat innitens,
Magno suorum desiderio, nec sine hostium mœrore,
Extinctus est
Die XIV. Sept. A. D. M DCC LIX. ætat. XLVIII.
Mortales optimi ducis exuvias in excavata humo
Quam globus bellicus decidens dissilienſque deforderat
Galli lugentes deposuerunt,
Et generosæ hostium fidei commendarunt.

TRANSLATION.

Here lieth,
In either hemisphere to live for ever,
LEWIS JOSEPH DE MONTCALM GOZON,
Marquis of St. Veran, baron of Gabriac,
Commendatory of the order of St. Lewis,
Lieutenant-general of the French army;
Not less an excellent citizen than soldier,
Who knew no desire but that of true glory;
Happy in a natural genius, improved by literature,
Having gone through the several steps of military honours
With uninterrupted lustre,
Skill'd in all the arts of war,

The

The juncture of times, and the criſis of dangers,
In Italy, in Bohemia, in Germany,
An indefatigable general.
He ſo diſcharged his important truſts,
That he ſeemed always equal to ſtill greater.
At length, grown bright with perils,
Sent to ſecure the province of Canada,
With a handful of men
He more than once repulſed the enemy's forces,
And made himſelf maſter of their forts
Replete with troops and ammunition.
Inured to cold, hunger, watchings, and labours,
Unmindful of himſelf,
He had no ſenſation but for his ſoldiers;
An enemy with the fierceſt impetuoſity,
A victor with the tendereſt humanity.
Adverſe fortune he compenſated with valour,
The want of ſtrength with ſkill and activity;
And, with his counſel and ſupport,
For four years protracted the impending fate of the colony,
Having with various artifices
Long baffled a great army,
Headed by an expert and intrepid commander,
And a fleet furniſhed with all warlike ſtores,
Compelled at length to an engagement,
He fell, in the firſt rank, in the firſt onſet,
With thoſe hopes of religion which he had always cheriſhed,
To the inexpreſſible loſs of his own army,
And not without the regret of the enemy's,
XIV. September, A. D. M DCC LIX. of his age XLVIII.
His weeping countrymen
Depoſited the remains of their excellent general
In a grave,
Which a fallen bomb in burſting had excavated for him,
Recommending them to the generous faith of their enemies.

CHARACTERS.

THE illuſtrious perſon, ſome particulars of whoſe life are the ſubject of the following piece, was the ſon of that famous duke of Orleans, whoſe character is too well known to need any delineation, and too profligate to furniſh any example. The ſon was in every thing, but parts and genius, the very reverſe of that father; and applied his great abilities of mind and fortune as faithfully to their proper purpoſes, as the father had perverted his from that rational end, for which providence has deſigned ſuch important gifts. It is hard to conceive a more amiable picture than that of ſo great a Prince, employed in the purſuit of knowledge and the exerciſe of piety; and devoting all his time, influence, and fortune, to the honour of his Maker, and the good of his fellow creatures; rewarding merit and relieving indigence. With whatever peculiarities his religion, country, or conſtitution may have tinged his character, they will not detract from his example; nor diminiſh his merit in the eyes of thoſe, who in human beings conſider only the great outline and general tenor of their actions, who judge of religion only by its ſincerity, and of virtue by its efficacy.

The life of Louis, late Duke of Orleans.

LOUIS D'Orleans Duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood royal of France, and one of the moſt pious and moſt learned princes that ever lived, was born at Verſailles, on the 4th of Auguſt, 1703. He was ſon of Philip, duke of Orleans, afterwards Regent, and of Mary Frances, of Bourbon. He diſcovered in his very childhood a reverence for religion; a ſhining genius and enlarged underſtanding. He was particularly fond of natural philoſophy and natural hiſtory; but thoſe, who had the management of his education, were often obliged to reſtrain and interrupt his ſtudies, on account of the weakneſs of his conſtitution, and the frequent indiſpoſitions to which he was ſubject. At the time his father became regent of France, he made his firſt appearance at court. After the death of that prince, he married, in 1724. Auguſta Maria, of Baden, a princeſs eminent for her fine qualities, and truly worthy of him. This illuſtrious couple lived together in the tendereſt union, but it was ſoon unhappily interrupted by death: for the princeſs died in the year 1726. She was lamented by all ranks of people.

A death ſo premature, joined with the reflections which the duke of Orleans had already made on that of the regent, made him fully ſenſible of the vanity of titles, preheminence and earthly enjoyments. He immediately propoſed to himſelf a new plan of life, which he afterwards purſued, dividing his time between the duties peculiar to his rank, the exerciſes of a chriſtian,

and the ſtudy of religion and the ſciences. About the year 1730, he took, in the abbey of St. Genevieve, an apartment, ſmall, retired, and inconvenient. He was near the two churches of St. Genevieve and the Mount; wherein he had galleries. This apartment was contiguous to the houſe of God, which alone was ſufficient to make the duke prefer it to the fineſt palace. He at firſt retired to it only at the ſolemn feſtivals: but reſided in it more frequently after the year 1735, and when he left the court in 1742, took up his conſtant abode there, and went no more to his palace, except to attend the council, from which he ſeldom abſented himſelf.

After his converſion (for ſo he called this change of life which began in 1726) he practiſed the greateſt auſterities. He ſlept on a rough ſtraw bed, roſe at four o'clock every morning, ſpent ſeveral hours in prayer, drank nothing but water, faſted rigorouſly, deprived himſelf almoſt conſtantly of fire, even in the moſt inclement ſeaſon; auſterities theſe, eſpecially that of taking no wine, which he ſaid ſometimes had coſt him a great deal of pains. He poured water often into his cup under a pretence to cool it, but indeed thro' a principle of mortification. His apparel was plain and neat. His furniture and his table were not at all ſplendid. He was in every thing a pattern of ſelf-denial and piety. He loved to mingle in our churches among the common people. He reverenced the external rites of religion. He attended divine ſervice regularly, ſpent five or ſix hours at church every ſunday, and holiday; and continued ſo to do even in his laſt ſickneſs, receiving the communion, and often attending thoſe who adminiſtered it to the ſick. He has been ſeen many times during the Eaſter week, altho' troubled with the gout, going up to the fourth or fifth ſtory, after the miniſter of the pariſh who went to adminiſter the ſacrament to poor ſick people.

Filled with the ſpirit of prayer, he was ſometimes ſurprized in the innermoſt receſſes of his apartment, proſtrate on the ground and groaning moſt bitterly. But theſe devout exerciſes never made the duke forget the duties of his ſtation. He was aſſiduous ſeveral years at the king's councils, but his indiſpoſitions and other reaſons, made him determine entirely to quit the court. During his receſs, however, he loſt nothing of his tender attachment and profound reſpect for the king. It is well known with what concern he heard of his ſickneſs at Metz. When the news was brought him, he ſhed tears, and haſtened to Metz immediately. Perhaps it is to the conſtancy and fervency of this prince, that France is indebted for the preſervation of her king. He was often heard to ſay: "The king is our maſter; we are his ſubjects, and we owe him reſpect and obedience." The duke of Orleans full of veneration for the piety of the queen, called it "a piety of the underſtanding and of the heart." He expreſſed the greateſt joy at the birth of the Dauphin, and he ſpoke with great complacency of the virtues of the prince, which he ſaid "declared beforehand the happineſs of our grand-children." He was conſtant in his love to her royal highneſs the ducheſs of Orleans his mother, who died in 1749, and always ſhewed the greateſt paternal tender-

ne[illegible]

neſs to his ſon, the preſent duke of Orleans. He delighted to hear him ſpoke of, and it was eaſy to perceive the joy he felt when the converſation turned on the eminent qualities of this prince, and on the proweſs he ſhewed in the army.

But what muſt render the memory of the duke ever dear to France, was a moſt extenſive charity and an enlightened zeal for the public good, and the intereſts of religion. The indigent, of every age, ſex, and condition, were certain to receive relief from him. He heard their complaints every day in one of the halls of the convent of St. Genevieve, he ſympathized with them, he alleviated their diſtreſſes; when it was not in his power to diſmiſs them entirely ſatisfied, one might ſee that his heart granted them what neceſſity obliged him to refuſe. It is hardly to be imagined what ſums this pious prince expended in placing children for education in colleges and nunneries, in portioning young women, endowing nuns, putting boys apprentices or purchaſing for them their freedoms, ſetting unfortunate tradeſmen up in buſineſs again, and preventing the ruin of others, maintaining officers in the ſervice, or granting aſſiſtance to their widows and children, reſtoring and ſupporting noblemens families, relieving the ſick and paying ſurgeons for their attendance on them. The wounds of ſome he examined himſelf, and other poor men he ſought himſelf in the chambers and garrets, attended by only one ſervant.

The overflowing of the Loire in 1733, having done conſiderable damage to the country of Orleans, the duke ſaved, by the immediate relief he afforded them, a number of families who were periſhing; he ſupplied them with ſeed for their land; in 1739 and 1740, he ſet no bounds to his beneficence. On being told that the auſterities he practiſed, would impair his health, he would anſwer with a ſmile, "It is ſo much ſaved for the poor, whom he termed the courtiers of the Lord, *and added*, he would not ſerve his body at the expence of his ſoul."

His great mind embraced the needy of all countries. He relieved the poor catholics of Berlin, and of all Sileſia, as well as thoſe of the Indies and America. He ſent miſſionaries to the remoteſt parts of the world. He founded charity ſchools, and communities of men and women in ſeveral places, a college at Verſailles, a profeſſorſhip of divinity in the Sorbonne, to explain the original text of the ſacred ſcriptures; he rebuilt colleges and ſeminaries. At Orleans he eſtabliſhed hoſpitals for lying-in women. He employed many ſkilful ſurgeons in the ſervice of the poor. He made great improvements in phyſic, agriculture, arts, and manufactures. He purchaſed, and made public, a variety of uſeful remedies. His gardens were filled with medicinal plants of all ſorts, brought from the moſt diſtant climates.

Nor did his charitable offices obſtruct his progreſs in literature. He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the writings of St. Thomas, of Eſtius, of the moſt excellent religious treatiſes, of the fathers of the church and the beſt eccleſiaſtical writers, of the Hebrews, Chaldee, Syriac, and Greek tongues, to convince himſelf more and more of the fundamental principles of his faith; the oeconomy of religion had ſtruck him to ſuch a degree, that he was ever firm

in the faith, and often ſaid, " that the peruſal of impious treatiſes never excited in him the leaſt doubt of the truth of the chriſtian myſteries, and that the belief of theſe myſteries never diſturbed his mind." He alſo devoted ſome of his time to the ſtudy of hiſtory, geography, botany, chemiſtry, natural hiſtory, philoſophy, and painting, all uſeful ſciences; the progreſs he made in literature is ſcarce to be credited. In the ſeven or eight laſt years of his life, he could repeat without book the texts of ſcripture, with the differences between the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Vulgate. He underſtood the Greek as well as the Latin fathers. He could tranſlate, with eaſe, the dialogues of Plato and other prophane authors. Some, who heretofore would never believe the duke had attained ſo much knowledge, can now teſtify the truth of what we have advanced. It muſt be conſidered that he had a quick and piercing genius, and that during the ſpace of twenty-five years he ſtudied many hours every day, choſe the beſt maſters in every kind of learning, and converſed with the learned of every country on ſuch ſubjects as were moſt familiar to them. He honoured them all with his protection, encouraged them by his favours, and always preferred thoſe whoſe enquiries tended to the advancement of virtue and the public good. He gave the Abbé Francis a penſion, which he has continued in the codicil of his will, explaining thus the motives for ſo doing: " being willing, ſays he, to encourage the Abbé Francis, to whom the public are under great obligations for a modern work upon the proofs of our religion; and being willing to enable him to continue his ſo uſeful labours, I give and bequeath to the ſaid Abbé Francis an annuity of 1500 livres." Thoſe, who excelled in nothing but the belles lettres and in poetry, had ſeldom acceſs to this prince. An enemy to praiſe, he feared they might again revive the taſte he had for French poetry; for ſometimes he had made verſes, and received no ſmall praiſe for them. The Abbé l'Advocat (to whom we are principally indebted for this account) tells us he has ſeen pieces of his compoſition, which, tho' elegant and pretty, the duke afterwards threw into the fire. Senſible of the importance of time, he took care to improve every minute. When artiſts or learned men waited on him, they were admitted into his preſence immediately; and if he appointed them to attend at a certain hour, and other buſineſs would not permit him to ſee them, he ſent his ſervant to let them know it, and ſave them the trouble of waiting.

Notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums which he diſperſed at home and abroad, he diſcharged the debts of his anceſtors, retrieved the exhauſted finances, and conſiderably augmented the demeſnes, of his houſe. Humble and modeſt in private life, he was ſplendid and magnificent in public. He went with the utmoſt pomp into Alſace to marry the queen by proxy. He behaved with becoming dignity when colonel general of the French infantry. Chearful and innocent in common converſation, he was ever ſerious on ſubjects of importance. He never ſpoke ill of any abſent perſon, nor would he ſuffer others to do it in his preſence. Ever equitable, even at the expence of his own intereſt, he thanked a private

vate man whom he had furniſhed with money to go to law againſt himſelf, and who had gained his cauſe, for having ſaved him from the guilt of injuſtice.

The delight he found in piety and devotion he uſed thus to expreſs: "I know by experience that ſublunary grandeur and ſublunary pleaſure are deluſive and vain, and are always infinitely below the conceptions we form of them; but, on the contrary, ſuch happineſs and ſuch complacency may be found in devotion and piety, as the ſenſual mind has no idea of." His piety was real and ſolid. "Zeal, he would ſay, muſt be enlightened. Zeal and prudence ought ever to go hand in hand."

The duke, being once ſollicited by a nobleman to diſcard one of his officers from his ſervice, becauſe he was diſſolute in his conduct, and would ſometimes inveigh againſt religion, anſwered him with ſpirit: "Learn, ſir, that the king ought not to deprive the ſtate of an excellent officer, becauſe his morals are not ſo good as could be wiſhed, and he has not ſo great a veneration for religion as one could deſire. Immorality and vice ſhould be diſcouraged as much as poſſible, but his majeſty muſt not, for things foreign to the ſervice, deprive officers of their employments."

His intenſe application to ſtudy and his ſevere abſtinence at laſt occaſioned a long and painful illneſs. The news of which being ſpread abroad threw all France into conſternation. The church of St. Genevieve was filled with people of all ſorts, who offered up fervent prayers for the reſtoration of his health. The duke foreſaw and waited for death with the greateſt fortitude and compoſure: he ſpoke of it, as of the demiſe of another perſon, to thoſe about him; and in his laſt will he expatiates in the moſt pathetic manner, on his belief in the reſurrection. Notwithſtanding his ill-health, no body could perſuade him to ſleep more than he was uſed to do; when any one repreſented that it was abſolutely neceſſary, and that he ſhould change his ſtraw bed for a ſofter one, he replied, "Phyſicians have no concern for the ſoul, they only care for the body. When a man draws near his diſſolution, his zeal ſhould increaſe. 'Tis in the arms of ſelf-denial, that a true chriſtian is to die: I have always made it a part of my penitence to ſit in an uneaſy poſture: I am reſolved to perſiſt in it to my lateſt moment, for I have not yet practiſed mortification enough." In his will he expreſſes himſelf much in the ſame manner. In his laſt moments, he was ſolely intent on God, nor did he ceaſe to implore his bleſſing for the duke of Chartres. "I have a ſon, (ſaid he to the miniſter who attended him,) whom I am going to commend to the all-perfect Being; I entreat God that his natural virtues may become Chriſtian graces; that the qualities which gain him eſteem, may be ſerviceable to his ſalvation; that his love for the king, and his love for me, may be the bloſſoms of that immortal charity, which the holy Spirits and bleſſed Angels enjoy."

The duke was ſteady to the plan he had preſcribed for upwards of twenty years: He was ever anxious for the propagation of religion, and for the public good. He died on the 4th of February, 1752, aged forty-eight years and ſix months,

beloved by good people of all ſorts, lamented by the poor, the ſick, the unhappy.

He left behind a great number of writings; the chief of which are, 1. A tranſlation and comment on ſome part of the old Teſtament. 2. A literal verſion of the Pſalms, from the original Hebrew, with notes and a paraphraſe. This work is the moſt compleat, which our pious and learned prince has left; in his laſt illneſs he was employed in it, and finiſhed it but a few days before his death: It is full of great erudition and ſound criticiſm; it contains a number of very curious and uſeful remarks: In one place he proves clearly, that the Greek annotations on the Pſalms, which are found in the Catena of father Cordiers, and go under the name of Theodorus of Heraclea, are of Theodorus of Mopſueſt: a diſcovery which this learned prince firſt made, and which we muſt attribute to his deep penetration. 3. Several diſſertations againſt the Jews, to ſerve as a refutation of the famous Hebrew book, entitled *Kiſouch Emouna*; i. e. *The Buckler of Faith*. The duke of Orleans, not ſatisfied with Gouſſet's refutation of this book, undertook to anſwer it himſelf, but did not live to compleat the deſign. His manuſcript, though incompleat, is far ſuperior to Gouſſet's. He has examined and refuted the objections of the Jews. 4. A literal tranſlation of the Epiſtles of St. Paul from the Greek, with a paraphraſe, annotations, and uſeful remarks. 5. A treatiſe againſt theatrical exhibitions. 6. A ſolid refutation of the large French work, entitled the *Hexaples*. 7. Several other treatiſes and curious diſſertations upon divers ſubjects. His modeſty would never ſuffer him to publiſh any of his writings: he bequeathed them, with his library, to the order of Dominican Friars, and by his will, left that order full liberty to add, retrench, ſuppreſs, or even employ his writings, as materials in the compoſition of ſuch works as they might undertake upon the ſame ſubjects. For the writings of St. Thomas he had a particular eſteem, and this eſteem he teſtifies, even in his laſt will.

One might eaſily fill a large volume with a detail of his royal highneſs's piety, his learning, his charity, and benevolence. It muſt be obſerved, however, that what is related in this account is not collected from popular reports. The gentleman, from whom this is taken, was admitted often into his company, from the time of his retirement to his death; and had ocular proof of many things here mentioned.

Memoirs of the life, &c. of the late Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, lord biſhop of Wincheſter.

THIS worthy and illuſtrious prelate was born in the year 1676. I ſhall paſs over the earlier and more private part of his life, and willingly haſten to that time when the powers of his underſtanding began to unfold themſelves, and to ſhine forth in the republic of letters.

His firſt preferment in the church, was the rectory of St. Peter le Poor, and the lectureſhip of St. Mildred's in the Poultry. In the year 1706, he publiſhed ſome remarks on the late biſhop Atterbury's ſermon at the

the funeral of Mr. Bennet, in which Dr. Atterbury had, in the opinion of Mr. Hoadley, laid down some dangerous propositions. Two years after, Mr. Hoadley again entered the lists against this formidable antagonist; and in his *exceptions* against a sermon published by Dr. Atterbury, intitled—"The Power of Charity to cover Sin"—he attacked the doctor with his usual strength of reasoning, and dispassionate enquiry, confuted his erroneous opinions without anger, and conquered him without triumph. This, indeed, is allowed by all to be his distinguishing characteristic, — that in all the controversies which he held with his brethren (and no one, surely, held more) he ever preserved an equanimity of temper—the meek and candid christian never lost in the disputer of this world—cool, calm, and composed, he forgets the man, whilst he is animadverting on the writer, never betrayed into any asperity of expression—any railing accusations, any personal reflections, any misbecoming flights, or those sallies of passion, which, as they give no strength to a bad argument, never add any grace or advantage to a good one. Happy would it be for the cause of religion and truth, if all (who engage in controversy) would imitate this pattern, and guard against virulence of expression, which, as it cannot tend to elucidate, so neither hath it any connection with, literary controversies—least of all in religious disputes, when the wrath of man cannot be supposed to work the righteousness of God. The reader, I hope, will pardon this small digression, which I was naturally led into, and which is in itself an interesting point.

In 1709, a dispute arose between these two learned combatants, concerning the doctrine of non-resistance, occasioned by a performance of Mr. Hoadley, intitled — *The Measures of Obedience*; some positions in which, Dr. Atterbury endeavoured to confute in his elegant Latin sermon, preached that year before the London clergy. In this debate, Mr. Hoadley signalized himself in so eminent a degree, that the honourable house of commons gave him a particular mark of their regard, by representing, in an address to the queen, the signal services he had done to the cause of civil and religious liberty.

The principles, however, which he espoused, being repugnant to the general temper of those times, drew on him the virulence of a party; yet it was at this period [1710] (when, as he himself expresses it, *fury seemed to be let loose upon him*) that the late Mrs. Howland presented him to the rectory of Streatham, in Surry, which (as he expresses it in the last debt of gratitude that he paid to her memory, May 1719) was a more distinguishing mark of her regard, in that she presented it to him unasked,—unapplied to,—without his either having seen her, or been seen by her: To shew that, in her own expression, (says he) she was neither ashamed nor afraid to give me that public mark of her regard, at that critical time.

Soon after the accession of king George I. Dr. Hoadley was consecrated to the see of Bangor; and in 1717, having broached some opinions concerning the nature of Christ's kingdom, &c. he again became the object of popular clamour, and was in a more particular man-

ner expoſed to the rage of his brethren *. At this juncture he was diſtinguiſhed by another particular mark of the royal regards, by means of which the convocation was ſucceſſively prorogued, and it was not permitted to ſit, nor do any buſineſs, till that reſentment was intirely ſubſided.

In 1721, he was tranſlated to Hereford, and from thence, in 1723, to Saliſbury.

When the poſthumous works of Dr. Samuel Clarke were publiſhed in 1732, this prelate prefixed ſome account of the life, writings, and character of the author, and in the concluſion, expreſſes himſelf thus: —" Having thus paid this laſt duty to the memory of this excellent man, which I could not but eſteem a debt to ſuch a benefactor to the cauſe of religion and learning united, and, as theſe works of his muſt laſt as long as any language remains to convey them to future times, perhaps I may flatter myſelf, that this faint and imperfect account of him, may be tranſmitted down with them; and I hope, it will be thought a pardonable piece of ambition and ſelf-intereſtedneſs, if, fearful leſt every thing elſe ſhould prove too weak to keep the remembrance of myſelf in being, I lay hold of his fame to prop and ſupport my own. I am ſure, as I have little reaſon to expect, that any thing of mine, without ſuch an aſſiſtance, can live, I ſhall think myſelf greatly recompenſed, for the want of any other memorial, if my name may go down to poſterity, thus cloſely joined to his, and I myſelf be thought of, and ſpoke of, in ages to come, under the character of the friend of Dr. Clarke."

Perhaps this may be looked upon by ſome, rather as an over-ſtrained mark of diffidence and humility, as the biſhop might very well be ſuppoſed to need no other teſtimony than his own works, in order to go down to poſterity, and to live in the voice and memory of men—but this mark of ſingular condeſcenſion muſt be chiefly imputed to a zeal for thoſe tenets which the doctor ſo warmly patronized. In 1734, biſhop Hoadley was tranſlated to Winchester, (on the demiſe of Dr. Willis) and publiſhed his *Plain Account of the Sacrament*; a performance which ſerved as a butt for his adverſaries to ſhoot at, againſt which they pointed their arrows, and levelled their artillery; yet impartiality owns it to be clear, rational, and manly, wrote with great candour and judgment, and ſuited to the capacity of every ſerious and conſiderate enquirer after truth. His ſermons (publiſhed in 1754, and 1755,) are eſteemed inferior to few writings in the Engliſh language, for plainneſs and perſpecuity, energy and ſtrength of reaſoning, and a free and maſterly manner.

Having now gone through the principal parts of his life and writings, I come to ſpeak of his private character; and here there is one particular with regard to his lordſhip which is worthy of obſervation, and that is—he was not always happy in the objects on whom he conferred his favours; I ſhall mention three inſtances to confirm this remark. — Sagier— Pillonier— Fournier. The firſt, the biſhop himſelf told me, proved highly unworthy of his regard. The ſecond (whom he honoured with particular marks of

* Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock were the chief of them.

regard)

regard) the bishop owns (in his letter to Mr. Chevalier, published 1758,) did not act agreeable to the obligations he had received. The last instance is too recent to need any mention here. These serve only to shew the natural philanthropy of his temper and disposition, prone to hospitality and munificence,--that charity, which hopeth all things, and believeth all things, which, being a stranger to guile itself, is laid open to the treachery of others. The accuracy, with which the bishop drew up an account of the behaviour of Fournier, (in that letter before-mentioned) is a strong proof, that in such an advanced age, he still retained the exercise of his mental powers in full vigour, and that "the natural force of his intellectual faculties was not abated."

I come now to the last period of his life: he died (April 17, 1761) satisfied with a long life, equally full of days * and honour, and with a pleasing prospect of that salvation which God had shewed him. His writings in favour of civil and religious liberty, will render his memory dear to this nation, as long as the love of freedom is the characteristic of Britons; and his name will always be mentioned with honour, by every friend to religion, learning, truth, and virtue.

Some account of the late Dr. Thomas Sherlock, who died July 18, 1761, aged 84. Extracted from his funeral sermon, preached by Dr. Nicolls, master of the Temple.

HE was the son of a most eminent father, who was no less distinguished in the last age, than the son has been in this.—And what is very remarkable, this place † has enjoyed the benefit of their instruction for more than 70 years.—Here give me leave to observe a similitude of circumstances between his son and him. It pleased God to prolong the son's days, even beyond those of his father, to preserve to him his great understanding, and to give him leisure to review his incomparable *Discourses*, and to make them fit for the reception which the world has given them. He too has had his controversies, and those carried on with warmth and spirit; but without any injury to his temper, or any interruption to his thoughts and mind. His father lived in more difficult times, had much to struggle with, and perhaps had more of labour in his composition. The son was more bright and brilliant, and carried a greater compass of thought and genius along with him. The one wrote with great care and circumspection, as having many adversaries to contend with; the other with greater ease and freedom, as rising superior to all opposition.—Indeed, the son had much the advantage of his father, in respect to the time and other circumstances of his life; not to say what I believe must be owned by all, that his natural abilities and talents were much greater.—He was made master of the Temple very young, upon the resignation of his father, and was obliged to apply himself closely to business, and take infinite pains to qualify himself for that honourable employment; which he effectually did in the course of a few years, and became one of the most celebrated preachers of that time.

In this station he continued many

* Ætat. 85.

† The Temple.

years,

years, preaching conſtantly, rightly dividing the word of God, and promoting the ſalvation of ſouls. For his preaching was with power; not only in the weight of his words and argument, but in the force and energy with which it was delivered. For though his voice was not melodious, but accompanied rather with a thickneſs of ſpeech, yet were his words uttered with ſo much propriety, and with ſuch ſtrength and vehemence, that he never failed to take poſſeſſion of his whole audience, and ſecure their attention. This powerful delivery of words, ſo weighty and important, as his always were, made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the minds of his hearers, and was not ſoon forgot. And I doubt not but many of you ſtill remember the excellent inſtruction you have heard from him to your great comfort.

About this time alſo it was, that he publiſhed his much-admired diſcourſes upon the *Uſe and Intent of Prophecy*, which did ſo much ſervice to the cauſe of Chriſtianity, then openly attacked by ſome daring unbelievers.

Upon the acceſſion of his late majeſty to the throne, he was ſoon diſtinguiſhed; and, with another truly eminent divine, [biſhop Hare] advanced to the bench, where he ſat with great luſtre for many years; in matters of difficulty and nice diſcernment ſerving his king and country, and the church over which he preſided, with uncommon zeal and prudence. Indeed ſuch was his diſcretion and great judgment, that all ranks of perſons were deſirous of knowing his opinion in every caſe, and by his quick and ſolid judgment of things he was able to do great good to many individuals, and very ſignal ſervices to his country.

All this time, while he was thus taken up in the buſineſs of the ſtation to which he was advanced, he yet continued to preach to his congregation during term; and in the vacation conſtantly went down to viſit and to reſide in his dioceſe; where he ſpent his time in the moſt exemplary manner; in a decent hoſpitality; in repairing his churches and houſes, wherever he went; in converſing with his clergy; and in giving them and their people proper directions, as the circumſtances of things required.

And thus did this great man lay himſelf out for the public good; always buſy, always employed, ſo long as God gave him health and ſtrength to go through thoſe various and important offices of life, which were committed to his care.

But now, though his mind and underſtanding remained in full vigour, infirmities of body began to creep very faſt upon him. And then it was that he declined, when offered him, the higheſt honours of this church, becauſe he was ſenſible, through the infirmities he felt, he ſhould never be able to give that perſonal attendance, which that great office requires. And this alſo induced him afterwards to accept the charge of this dioceſe wherein we live, becauſe his buſineſs would be at home and about him, and would require no long journies, for which he found himſelf very unfit. And certain it is, that for the firſt three or four years he applied himſelf cloſely to buſineſs, and made one general viſitation of his dioceſe in perſon: nay, he extended his care to parts abroad, and began his correſpondence there, which would have

have been very uſeful to the church, if his health had permitted him to carry it on: but about that time it pleaſed God to viſit him with a very dangerous illneſs, from which indeed he recovered, but with almoſt the total loſs of the uſe of his limbs; and ſoon after his ſpeech failing him, he was conſtrained to give over the exerciſe of his function and office, and was even deprived of the advantages of a free converſation.

But though he was thus obliged to provide for the miniſterial office, yet he ſtill took care himſelf for the diſpatch of buſineſs. For the mind was yet vigorous and ſtrong in this weak body, and partook of none of its infirmities. He never parted with the adminiſtration of things out of his own hands, but required an exact account of every thing that was tranſacted; and where the buſineſs was of importance and conſequence enough, he would dictate letters, and give directions about it himſelf. Under all his infirmities, his ſoul broke through like the ſun from the cloud, and was viſible to every eye. There was a dignity in his aſpect and countenance to the very laſt. His reaſon ſat enthroned with him, and no one could approach him without having his mind filled with that reſpect and veneration that was due to ſo great a character.

His learning was very extenſive: God had given him a great and an underſtanding mind, a quick comprehenſion, and a ſolid judgment. Theſe advantages of nature he improved by much induſtry and application; and in the early part of his life had read and digeſted well the ancient authors both Greek and Latin, the philoſophers, poets, and orators; from whence he acquired that correct and elegant ſtile, which appears in all his compoſitions. His knowledge in divinity was obtained from the ſtudy of the moſt rational writers of the church, both ancient and modern; and he was particularly fond of comparing ſcripture with ſcripture, and eſpecially of illuſtrating the epiſtles and writings of the apoſtles, which he thought wanted to be more ſtudied, and of which we have ſome ſpecimens in his own diſcourſes. His ſkill in the civil and canon law was very conſiderable; to which he added ſuch a knowledge of the common law of England, as few clergymen attain to. This it was that gave him that influence in all caſes where the church was concerned, as knowing preciſely what it had to claim from its conſtitutions and canons, and what from the common law of the land.

His piety was conſtant and exemplary, and breathed the true ſpirit of the goſpel. His zeal was warm and fervent in explaining the great doctrines and duties of Chriſtianity, and in maintaining and eſtabliſhing it upon the moſt ſolid and ſure foundations.

His munificence and charity was large and diffuſive; not confined to particulars, but extended in general to all that could make out any juſt claim to it.

The inſtances of his public charities, both in his life-time and at his death, are great, and like himſelf. He hath given large ſums of money to the corporation of clergymen's ſons, to ſeveral of the hoſpitals, and to the ſociety for propagating the goſpel in foreign parts. And at the inſtance of the ſaid ſociety, he conſented to print at his own

own charge an impreſſion of 2000 ſets of his valuable *Diſcourſes*, at a very conſiderable expence. And they have been actually ſent to all the iſlands and colonies of America. And by the care of the governors and clergy, it is hoped by this time, that they are all properly diſtributed among the people of their reſpective colonies, to their great improvement in the knowledge of rational and practical chriſtianity. And to mention one inſtance more of his great charity and care for the education of youth, he has given to Catherine-hall in Cambridge, the place of his education, his valuable library of books; and, in his lifetime, and at his death, donations for the founding a librarian's place, and a ſcholarſhip, to the amount of ſeveral thouſand pounds.

Beſides theſe, and many other public inſtances of his charity and munificence which might be mentioned, the private flow of his bounty to many individuals was conſtant and regular; and upon all juſt occaſions he was ever ready to ſtretch forth his hand towards the needy and afflicted: of which no one can bear teſtimony better than myſelf, whom he often employed as the diſtributor of it.

He was indeed a perſon of great candour and humanity, had a tender feeling of diſtreſs, and was eaſily touched with the misfortunes of others. No man was ever more happy in domeſtic life, and no one could ſhew greater gentleneſs, goodnature, and affection to all around him. To his ſervants he was a kind and tender maſter; he knew how to reward fidelity and diligence; eſpecially in thoſe who had been long in his ſervice. They were careful over him, and he remembered their care, by leaving a large ſum among them who had been neareſt about him during his illneſs.

Some account of the late Henry Fielding, Eſq;

HEnry Fielding was born at Sharpham Park in Somerſetſhire near Glaſtonbury, April 22, 1707. His father, Edmund Fielding, ſerved in the wars under the duke of Marlborough, and arrived to the rank of lieutenant general, at the latter end of George I, or the beginning of George II. His mother was the daughter of judge Gold, the grandfather of the preſent Sir Henry Gold, one of the barons of the Exchequer. By theſe his parents he had four ſiſters, Catharine, Urſula, Sarah and Beatrice; and one brother, Edmund, who was an officer in the marine ſervice. Sarah Fielding, his third ſiſter, is well known to the literary world by many elegant performances. Our author's mother having paid her debt to nature, lieutenant general Fielding married a ſecond time, and the iſſue of that marriage were ſix ſons, George, James, Charles, John, William and Baſil, all dead, excepting John, who is at preſent in the commiſſion of the peace for Middleſex, Surry, Eſſex, and the liberties of Weſtminſter. Henry Fielding received the firſt rudiments of his education at home, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Oliver, of whom he has given a very humorous and ſtriking portrait in Joſeph Andrews, under the name of parſon Trulliber. From Mr. Oliver's care he was removed to Eton School, where he became acquainted with Lord

Lord Lyttelton, Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the late Mr. Winnington, &c. When he left this great ſeminary, he was ſaid to be uncommonly verſed in the Greek and Latin claſſics; for both which he ever retained a ſtrong admiration. From Eton he was ſent to Leyden, and there he ſtudied the civilians for about two years. Remittances failing, at the age of twenty, or thereabout, he returned from Leyden to London, where, though under age, he found himſelf his own maſter: from that ſource flowed all the inconveniences that attended him throughout the remainder of his life. The brilliancy of his wit, the vivacity of his humour, and his high reliſh of ſocial enjoyment, ſoon brought him into requeſt with the men of taſte and literature, and with the voluptuous of all ranks. His finances were not anſwerable to the frequent draughts made upon him by the extravagance which naturally followed. He was allowed, indeed, 200*l.* a year by his father, but, as he himſelf uſed to ſay, any body might pay it that would. The fact was, general Fielding having married again ſoon after the death of our author's mother, had ſo large an increaſe of family, and that too ſo quick, that he could not ſpare any conſiderable diſburſements for the maintenance of his eldeſt ſon. Of this truth Henry Fielding was ſenſible, and he was therefore, in whatever difficulties he might be involved, never wanting in filial piety, which, his neareſt relations agree, was a ſhining part of his character. Diſappointments, indeed, were obſerved to provoke him into occaſional peeviſhneſs, and ſeverity of animadverſion: but his general temper was remarkably gay, and for the moſt part overflowing into wit, mirth, and good humour. As he diſdained all littleneſs of ſpirit, wherever he met with it in his dealings with the world, his indignation was apt to riſe; and as he was of a penetrating diſcernment, he could always develope ſelfiſhneſs, miſtruſt, pride, avarice, intereſted friendſhip, the ungenerous, and the unfeeling temper, however plauſibly diſguiſed; and as he could read them to the bottom, ſo he could likewiſe aſſault them with the keeneſt ſtrokes of ſpirited and manly ſatire. Diſagreeable impreſſions never continued long upon his mind; his imagination was fond of ſeizing every gay proſpect, and, in his worſt adverſities, filled him with ſanguine hopes of a better ſituation. To obtain this, he flattered himſelf that he ſhould find his reſources in his wit and invention; and accordingly he commenced a writer for the ſtage in the year 1727, being then about twenty years of age.

His firſt dramatic piece ſoon after adventured into the world, and was called, *Love in ſeveral Maſques*. It immediately ſucceeded the *Provoked Husband*, a play, which, for the continued ſpace of twenty-eight nights received as great and as juſt applauſes, as ever were beſtowed on the Engliſh ſtage. Notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, Fielding's play was favourably received. His ſecond play, the *Temple Beau*, appeared the year after. From the year 1727, to the end of 1736, almoſt all his plays and farces were written, not above two or three having appeared ſince that time; ſo that he produced about eighteen theatrical performances, plays and farces included,

cluded, before he was quite thirty years old. Though in the plan of his pieces he is not always regular, yet he is often happy in his diction and ſtile; and in every groupe, that he has exhibited, there are to be ſeen particular delineations that will amply recompenſe the attention beſtowed upon them. The comedy of the *Miſer*, which he has moſtly taken from Moliere, has maintained its ground upon the ſtage ever ſince it was firſt performed, and has the value of a copy from a great painter by an eminent hand. If the comedy of *Paſquin* was reſtored to the ſtage, it would perhaps be a favourite entertainment with our audiences. It is ſaid, that the wit and humour of our modern Ariſtophanes, Mr. Fielding, whoſe quarry in ſome of his pieces, particularly the *Hiſtorical Regiſter*, was higher game than in prudence he ſhould have choſen, were principal inſtruments that occaſioned that law, which ſubjected all new pieces to the inſpection of a licenſer.

In the comedy called *Rape upon Rape*, or *the Coffee-houſe Politician*, we have an admirable draught of a character very common in this country, namely, a man who is ſmitten with an inſatiable thirſt for news, and concerns himſelf more about the balance of power than of his books. The folly of theſe ſtateſmen out of place is there exhibited with a maſterly ridicule; and indeed in all the plays of our author, however in ſome reſpects deficient, there are ſtrokes of humour and half-length paintings, not excelled by ſome of the ableſt artiſts. His farces were almoſt all of them very ſucceſsful, and many of them are ſtill acted every winter with approbation. They were generally the production of two or three mornings. It need not be obſerved, in juſtification of their being preſerved in the ſame collection with his more important works, that farce is deemed by our beſt critics an appendage of the theatre, as well as pieces of a higher nature. A learned and excellent critic (the Rev. Mr. Hurd) has given it a full conſideration in his Diſſertation on the ſeveral Provinces of the Drama. "The repreſentations, ſays he, of common nature may either be taken accurately, ſo as to reflect a *faithful and exact image* of their original, which alone is that I would call Comedy; or they may be forced and overcharged above the ſimple and juſt proportions of *nature*; as when the exceſſes of a *few* are given for *ſtanding* characters, when not the man (in *general*) but the *paſſion*, is deſcribed; or when, in the draught of the man, the leading *feature* is extended beyond meaſure; and in theſe caſes the repreſentation holds of the province of farce." *The Lottery*, *the Intriguing Chambermaid*, and *the Virgin Unmaſked*, beſides the real entertainment they afford, had on their firſt appearance this additional merit, that they ſerved to make early diſcoveries of that true comic genius which was then dawning forth in Mrs. Clive.

So early as when he was at Leyden, Mr. Fielding made ſome efforts towards a comedy in the ſketch of *Don Quixote in England*. When he left that place, and ſettled in London, a variety of characters attracted his notice, and of courſe ſerved to ſtrengthen his favourite inclination: the inconſiſtencies that flow from vanity, from affectation,

from hypocriſy, from pretended friendſhip, and in ſhort, all the diſſonant qualities, which are often whimſically blended together by the folly of men, could not fail to ſtrike a perſon who had ſo fine a ſenſe of ridicule: and accordingly we find that he never ſeems ſo happy, as when he is developing a character made up of motley and repugnant properties. To ſearch out and to deſcribe objects of this kind, ſeems to have been the favourite bent of his mind, and from his happy deſcriptions of the manners, he may juſtly be pronounced an admirable Comic Genius in the largeſt acceptation of the phraſe, implying humorous and pleaſant imitation of men and manners, whether in the way of fabulous narration, or of dramatic compoſition. In the former ſpecies of writing lay the excellence of Mr. Fielding: in dramatic imitation he muſt be allowed to fall ſhort of the great maſters in that art.

An ingenious writer (Mr. Hurd) has paſſed a judgment upon Ben Johnſon, which, though Fielding did not attain the ſame dramatic eminence, may be juſtly applied to him. "His taſte for ridicule was ſtrong, but indelicate, which made him not over-curious in the choice of his topics. His *ſtyle* in picturing his characters, though maſterly, was without that elegance of hand, which is required to correct and allay the force of ſo bold a colouring. Thus the byas of his nature leading him to Plautus rather than Terence, for his model, it is not to be wondered that his wit is too frequently cauſtic; his raillery coarſe; and his humour exceſſive."

This want of refinement ſeems to have been principally owing to the woundings which every freſh diſappointment gave Fielding, before he was yet well diſciplined in the ſchool of life: and perhaps too the aſperity of his Muſe was not a little encouraged by the practice of two great wits, who had fallen into the ſame vein before him; I mean Wycherley and Congreve, who were not fond of copying the amiable part of human life. In his ſtyle, Mr. Fielding derived an error from the ſame ſource: he ſometimes forgot that humour and ridicule were the two principal ingredients of comedy; and, like Congreve, he frequently aimed at decorations of wit, which do not appear to make part of the *ground*, but ſeem rather to be embroidered upon it.

There is another circumſtance reſpecting the drama, in which Fielding's judgment ſeems to have failed him: the ſtrength of his genius certainly lay in fabulous narration; and he did not ſufficiently conſider that ſome incidents of a ſtory, which, when related, may be worked up into a deal of pleaſantry and humour, are apt, when thrown into action, to excite ſenſations incompatible with humour and ridicule.

To theſe cauſes of his failure in the province of the drama, may be added that ſovereign contempt he always entertained for the underſtandings of the generality of mankind. It was in vain to tell him, that a particular ſcene was dangerous on account of its coarſeneſs, or becauſe it retarded the general buſineſs with feeble efforts of wit; he doubted the diſcernment of his auditors, and ſo thought himſelf ſecured by their ſtupidity, if not by his own humour and vivacity. A very remarkable inſtance of this diſpoſition appeared, when the comedy

medy of *the Wedding-Day* was put into rehearſal. An actor, who was principally concerned in the piece, and, though young, was then, by the advantage of happy requiſites, an early favourite of the public, told Mr. Fielding he was apprehenſive that the audience would make free with him in a particular paſſage; adding, that a repulſe might ſo flurry his ſpirits as to diſconcert him for the reſt of the night, and therefore begged that it might be omitted. "No, d—mn 'em, replied the bard, if the ſcene is not a good one, let them find *that* out." Accordingly the play was brought on without alteration, and, juſt as had been foreſeen, the diſapprobation of the houſe was provoked at the paſſage before objected to; and the performer, alarmed and uneaſy at the hiſſes he had met with, retired into the green-room, where the author was ſolacing himſelf with a bottle of champaign. He had by this time drank pretty plentifully; and cocking his eye at the actor, while ſtreams of tobacco trickled down from the corner of his mouth, "What's the matter, Garrick? ſays he, what are they hiſſing now?" "Why the ſcene that I begged you to retrench; I knew it would not do, and they have ſo frightened me, that I ſhall not be able to collect myſelf again the whole night." "Oh! d--mn 'em, replies the author, they *have* found it out, have they?"

If we add to the foregoing remarks an obſervation of his own, namely, that he left off writing for the ſtage, when he ought to have begun; and together with this conſider his extreme hurry and diſpatch, we ſhall be able fully to account for his not bearing a more diſtinguiſhed place in the rank of dramatic writers. It is apparent, that in the frame and conſtitution of his genius there was no defect, but ſome faculty or other was ſuffered to lie dormant, and the reſt of courſe were exerted with leſs efficacy: at one time we ſee his wit ſuperſeding all his other talents: at another his invention runs riot, and multiplies incidents and characters in a manner repugnant to all the received laws of the drama. Generally his judgment was very little conſulted. And indeed, how could it be otherwiſe? When he had contracted to bring on a play, or a farce, he would go home rather late from a tavern, and would, the next morning, deliver a ſcene to the players written upon the papers which had wrapped the tobacco in which he ſo much delighted.

Though it was the lot of Henry Fielding to write always with a view to profit, he derived but ſmall aids towards his ſubſiſtence from the treaſurer of the play-houſe. One of his farces he has printed as it was *damned* at the theatre royal in Drury-lane; and that he might be *more generous to his enemies than they were willing to be to him*, he informs them, in the general preface to his miſcellanies, that for *the Wedding-Day*, though acted ſix nights, his profits from the houſe did not exceed fifty pounds. A fate not much better attended him in his earlier productions: but the ſeverity of the public, and the malice of his enemies met with a noble alleviation from the patronage of the late duke of Richmond, John duke of Argyll, the late duke of Roxborough, and many perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank and character; among whom may be numbered the

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preſent lord Lyttelton, whoſe friendſhip to our author ſoftened the rigour of his misfortunes while he lived, and exerted itſelf towards his memory when he was no more, by taking pains to clear up imputations of a particular kind, which had been thrown out againſt his character.

Mr. Fielding had not been long a writer for the ſtage, when he married Miſs Craddock, a beauty from Saliſbury. About that time his mother dying, a moderate eſtate at Stower in Dorſetſhire devolved to him. To that place he retired with his wife, on whom he doated, with a reſolution to bid adieu to all the follies and intemperances of a town life. But unfortunately a kind of family-pride here gained an aſcendant over him, and he began immediately to vie in ſplendor with the neighbouring country ſquires. With an eſtate not much above two hundred pounds a year, and his wife's fortune, which did not exceed fifteen hundred pounds, he encumbered himſelf with a large retinue of ſervants all clad in coſtly yellow liveries. For their maſter's honour, theſe people could not deſcend ſo low as to be careful in their apparel, but in a month or two were unfit to be ſeen; the ſquire's dignity required that they ſhould be new equipped; and his chief pleaſure conſiſting in ſociety and convivial mirth, hoſpitality threw open his doors, and in leſs than three years, entertainments, hounds, and horſes entirely devoured a little patrimony, which, had it been managed with œconomy, might have ſecured to him a ſtate of independence for the reſt of his life. Senſible of the diſagreeable ſituation he had now reduced himſelf to, he immediately determined to exert his beſt endeavours to recover, what he had wantonly thrown away, a decent competence; and being then about thirty years of age, he betook himſelf to the ſtudy of the law. The friendſhips he met with from ſome, who have ſince riſen to be the firſt ornaments of the law, will for ever do honour to his memory. His application, while he was a ſtudent in the Temple, was remarkably intenſe: he has been frequently known by his intimates, to retire late at night from a tavern to his chambers, and there read, and make extracts from the moſt abſtruſe authors, for ſeveral hours before he went to bed. After the cuſtomary time of probation at the Temple he was called to the bar. He attended with aſſiduity both in term-time and on the weſtern circuit, as long as his health permitted; but the gout ſoon rendered it impoſſible for him to be as conſtant at the bar as the laborioufneſs of his profeſſion required: he could only now follow the law by ſnatches, at ſuch intervals as were free from indiſpoſition; which could not but be a diſpiriting circumſtance, as he ſaw himſelf at once diſabled from ever riſing to the eminence he aſpired to. However, under the ſeverities of pain and want, he ſtill purſued his reſearches with an eagerneſs of curioſity peculiar to him; and, tho' it is wittily remarked by Wycherly, that Apollo and Littleton ſeldom meet in the ſame brain, yet Mr. Fielding is allowed to have acquired a reſpectable ſhare of juriſprudence, and in ſome particular branches he is ſaid to have ariſen to a great degree of eminence, more eſpecially in crown law, as may be judged from his leaving two volumes in

folio upon that ſubject †. This work remains ſtill unpubliſhed in the hands of his brother, Sir John Fielding; and by him I am informed that it is deemed perfect in ſome parts. It will ſerve to give us an idea of the great force and vigour of his mind, if we conſider him purſuing ſo arduous a ſtudy under the exigencies of family-diſtreſs, with a wife and children, whom he tenderly loved, looking up to him for ſubſiſtence, with a body lacerated by the acuteſt pains, and with a mind diſtracted with a thouſand avocations, and obliged for immediate ſupply to produce almoſt extempore a play, a farce, a pamphlet, or a news-paper. A large number of fugitive political tracts, which had their value when the incidents were actually paſſing on the great ſcene of buſineſs, came from his pen: the periodical paper, called *The Champion* owed its chief ſupport to his abilities; and though his eſſays in that collection cannot now be aſcertained, yet the reputation ariſing to him at the time of publication was not inconſiderable. It does not appear that he ever wrote much poetry: correct verſification probably required more pains and time than his exigencies would allow. In the preface to his *Miſcellanies* he tells us, that his poetical pieces were moſtly written when he was very young, and were productions of the heart rather than of the head. He adds, that this branch of writing is what he very little pretended to, and was very little his purſuit. Accordingly out of the new edition of his works, which was intended to conſiſt entirely of pieces more highly finiſhed than his works of mere amuſement generally are, his verſes are all diſcarded.

In the progreſs of Henry Fielding's talents there ſeem to have been three remarkable periods; one, when his genius broke forth at once, with an effulgence ſuperior to all the rays of light it had before emitted, like the ſun in his morning glory; the ſecond, when it was diſplayed with collected force, and a fullneſs of perfection, like the ſun in meridian majeſty; and the third, when the ſame genius, grown more cool and temperate, ſtill continued to cheer and enliven, but ſhewed at the ſame time that it was tending to its decline, like the ſame ſun, abating from his ardor, but ſtill gilding the weſtern hemiſphere.

To theſe three epochas of our author's genius, there is an exact correſpondency in the *Joſeph Andrews*, *Tom Jones*, and *Amelia*. It will not be improper here to mention that the reverend Mr. Young, a learned and much eſteemed friend of Mr. Fielding's, ſat for parſon Adams. Mr. Young was remarkable for his intimate acquaintance with the Greek authors, and had as paſſionate a veneration for Æſchylus as Parſon Adams; the over-

† The gentlemen of the weſtern circuit have a tradition concerning Fielding, which, though ſomewhat inconſiſtent with the account that Mr. M. has given of him, yet is perfectly agreeable to the idea generally entertained of his humour and character. Having attended the judges two or three years without the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs, he publiſhed propoſals for a new law-book; which being circulated round the country, the young barriſter was, at the enſuing aſſizes, loaded with briefs at every town on the circuit.—But his practice thus ſuddenly increaſed, almoſt as ſuddenly declined.

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flowings of his benevolence were as ſtrong, and his fits of *reverie* were as frequent, and occurred too upon the moſt intereſting occaſions. Of this laſt obſervation, a ſingular inſtance is given by a gentleman who ſerved, during the laſt war in Flanders, in the very ſame regiment to which Mr. Young was chaplain. On a fine ſummer's evening, he thought proper to indulge himſelf in his love of a ſolitary walk; and accordingly he ſallied forth from his tent: the beauties of the hemiſphere, and the landſkip round him, preſſed warmly on his imagination; his heart overflowed with benevolence to all God's creatures, and gratitude to the Supreme Diſpenſer of that emanation of glory which covered the face of things. It is very poſſible that a paſſage in his dearly beloved Æſchylus occurred to his memory on this occaſion, and ſeduced his thoughts into a profound meditation. Whatever was the object of his reflections, certain it is, that ſomething did powerfully ſeize his imagination, ſo as to preclude all attention to things that lay immediately before him: and, in that deep fit of abſence, Mr. Young proceeded on his journey, till he arrived very quietly and calmly in the enemy's camp, where he was, with difficulty, brought to a recollection of himſelf by the repetition of *Qui va là*, from the ſoldiers upon duty. The officer who commanded, finding that he had ſtrayed thither in the undeſigning ſimplicity of his heart, and ſeeing an innate goodneſs in his priſoner, which commanded his reſpect, very politely gave him leave to purſue his contemplations home again.

Soon after the publication of *Joſeph Andrews*, Fielding's laſt comedy, the *Wedding-Day*, was exhibited on the ſtage; and, as we have already obſerved, it was attended with an indifferent ſhare of ſucceſs. The law from this time had its hot and cold fits with him. The repeated ſhocks of illneſs diſabled him from being as aſſiduous an attendant at the bar, as his own inclination, and patience of the moſt laborious application, would otherwiſe have made him. Beſides the demands for expence, which his valetudinarian habit of body conſtantly made upon him, he had likewiſe a family to maintain; from buſineſs he derived little or no ſupplies, and his proſpects therefore grew every day more gloomy and melancholy. To theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, if we add the infirmity of his wife, whom he loved tenderly, and the agonies he felt on her account; the meaſures of his afflictions will be well nigh full. To ſee her daily languiſhing and wearing away before his eyes, was too much for a man of his ſtrong ſenſations; the fortitude of mind, with which he met all the other calamities of life, deſerted him on this moſt trying occaſion; and her death, which happened about this time, brought on ſuch a vehemence of grief, that his friends began to think him in danger of loſing his reaſon. When the firſt emotions of his ſorrow were abated, he began again to ſtruggle with his fortune. He engaged in two periodical papers ſucceſſively: the firſt of theſe was called *The True Patriot*, which was ſet on foot during the late rebellion, and was conducive to the excitement of loyalty, and a love for the conſtitution in the breaſts of his countrymen. The *Jacobite Journal* was calculated to diſcredit the

ſhattered remains of an unſucceſsful party, and, by a well-applied raillery and ridicule, to bring the ſentiments of the diſaffected into contempt.

By this time Fielding had attained the age of forty-three; and being inceſſantly purſued by reiterated attacks of the gout, he was wholly rendered incapable of purſuing the buſineſs of a barriſter any longer. He was obliged therefore to accept the office of an acting magiſtrate in the commiſſion of the peace for Middleſex, with a yearly penſion out of the public-ſervice money. That he was not inattentive to the calls of his duty, is evident from the many tracts he publiſhed relating to ſeveral of the penal laws, and to the vices and mal-practices which thoſe laws were intended to reſtrain, particularly a *Charge* to the grand jury, delivered at Weſtminſter on the 29th of June, 1749, and the *Enquiry into the Cauſe of the Increaſe of Robberies, and a Propoſal for the Maintenance of the Poor*.

Amidſt theſe ſevere exerciſes of his underſtanding, and all the laborious duties of his office, his invention could not lie ſtill; but he found leiſure to amuſe himſelf, and afterwards the world, with the *Hiſtory of Tom Jones*. And now we are arrived at the ſecond grand epoch of Mr. Fielding's genius, when all his faculties were in perfect uniſon, and conſpired to produce a complete work, eminent in all the great eſſentials of compoſition, in fable, character, ſentiment, and elocution; and as theſe could not be all united in ſo high an aſſemblage, without a rich invention, a fine imagination, an enlightened judgment, and a lively wit, we may fairly here decide his character, and pronounce him the Engliſh Cervantes. It may be added, that in many parts of the *Tom Jones* we find he poſſeſſed the ſofter graces of character-painting, and of deſcription; many ſituations and ſentiments are touched with a delicate hand, and throughout the work he ſeems to feel as much delight in deſcribing the amiable part of human nature, as in his early days he had in exaggerating the ſtrong and harſh features of turpitude and deformity. This circumſtance breathes an air of philanthropy through his work.

Thus have we traced our author in his progreſs to the time when the vigour of his mind was in its full growth of perfection; from this period it ſunk, but by ſlow degrees, into a decline: *Amelia*, which ſucceeded *Tom Jones* in about four years, has indeed the marks of genius; but of a genius beginning to fall into its decay. *Amelia* is the Odyſſey, the moral and pathetic work, of Henry Fielding *.

While he was planning and executing this piece, it ſhould be remembered, that he was diſtracted by that multiplicity of avocations which ſurround a public magiſtrate; and his conſtitution, now greatly impaired and enfeebled, was labouring under the attacks of the gout, which were, of courſe, ſeverer than

* *Amelia*, in the new edition of Mr. Fielding's works, is printed from a copy corrected by the author's own hand. The exceptionable paſſages, which inadvertency had thrown out, are here retrenched; and the work, upon the whole, will be found nearer perfection than it was in its original ſtate.

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ever. However, the activity of his mind was not to be ſubdued. One literary purſuit was no ſooner over, than freſh game aroſe. A periodical paper, under the title of *The Covent Garden Journal, by Sir Alexander Drawcanſir, Knight, and Cenſor-General of Great Britain*, was immediately ſet on foot. It was publiſhed twice in every week, *viz.* on Tueſday and Saturday, and conduced ſo much to the entertainment of the public, that it was felt with a general regret that the author's health did not enable him to perſiſt in the undertaking any longer. Soon after this work was dropt, by the advice of phyſicians Mr. Fielding ſet out for Liſbon: the laſt gleams of his wit and humour ſparkled in the account he left behind him of his *Voyage to that place*. In this his laſt ſketch he puts us in mind of a perſon, under ſentence of death, jeſting on the ſcaffold; for his ſtrength was now quite exhauſted; and in about two months after his arrival at Liſbon, he yielded his laſt breath, in the year 1754, and in the forty-eighth year of his age.

He left behind him (for he married a ſecond time) a wife, and four children, three of which are ſtill living, and are now training up in a handſome courſe of education under the care of their uncle, with the aid of a very generous donation, given annually by Ralph Allen, Eſq; for that purpoſe. An inſtance of humanity, which the reader did not want to learn of him, whoſe life is a conſtant effuſion of munificence; but for the ſake of the writer, whoſe works have afforded ſuch exquiſite entertainment, he will be glad to know that the generous patron of the father is now the tender guardian of his orphans.

Thus was cloſed a courſe of diſappointment, diſtreſs, vexation, infirmity, and ſtudy: for with each of theſe his life was variouſly chequered, and, perhaps, in ſtronger proportions than has been the lot of many. We have ſeen how Mr. Fielding very ſoon ſquandered away his ſmall patrimony, which, with œconomy, might have procured him independence; we have ſeen how he ruined, into the bargain, a conſtitution, which, in its original texture, ſeemed formed to laſt much longer. When illneſs and indigence were once let in upon him, he no longer remained the maſter of his own actions; and that nice delicacy of conduct, which alone conſtitutes and preſerves a character, was occaſionally obliged to give way. When he was not under the immediate urgency of want, they, who were intimate with him, are ready to aver, that he had a mind greatly ſuperior to any thing mean or little; when his finances were exhauſted, he was not the moſt elegant in the choice of the means to redreſs himſelf, and he would inſtantly exhibit a farce or a puppet-ſhew in the Hay-market theatre, which was *wholly inconſiſtent with the profeſſion he had embarked in*. But his intimates can witneſs how much his pride ſuffered, when he was forced into meaſures of this kind; no man having a juſter ſenſe of propriety, or more honourable ideas of the employment of an author and a ſcholar.

Henry Fielding was in ſtature rather riſing above ſix feet; his frame of body large, and remarkably robuſt, till the gout had broke the vigour of his conſtitution. His

friend Hogarth, to whom he often promiſed to ſit, and for whom he has left us in his writings many beautiful memorials of his affection, had long laboured to try if he could bring out any likeneſs of him from images exiſting in his own fancy; and juſt as he was deſpairing of ſucceſs, for want of ſome rule to go by in the dimenſions and outlines of the face, fortune threw the grand *deſideratum* in the way. A lady, with a pair of ſciſſars, had cut a profile, which gave the diſtances and proportions of his face ſufficiently to reſtore the artiſt's loſt ideas of him. Glad of an opportunity of paying this laſt tribute to the memory of an author whom he admired, Mr. Hogarth caught at this outline with pleaſure, and worked with all the attachment of friendſhip till he finiſhed an excellent drawing, which ſtands at the head of the new edition of his works.

Mr. Murphy gives the character of Fielding in the following terms: His paſſions, as the poet expreſſes it, *were tremblingly alive all o'er*; whatever he deſired, he deſired ardently; he was alike impatient of diſappointment or ill-uſage, and the ſame quickneſs of ſenſibility rendered him elate in proſperity, and overflowing with gratitude at every inſtance of friendſhip or generoſity: ſteady in his private attachments, his affection was warm, ſincere, and vehement; in his reſentments he was manly, but temperate, ſeldom breaking out in his writings into gratifications of ill-humour, or perſonal ſatire. It is to the honour of thoſe whom he loved, that he had too much penetration to be deceived in their characters; and it is to the advantage of his enemies, that he was above paſſionate attacks upon them. Open, unbounded, and ſocial in his temper, he knew no love of money; but inclining to exceſs even in his very virtues, he puſhed his contempt of avarice into the oppoſite extreme of imprudence and prodigality. When young in life he had a moderate eſtate, he ſoon ſuffered hoſpitality to devour it; and when in the latter end of his days he had an income of four or five hundred a-year, he knew no uſe of money, but to keep his table open to thoſe who had been his friends when young, and had impaired their own fortunes. Tho' diſpoſed to gallantry by his ſtrong animal ſpirits, and the vivacity of his paſſions, he was remarkable for tenderneſs and conſtancy to his wife, and the ſtrongeſt affection for his children. Of ſickneſs and poverty he was ſingularly patient, and under the preſſure of thoſe evils he could quietly read *Cicero De conſolatione*; but if either of them threatened his wife, he was impetuous for her relief: and thus often from his virtues aroſe his imperfections. A ſenſe of honour he had as lively and delicate, as moſt men; but ſometimes his paſſions were too turbulent for it, or rather his neceſſities were too preſſing; in all caſes where delicacy was departed from, his friends knew how his own feelings reprimanded him. The intereſt of virtue and religion he never betrayed; the former is amiably enforced in his works; and for the defence of the latter, he had projected a laborious *Anſwer to the poſthumous Philoſophy of Bolingbroke*; and the preparation he had made for it, of long extracts and arguments from the fathers and the moſt eminent writers of controverſy,

verſy, is ſtill extant in the hands of his brother, Sir John Fielding. In ſhort, our author was unhappy, but not vicious *in his nature*; in his underſtanding lively, yet ſolid; rich in invention, yet a lover of real ſcience; an obſerver of mankind, yet a ſcholar of enlarged reading; a ſpirited enemy, yet an indefatigable friend; a ſatiriſt of vice and evil manners, yet a lover of mankind; an uſeful citizen, a poliſhed and inſtructive wit; and a magiſtrate zealous for the order and welfare of the community which he ſerved.

An account of the Life of Arioſto.

LOdovico Arioſto, the famous Italian poet, and author of *Orlando Furioſo*, was born at the caſtle of Reggio in Lombardy in 1474. His father, who was major-domo to duke Hercules, lived to the extent of his fortune, ſo left but little at his death. Arioſto, from his childhood, ſhewed great marks of genius, eſpecially in poetry, and wrote a comedy in verſe on the ſtory of Pyramus and Thiſbe, which his brothers and ſiſters played. His father being utterly unlearned, and rather regarding profit than his ſon's inclination, compelled him to ſtudy the civil law; in which, having plodded ſome years to no purpoſe, he quitted it for more pleaſing ſtudies. Yet often lamented, as Ovid and Petrarch did before him, and our own Milton ſince †, that his father baniſhed him from the muſes. On which occaſion, one cannot help obſerving, how cruel and impolitic it is for parents to force their children from thoſe prevailing ſtudies to which their genius leads them, and make them apply to others, which, as they hate, can never be a credit or advantage to them. At the age of twenty-four Arioſto loſt his father, and found himſelf perplexed with family affairs. However, in about ſix years he was, for his good parts, taken into the ſervice of Don Hippolito, cardinal of Eſte. At this time he had written nothing but a few ſonnets; but now he reſolved to make a poem, and choſe Bayardo's *Orlando Inamorato*, for a ground-work. However, he was prevented writing for a great many years, and was choſen as a fit perſon to go on an embaſſy to pope Julio II. where he gave ſuch ſatisfaction, that he was ſent again, underwent many dangers and difficulties, and at his return was highly favoured. Then at his leiſure, he again applied himſelf to his poem: but ſoon after he incurred the cardinal's diſpleaſure, for refuſing to accompany him into Hungary, by which he was ſo diſcouraged, that he deferred writing for fourteen years, even till the cardinal's death. After that he finiſhed by degrees, in great perfection, that which he begun with great expectation. Duke Aſtolfo offered him great promotions if he would ſerve him; but preferring liberty to grandeur, he refuſed this and other great offers from princes and cardinals, particularly from Leo X. from all whom he received notwithſtanding great preſents. The duke of Ferrara delighted ſo much in his comedies, of which he wrote five, that he built a ſtage on purpoſe to have them played in his

† See his Latin poem, *Ad Patrem*.

court, and enabled our poet to build himself a house in Ferrara, with a pleasant garden, where he used to compose his poems, which were highly esteemed by all the princes in Italy, who sent him many presents; but he said, "he would not sell his liberty for the best cardinal's hat in Rome." In his diet he was temperate, and so careless of dainties, that he was fit to have lived in the world when they fed upon acorns. Whether he was ever married is uncertain. He kept company with one Alexandra, to whom, it was reported, he was married privately, and a lady Genevera, whom he slily mentions in the 24th book of *Orlando*, as poets are apt to intermix with their fictions some real amours of their own. He was urged to go ambassador to pope Clement, but would by no means accept it. He translated the *Menecmi* of Plautus: and all his own comedies were so esteemed, that Don Francisco of Este rehearsed the prologue himself in public. He began one of his comedies in his father's life-time, when the following incident shews the remarkable talent he had for poetry. His father one day rebuked him sharply, charging him with some great fault, but all the while he returned him no answer. Soon after his brother began on the same subject; but he easily refuted him, and with strong arguments, justified his own behaviour. "Why then, said his brother, did you not satisfy my father?" "In truth, said Lodovico, I was thinking of a part in my comedy, and methought, my father's speech to me was so suited to the part of an old man chiding his son, that I forgot I was concerned in it myself, and considered it only to make it part of my play." Which, by the way, is not near so bad as the story of a famous painter, who having prevailed on a man to be tied naked to a cross to represent a crucified saviour, took occasion to stab him, the better to represent the agonies of death. It is also reported of Ariosto, that coming by a potter's shop, he heard him singing a stave out of his *Orlando*, with so bad a grace, that, out of all patience, he broke with his stick several of his pots: the potter, in a pitiful tone, asking what he meant by wronging a poor man that had never injured him, "You rascal, he replied, I have not done thee half the wrong thou hast done me, for I have broken but two or three pots of thine, not worth so many halfpence; whereas, thou hast broken and mangled a stanza of mine worth a mark of gold."

Ariosto was tall, of a melancholy complexion, and so absorbed in study and meditation, that he often forgot himself. His picture was drawn by Titian, in a masterly manner. He was honoured with the laurel by the hands of the emperor Charles V. He was naturally affable, always assuming less than was his due, yet never putting up a known injury, even from his superiors. He was so fearful on the water, that whenever he went out of a ship, he would see others go before him; and, on land, he would alight from his horse on the least apprehension of danger. How inconsistent this with that fiery imagination which could so well describe the courage, strength, and marvellous intrepidity of an Orlando Furioso, as well as of many other renowned and valiant knights, and valiant ladies too! For certainly he was much fitter to handle

handle the pen than the ſword, and to write advantageouſly the atchievements of others, than afford matter of panegyric, at leaſt, in the manner of theſe heroes, whoſe praiſes he delighted to ſing. Tho', in the opinion of many, the character of a good poet, and a good man, is, at leaſt, equal to that of an honourable warrior, and ſucceſsful knight-errant.

He lived to the age of 59, and towards his latter end grew infirm, and by much phyſic injured his ſtomach. He affirmed that he was willing to die; and the rather, becauſe he heard that the greateſt divines were of opinion, that after this life we ſhould meet and know our friends; ſaying, to thoſe that ſtood by, "that many of his friends were departed whom he had a great deſire to ſee; and that every hour ſeemed to him a year, till he might viſit them." He died in Ferrara, in the year 1533; and there was ſcarce a man that could write, but honoured him with an epitaph.

Life of Inigo Jones. Extracted from Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painters.

TOwards the end of James the firſt's reign, Genius was called out and appeared. The magnificent temper or taſte of the duke of Buckingham, led him to collect pictures, and pointed out the ſtudy of them to prince Charles. Rubens came over, Inigo Jones aroſe, and Architecture broke forth in all the luſtre and purity of Rome and Athens.

The greateſt artiſt of this profeſſion that has appeared in theſe kingdoms, and ſo great, that, in that reign of arts, we ſcarce know the name of another architect, was Inigo Jones, who, if a Table of Fame, like that in the Tatler, were to be formed for men of real and indiſputable genius in every country, would ſave England from the diſgrace of not having her repreſentative among the Arts. She adopted Holbein and Vandyck, ſhe borrowed Rubens, ſhe produced Inigo Jones. Vitruvius drew up his grammar, Palladio ſhewed him the practice, Rome diſplayed a theatre worthy of his emulation, and king Charles was ready to encourage, employ, and reward his talents. This is the hiſtory of Inigo Jones as a genius.

He was born about 1572, the ſon of a cloth-worker; and, by the moſt probable accounts, was bound apprentice to a joiner; but, even in that obſcure ſituation, the brightneſs of his capacity burſt forth ſo ſtrongly, that he was taken notice of by one of the great lords at court, who ſent him to Italy to ſtudy landſcape painting, to which his inclination then pointed. He was no ſooner at Rome, than he found himſelf in his proper ſphere: he felt that nature had not formed him to decorate cabinets, but deſign palaces. He dropt the pencil, and conceived Whitehall. In the ſtate of Venice he ſaw the works of Palladio, and learned how beautiful taſte may be exerted on a leſs theatre than the capital of an empire. How his abilities diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a ſpot where they certainly had no opportunity to act, we are not told, though it would not be the leaſt curious part of his hiſtory: certain it is, that, on the ſtrength of his reputation at Venice, Chriſtian IV. invited him to Denmark, and appointed him his archi-

tect;

tect; but on what buildings he was employed in that country, we are yet to learn. James I. found him at Copenhagen, and queen Anne took him in the quality of her architect to Scotland. He ſerved prince Henry in the ſame capacity, and the place of ſurveyor-general of the works was granted to him in reverſion. On the death of that prince, with whom at leaſt all his lamented qualities did not die, Jones travelled once more into Italy, and, aſſiſted by ripeneſs of judgment, perfected his taſte. To the interval between theſe voyages I ſhould be inclined to aſſign thoſe buildings of Inigo, which are leſs pure, and border too much upon that baſtard ſtile, which one may call King James's Gothic. Inigo's deſigns of that period are not Gothic; but have a littleneſs of parts, and a weight of ornaments, with which the revival of the Grecian taſte was encumbered, and which he ſhook off in his grander deſigns. The ſurveyor's place fell, and he returned to England; and, as if architecture was not all he had learned at Rome, with an air of Roman diſintereſtedneſs, he gave up the profits of his office, which he found extremely in debt; and prevailed upon the comptroller and paymaſter to imitate his example, till the whole arrears were cleared.

In 1620, he was employed in a manner very unworthy of his genius: king James ſet him upon diſcovering, that is, gueſſing, who were the founders of Stone-henge. His ideas were all romanized; conſequently, his partiality to his favourite people, which ought rather to have prevented him from charging them with that maſs of barbarous clumſineſs, made him conclude it a Roman temple. It is remarkable, that whoever has treated of that monument, has beſtowed on it whatever claſs of antiquity he was peculiarly fond of; and there is not a heap of ſtones in theſe northern countries, from which nothing can be proved, but has been made to depoſe in favour of ſome of theſe fantaſtical hypotheſes. Where there was ſo much room for viſions, the Phœnicians could not avoid coming in for their ſhare of the foundation; and, for Mr. Toland's part, he diſcovered a little Stone-henge in Ireland, built by the druideſs Gealcopa, (who does not know the druideſs Gealcopa?) who lived at Iniſoen in the county of Donegal.

In the ſame year Jones was appointed one of the commiſſioners for the repair of St. Paul's; but which was not commenced till the year 1633, when Laud, then biſhop of London, laid the firſt ſtone, and Inigo the fourth. In the reſtoration of that cathedral he made two capital faults. He firſt renewed the ſides with very bad Gothic, and then added a Roman portico, magnificent and beautiful indeed, but which had no affinity with the ancient parts that remained, and made his own Gothic appear ten times heavier. He committed the ſame error at Wincheſter, thruſting a ſcreen in the Roman or Grecian taſte into the middle of that cathedral. Jones indeed was by no means ſucceſsful when he attempted Gothic. The chapel of Lincoln's-Inn has none of the characteriſtics of that architecture. The cloyſter beneath ſeems oppreſſed by the weight of the building above.

The authors of the life of Jones place the erection of the Banqueting-houſe in the reign of king Charles; but it appears, from the accounts of Nicho-

Nicholas Stone, that it was begun in 1619, and finiſhed in two years—a ſmall part of the pile deſigned for the palace of our kings; but ſo complete in itſelf, that it ſtands a model of the moſt pure and beautiful taſte. Several plates of the intended palace at Whitehall have been given; but, Mr. Walpole thinks, from no finiſhed deſign. The four great ſheets are evidently made up from general hints; nor could ſuch a ſource of invention and taſte as the mind of Inigo, ever produce ſo much ſameneſs. The ſtrange kind of cherubims on the towers at the end are prepoſterous ornaments, and, whether of Inigo or not, bear no relation to the reſt. The great towers in the front are too near, and evidently borrowed from what he had ſeen in Gothic, not in Roman buildings. The circular court is a pictureſque thought; but without meaning or utility. The whole fabric, however, was ſo glorious an idea, that one forgets for a moment (ſays Mr. Walpole) in the regret for its not being executed, the confirmation of our liberties, obtained by a melancholy ſcene that paſſed before the windows of that very Banqueting-houſe.

In 1623 he was employed at Somerſet-houſe, where a chapel was to be fitted up for the Infanta, the intended bride of the prince. The chapel is ſtill in being. The front to the river, part only of what was deſigned, and the water-gate, were erected afterwards on the deſigns of Inigo, as was the gate at York-ſtairs.

On the acceſſion of Charles, Jones was continued in his poſts under both king and queen. His fee, as ſurveyor, was eight ſhillings and four pence a day, with an allowance of 46 l. a year for houſe-rent, beſides a clerk, and incidental expences. What greater rewards he had, are not upon record. Conſidering the havock made in offices and repoſitories during the war, one is glad of being able to recover the ſmalleſt notices.

During the proſperous ſtate of the king's affairs, the pleaſures of the court were carried on with much taſte and magnificence. Poetry, painting, muſic, and architecture were all called in to make them rational amuſements. Mr. Walpole is of opinion, that the celebrated feſtivals of Louis XIV. were copied from the ſhews exhibited at Whitehall, in his time the moſt polite court in Europe. Ben Johnſon was the laureat; Inigo Jones the inventor of the decorations; Laniere and Feraboſco compoſed the ſymphonies; the king, the queen, and the young nobility, danced in the interludes. We have accounts of many of thoſe entertainments, called maſques: they had been introduced by Anne of Denmark.

Lord Burlington had a folio of the deſigns for theſe ſolemnities, by Inigo's own hand, conſiſting of habits, maſks, ſcenes, &c. The harmony of theſe maſks was a little interrupted by a war that broke out between the compoſers, Inigo and Ben; in which, whoever was the aggreſſor, the turbulent temper of Johnſon took care to be moſt in the wrong. Nothing exceeds the groſſneſs of the language that he poured out, except the badneſs of the verſes that were the vehicle. There he fully exerted all that brutal abuſe which his cotemporaries were willing to think wit, becauſe they were afraid of it; and which only ſeems to ſhew the arrogance of the man, who

who preſumed to ſatyrize Jones and rival Shakeſpeare.

Another perſon, who ſeems to have borne much reſentment to Jones, was Philip earl of Pembroke. In the Harleian Library there is an edition of Stone-henge, which formerly belonged to that earl, the margins of which were full of abuſe of Jones and others. Earl Philip's reſentment was probably occaſioned by ſome diſagreement while Jones was employed at Wilton: there he built that noble front in a grotto at the end of the water. Wilton is one of the principal objects in the Hiſtory of Arts and the Belles Lettres: Sir Philip Sidney wrote his *Arcadia* there for his ſiſter; Vandyck drew many of the race; Holbein and Inigo Jones imagined the buildings; earl Thomas compleated the collection of pictures, and aſſembled that throng of ſtatues; and the laſt earl Henry has ſhewn, by a bridge deſigned by himſelf, that had Jones never lived, Wilton might yet have been a villa worthy of ancient Rome.

The works of Inigo Jones are not ſcarce; Surgeons-hall is one of his beſt works. One of the moſt admired is the Arcade of Covent-garden and the Church: "Two ſtructures, ſays Mr. Walpole, of which I want taſte to ſee the beauties. In the Arcade there is nothing remarkable; the pilaſters are as arrant and homely ſtripes as any plaiſterer would make. The barn-roof over the portico of the church ſtrikes my eyes with as little idea of dignity or beauty, as it could do if it covered nothing but a barn. It muſt be owned, that the defect is not in the architect, but in the order.—Who ever ſaw a beautiful Tuſcan building? Would the Romans have choſen that order for a temple?" The expence of building that church was 4500l.

Ambreſbury in Wiltſhire was deſigned by Jones, but executed by his ſcholar Webb. Jones was one of the firſt that obſerved the ſame diminution of pilaſters as in pillars. Lindſay-houſe, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, which he built, owes its chief grace to this ſingularity. In 1618 a ſpecial commiſſion was iſſued to the lord chancellor, the earls of Worceſter, Pembroke, Arundel, and others, to plant, and reduce to uniformity, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, as it ſhall be drawn by way of map, or ground-plot, by Inigo Jones, ſurveyor-general of the works. That ſquare is laid out with a regard to ſo trifling a ſingularity, as to be of the exact dimenſions of one of the pyramids: this would have been admired in thoſe ages, when the Keep at Kenelworth Caſtle was erected in the form of a horſe-fetter, and the Eſcurial in the ſhape of St. Laurence's gridiron.

Coleſhill in Berkſhire, the ſeat of Sir Matthew Pleydell, built in 1650, and Cobham-hall in Kent, were Jones's. He was employed to rebuild Caſtle Aſhby, and finiſhed one front; but the civil war interrupted his progreſs there and at Stoke-park in Northamptonſhire. Shaftſbury-houſe, now the London Lying-in-hoſpital, on the eaſt ſide of Alderſgate-ſtreet, is a beautiful front. The Grange, the ſeat of the lord chancellor Henley in Hampſhire, is intirely of this maſter. It is not a large houſe, but by far one of the beſt proofs of his taſte. The hall, which opens to a ſmall veſtibule with a cupola, and the ſtair-caſe adjoining, are beautiful models of the pureſt and moſt claſſic antiquity.

The

The gate of Beaufort-garden at Chelsea, designed by Jones, was purchased by lord Burlington, and transported to Chiswick, where, in a temple, are some wooden seats with lions and other animals for arms, not of his most delicate imagination, brought from Tart-hall. He drew a plan for a palace at Newmarket; but not that wretched hovel that stands there at present. One of the most beautiful of his works is the Queen's house at Greenwich. The first idea of the hospital is said to have been taken by his scholar Webb from his papers.

Inigo tasted early the misfortunes of his master. He was not only a favourite, but a Roman catholic: in 1646 he paid 545 l. for his delinquency and sequestration. Whether it was before or after this fine, it is uncertain, that he and Stone the mason buried their joint stock of ready money in Scotland-yard; but an order being published to encourage the informers of such concealments, and four persons being privy to the spot where the money was hid, it was taken up, and reburied in Lambeth-marsh.

Grief, misfortunes, and age, put an end to his life at Somerset-house, July 21, 1651.

Memoirs of M. d' Ensenada.

AT the beginning of the last war, when the count de Gages was going to embark for Italy, he found himself obliged to remain for a few days upon the sea coast, and having enquired for a house, where he might be tolerably accommodated, he was directed to that of an officer in the revenue, who, as his excellency was informed by the merchants of Cadiz, was the greatest oeconomist in Spain. Thither he went, and was received with equal politeness and respect. He had a very commodious apartment, in which every thing was elegantly neat, tho' there was nothing rich or expensive. He was served with the utmost punctuality, and the landlord was so very attentive, that he often foresaw his wants, and provided for them before they were mentioned. The count de Gages, one of the honestest, most grateful, and best tempered men in the world, was perfectly pleased with his situation, and quite charmed with his landlord, who was ever ready to serve him, though not troublesomely officious.

The count had a great many papers, memorials, instructions, relations, and other pieces of that nature, in the digesting of which, he had great occasion for a secretary, and his own was sick. The landlord offered his assistance, and told his excellency, by way of apology, that he had obtained this little employment by his service in the secretary's office. The count very gladly accepted this offer, and was equally amazed at his dexterity and diligence, and was above all surprized at a certain perspicuity in method and propriety of stile, which he had scarce observed in any other man's writings. In short he found him at once so useful and so agreeable, that he resolved not to part with him, and therefore without saying a word, he recommended him to the minister as a person that might be extremely necessary to him in Italy, as a commissary of provisions; desiring, that as he meant to take him along with him, his commission and his instructions

tions might be expedited by his ſecretary, who was now ſo well recovered as to be in a condition to join his maſter. This requeſt was accordingly complied with; and from a ſmall place in the cuſtoms, which ſcarce brought him five hundred dollars a year, he was graced with a title and an appointment of five thouſand pieces of eight, with a power of drawing upon the treaſury for one hundred times that ſum; all which was but an earneſt of his future fortunes.

The count de Gages being poſſeſſed of the commiſſion, ſent immediately for him to whom it belonged, and after many expreſſions of his entire ſatisfaction, in reference to his conduct and capacity, as well as in regard to the entertainment he had received in his houſe, aſked him if he was willing to go with him to Italy. He anſwered very ſubmiſſively to this, that he looked upon the honour done him by his excellency as ſo great, that he was ready to follow him to the end of the earth, and that he deſired only twenty-four hours time, to ſettle his accounts. Monſieur de Gages preſented him with his commiſſion, which Enſenada received with all the marks of reſpectful gratitude, but without any fawning adulation; only telling his excellency, that he was afraid he had conceived too good an opinion of him, that he would do his utmoſt to deſerve it, and that if he found this exceeded his powers, he would reſign his commiſſion, rather than diſgrace his benefactor. At the ſame time he was appointed commiſſary, a perſon was ſent down to ſucceed him in his former office, who was deſirous of taking the furniture, and whatever elſe belonged to M. Enſenada, at a reaſonable price. The new commiſſary gave a ſpecimen of his temper which ſurprized the count de Gages, for inſtead of naming any ſum, he told him that he left a clerk and a couple of ſervants behind him, and that provided he was kind to them, all that belonged to him, was entirely at his ſervice; which his ſucceſſor promiſed, and took him at his word.

His conduct in Italy did honour to the count de Gages' recommendation; he was equally aſſiduous and exact, indefatigable in buſineſs, attentive to the general officers, diſintereſted in reſpect to thoſe of inferior rank, and extremely affable to all who had any concern with him. In the courſe of that war, as every body knows, the count de Gages met with incredible difficulties: he was expected to do with a very ſmall army, what would have been a hard taſk to perform with one much more numerous. He was obliged to bear with the caprices of his maſter Philip V. a monarch who tho' he had an excellent heart, had alſo a temper very unequal. His miniſters likewiſe were very far from living on good terms, or in any degree of confidence, with each other; and it was the intereſt of the count to be well with them all, which he heartily endeavoured, and ſucceeded in it, better than could be expected. But what created the greateſt uneaſineſs, was the ſlowneſs of the ſupplies; and it was this circumſtance that enabled M. Enſenada to diſtinguiſh himſelf by continuing to find reſources, which he did much longer than perhaps any other man could have done.

But as all things have a period, at length theſe were quite wore out; ſo that Monſieur de Gages, his general

neral officers, and his commiſſary, found themſelves fairly at their wits end, with the untoward proſpect at no great diſtance, of having an army without either pay or magazines. In this ſtate of things, the count de Gages, and thoſe whom he conſulted, unanimouſly reſolved to ſend M. Enſenada into Spain, in hopes he might ſolicit better in perſon, than even by the many excellent memorials which he had tranſmitted to the court, on the melancholy ſubject of their diſtreſſes. He chearfully accepted this commiſſion, tho' at the ſame time he obſerved, that he had ſtretched his perſonal credit to the very utmoſt; and that he was leſs afraid of falling into the hands of the enemy, than of being expoſed to the reſentment of his diſappointed creditors. They expreſſed a very grateful ſenſe of his condeſcenſion, in accepting this commiſſion; and the rather, becauſe they knew he had ever lived within bounds, and had only borrowed to preſerve his friends from being pinched by neceſſity; and therefore they loaded him with recommendations to all the perſons in power, with whom they had, or believed they had, any degree of intereſt.

With theſe credentials M. Enſenada made the beſt haſte he could to Madrid, and entered upon his ſolicitations with all the ſpirit and addreſs poſſible. He was exceedingly well received by the miniſters, who made him ample acknowledgements for the many ſervices he had rendered to the army; gave him abundant aſſurances, little aſſiſtance, and not a ſingle real, though they did not pretend to queſtion the truth of his repreſentations. Inſtead of ſhunning, he ſought out all his creditors, and after affording them the moſt convincing proofs, that he had not ſquandered away their money, he told them plainly, that they muſt exert their intereſts with the great, in order to put it in his power to repay them. This was of more real ſervice to him, than all the numerous packets that he brought from Italy, and procured him, by degrees, conſiderable ſums, which thoſe very perſons enabled the miniſter to raiſe; for the real ſource of all this diſtreſs was the emptineſs of the royal coffers, an evil that a war very quickly brings on under a deſpotic government, where the knowledge that the ſtate is under difficulties, drives individuals into ſeeking every method of concealing their money, without offering them any one motive to part with it. In the midſt of theſe embarraſſments, Philip V. was gathered to his fathers, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Ferdinand the ſixth. A circumſtance that naturally put a ſtop to public buſineſs of every kind.

This event, which would have diſpirited any other man than our commiſſary, quickened his thoughts, and added a new ſpring of action. He entered into an acquaintance with ſome of the minor courtiers in order to learn from them the character of the new monarch. This he found to be abſolutely impoſſible; ſince they all agreed that he was ſo ſilent and reſerved, that the only thing they knew about him was his extreme affection for the queen. As to her majeſty, they repreſented her as a pious, virtuous, and affable princeſs, very fond of fruit, and who had a prodigious paſſion for jewels. M. Enſenada, reflecting a little upon this, took the proper meaſures for having a great quantity of the fineſt peaches from the king-

dom

dom of Valencia earlier than any body elſe, and prevailed upon a Jew to procure him a melon made in gold ſet with the fineſt ſtones, with a large diamond at the top, and a fine emerald where the ſtalk ſeemed to be broken off. This was placed on the ſummit of a ſilver pillar in the midſt of a large ſalver filled with peaches, and being preſented to the queen by one of the ladies of honour, procured M. Enſenada an introduction at court, where his aſſiduity and addreſs enabled him to make a much quicker progreſs than could well be imagined, to which his courteous behaviour and boundleſs generoſity did not a little contribute; ſo that in a ſhort ſpace of time he became a miniſter.

Thus far M. Enſenada's abilities ſeemed to extend with his fortune; and it was a confidence ariſing from this that threw him from a height which had really made him giddy. There was at this time a miniſter at the head of the Spaniſh councils, whoſe high birth and great experience would have excuſed many defects, if ſuperior talents and a probity rarely ſeen in courts had not ſurpaſſed the luſtre derived from his quality and his employments. This very worthy, as well as able man, ſaw in its true light the connection between the intereſts of Spain and Great Britain, which ever governed his conduct. M. Enſenada, lifted up by ſucceſs, and believing in the midſt of grandeur that he was ſtill inconſiderable while there was yet any ſubject above him, ſtruck into the contrary road, as much at leaſt from neceſſity, as choice: and hence aroſe his intrigues with the courts of Verſailles and Naples, in which he found himſelf baffled when he leaſt expected it, ſtripped of his employments, and ſent into exile notwithſtanding all the efforts of his powerful protectors. But not long after the commencement of the preſent reign he was again recalled to court, where, though he no longer figures as a miniſter, he is yet known to have much credit, and is with great probability at leaſt, if not juſtice, ſuſpected to have no ſmall hand in the late ſudden change of ſyſtem in that court.

Memoirs of Count Zinzendorff.

THere is no court in Europe, or it may be in the world, more jealous of its grandeur, than that of Vienna; and of courſe, the miniſters in no court whatever affect greater ſtate, or are at more pains to impreſs a very high degree of reverence and reſpect upon all who have the honour to approach them. But it ſometimes happens, that, even to candid obſervers, there are amazing littleneſſes, viſible in theſe otherwiſe great men; and broad ſtreaks of folly now and then appear through all the grave wiſdom and refined policy of theſe mighty ſtateſmen. They give law to great kingdoms, they decide on the fate of potent nations, they preſcribe rules even to lateſt poſterity, and in the midſt of all this attention to others, ſo it is! that they have great and glaring foibles, uncorrected in themſelves; which naturally tarniſhes that glory, and diminiſhes that eſteem, in which they ſhould ſeem to have placed their felicity.

Lewis count Zinzendorff is celebrated for his profound miniſterial abilities, by all the memoir writers of the preſent age, from the ſolemn

lemn marquis de Lamberti, down to the ingenious baron de Pollnitz. This illuſtrious count was deſcended from a very noble family in Auſtria, and his mother was a princeſs of the houſe of Holſtein. He had a good perſon, ſtrong natural parts, improved by a regular education, and ſtill much more improved by long experience in a variety of great employments, which he diſcharged with a deſerved reputation, and roſe gradually to the elevated ſtation of chancellor of the court, miniſter for foreign affairs, and knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, in the reign of the emperor Charles the ſixth. He had diſtinguiſhed himſef, in the conduct of many perplexed negotiations: and it was to his conſummate ſkill in politics we ſtand indebted for the famous Pragmatic Sanction, that has already made ſuch a noiſe in Europe, embarraſſes it at preſent, and the conſequences of which will probably reach, and may perhaps again embarraſs, ages that are ſtill to come.

Baron de Pollnitz, with his uſual care and circumſpection, remarks, "That he kept the nobleſt and moſt elegant table at Vienna." This, which to a common reader, it is likely, may appear no uncommon circumſtance, might very probably have pleaſed that great miniſter more than all the fine things he has ſaid of him beſides. With all his ſhining talents, and profound abilities, which had rendered him admired in ſo many different courts, the count was leſs zealous of his reputation in the cabinet, than of his honour of diſplaying the moſt ſplendid, and the moſt exquiſite table, that perhaps was ever kept, in that or any other capital.

His magnificence in this point would have been truly wonderful, if it had not been eclipſed by various excellencies of a ſuperior kind. His ſkill was ſo great, that he was equally acquainted with Aſiatic and Italian luxury. His olios exceeded thoſe of Spain; his paſtry was much more delicate than that of Naples; his Perigord pyes were truly brought from thence; his ſauſages were made at Bologna; his macaroni by the grand Duke's cook: and as for his wines, no country that produced a grape of any repute, but a ſample of it, for the honour of its vineyards, was to be found at his all-capacious ſide-board. His kitchen was an epitome of the univerſe; for there were cooks in it of all nations; and in the adjacent numerous and ſpacious apartments, were to be found rarities collected from all the quarters of the globe. He had, in order to collect theſe, his agents for proviſions in every country; the carriages on which they were laden came quicker and more regularly than the poſts, and thoſe who were very well informed believed that the expences of his entertainments ran higher than that for ſecret correſpondence, though very poſſibly they might be rendered ſubſervient and uſeful to each other.

In his general converſation, the count was cautious and circumſpect; in his conferences with other miniſters, reſerved though very polite; but at his table all this ſtate machinery was laid aſide. There, to diſplay his ſuperior learning, he diſcourſed at large, and delivered the moſt curious as well as copious lectures on all his exotic and domeſtic delicacies. In theſe he ſhewed a true ſpirit of juſtice: no man was ever leſs a plagiary. This pillau he

he had from prince Eugene, who had it from the baſhaw of Buda; the egg ſoup was made after the mode of the marchioneſs de Prie; the Roan ducks were ſtewed in the ſtile of the cardinal du Bois; and the lampreys came ready dreſſed from a great miniſter in England. His diſhes furniſhed him with a kind of chronology; his water ſouchy was borrowed from marſhal d' Auverquerque's table, when he was firſt in Holland; the pleaſant tourt was a diſcovery he made in Spain, where he was ſo lucky as to pick up a man, who, as a purveyor, had been in the ſervice of that prince of bon-vivans the duke de Vendoſme: but he always allowed, that the grand ſchool of cookery was the congreſs at Soiſſons, where the political conferences indeed proved ineffectual, but the entertainments of the ſeveral miniſters were ſplendid beyond deſcription. In a word, with a true Apician eloquence, he generouſly inſtructed all the novices in good living; and, as Solomon diſcourſed of every herb, from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyſop on the wall; ſo he began with a champignion no bigger than a Dutchman's waiſt-coat button, and ended with wild boar, the glory of the German foreſts!

On his public days, there was an half hour, and ſometimes near a whole one, when he was altogether inacceſſible; and with reſpect to his employment at thoſe ſeaſons, as is ever the caſe as to the privacies of prime miniſters, there was a great variety of deep as well as different ſpeculations. An inquiſitive foreigner, however, reſolved to be at the bottom, coſt what it would; and by a gratification to one of his pages, which might have procured a greater ſecret, he was let into this. In order to gratify his curioſity, he was placed in a cloſet, between the room where the count was, and the chamber of audience, where he had the ſatisfaction of beholding the following pleaſant ſcene. The count ſeated in his elbow chair, gave the ſignal of his being ready for the important buſineſs, when, preceded by a page, with a cloth on his arm, and a drinking-glaſs, one of his principal domeſtics appeared, who preſented a ſilver ſalver, with many little pieces of bread, elegantly diſpoſed; he was immediately followed by the firſt cook, who, on another ſalver, had a number of ſmall veſſels, filled with ſo many different kinds of gravy. His excellency then tucking his napkin into his cravat, firſt waſhed and gargled his mouth, and having wiped it, dipped a piece of bread in each kind of ſauce, and having taſted with much deliberation, rinſing his palate (to avoid confuſion) after every piece, at length with inexpreſſible ſagacity decided as to the deſtination of them all. Theſe grand inſtruments of luxury, with their attendants, then were diſmiſſed, and the long expected miniſter having fully diſcuſſed this intereſting affair, found himſelf at liberty to diſcharge next the duties of his political function.

This is no malignant cenſure, but a gentle and genuine repreſentation of this great man's oſtentation, in what he choſe to make his principal profeſſion. If it was right, as poſſibly many may think it, then, tho' faintly drawn, this is to be conſidered as a panegyric: but if wrong, it is no libel, but barely an admonitory exhortation to thoſe, who in every high ſtation, may be a little tinged with this folly; and a ſhort exerciſe,

exercise, upon this proposition, that the science of eating, great as it may be, is after all no liberal science.

Authentick conversation between the king of Prussia and the ingenious Mr. Gellert, professor in Belles Lettres at Leipsick; extracted from a letter dated, Leipsick, January 27, 1761.

THE 18th of October last, about three o'clock in the afternoon, while professor Gellert was sitting in his nightgown at his desk, much out of order, he heard some body knock at his door,—"Pray, Sir, walk in,—Sir, your servant, my name is Quintus Icilius, and I am extremely glad to have the pleasure of forming an acquaintance with one so famous in the republic of letters. I am not, however, come here in my own name only, but in that of his Prussian majesty, who desires to see you, and has commanded me to conduct you to him." After some excuses founded on his ill health, M. Gellert accompanied major Quintus, who introduced him into the apartment of his majesty, where the following conversation was carried on, by the king and the two literati.

King. Are you professor Gellert?

Gellert. Yes, Sir.

K. The English envoy has mentioned you to me as a person of eminent merit. From whence are you?

G. From Hanichen, near Freyberg.

K. What is the reason that we have no good German writers?

Major Quintus. Your majesty has before your eyes an excellent German writer, whose productions even the French have judged worthy of a translation, and whom they call the *La Fountaine of Germany.*

K. This, Mr. Gellert, is, no doubt, a strong proof of your merit. Pray, have you read *La Fountaine?*

G. Yes, Sir, but without imitating him. I have aimed at the merit of being original in my way.

K. Here you are in the right. But what is the reason that we have not in Germany a greater number of such good authors as you?

G. Your majesty seems prejudiced against the Germans.

K. By no means!

G. Against the German writers at least.

K. That may be, and the truth is, I have not a very high opinion of them. Whence comes it that we find no good historians among them?

G. We have, Sir, in Germany, several good historians; among others Cramer, the continuator of Bossuet, and also the learned Mascow.

K. A German continue the *Universal History of Bossuet!* how can that be?

G. He has not only continued it, but also performed this difficult task with the greatest success. One of the most eminent professors in your majesty's dominions has declared this continuation equal in eloquence, and superior in point of exactness, to Bossuet's history.

K. How does it come to pass that we have no good translation of Tacitus in the German language?

G. That author is extremely difficult to translate, and the French translations that have been given of him, are entirely destitute of merit.

K. This I acknowledge.

G. There are ſeveral cauſes that have contributed hitherto to prevent the Germans from becoming eminent in the different kinds of writing. While the arts and ſciences flouriſhed among the Greeks, the Romans were ſolely occupied in the pernicious art of war. May we not look upon this as the military age of Germany? May I not add to this, that they have not been animated by ſuch patrons of learning as Auguſtus and Lewis XIV.

K. And yet you have had two Auguſtus's in Saxony.

G. True, Sire, and we alſo have ſeen good beginnings in that country.

K. How can you expect that there ſhould be one Auguſtus in Germany, divided as it is?

G. That Sire, is not my meaning. I only wiſh that every prince would encourage, in his own dominions, men of true genius.

K. Were you never out of Saxony?

G. I was once at Berlin.

K. You ought to travel.

G. Sire, I have no inclination to travelling, nor would my circumſtances enable me to travel had I ever ſo much inclination to it.

K. What kind of ſickneſs are you troubled with? I ſuppoſe it is the malady of the learned.

G. Be it ſo: ſince your majeſty does me the honour to give it that name. I could not, without the greateſt vanity, have given it that appellation myſelf.

K. I have had this diſeaſe as well as you; and I think I can cure you. You have only to uſe exerciſe, ride every day, and take once a week a doſe of rhubarb.

G. This remedy, Sire, might prove to me worſe than the diſeaſe. If the horſe I uſe has more health and ſpirits than I myſelf have, I dare not ride him; and if he has leſs, I certainly ſhould not receive much benefit from the uſe of him.

K. Why then don't you make uſe of a carriage?

G. I am not rich enough for that.

K. Aye, there it is that the ſhoe generally pinches the German literati. The times, indeed, are but bad at preſent.

G. Very bad, indeed, Sire. But if your majeſty would be ſo generous as to give peace to Germany---

K. How can I do that? Have you not heard that I have againſt me three crowned heads?

G. My chief knowledge, Sire, lies in ancient hiſtory: I have ſtudied much leſs that of modern times.

K. Which do you prefer as an epick poet, Homer or Virgil?

G. Homer certainly, as an original genius, merits the preference.

K. Virgil, however, is a more poliſhed writer.

G. We live in an age too remote from that of Homer's to form an accurate judgment of the language and manners of that early period. I therefore depend upon the judgment of Quintilian, who gives Homer the preference.

K. We muſt not, however, pay a ſlaviſh deference to the judgment of the ancients.

G. Neither do I follow it blindly. I only adopt it when antiquity throws ſuch a miſt over an object as prevents my ſeeing it with my own eyes, and, conſequently, hinders me from judging for myſelf.

K. You have compoſed, I am told,

told, fables remarkable for their elegance and wit. Can you repeat me one?

G. I really don't know, Sire, if I can; my memory is far from being good.

K. Do your beſt; I ſhall take a turn in the apartment, and give you time to recollect one.—Well, have you ſucceeded?

G. Yes, Sire. "A certain painter of Athens, who exerciſed his art with a view to reputation rather than from the love of gain, addreſſed himſelf to a connoiſſeur for his opinion of one of his pictures, which repreſented the god Mars. The connoiſſeur could not diſſemble; he found the piece defective; he objected particularly the too great appearance of art that reigned through the whole. The painter defended his work with all the warmth of an inordinate ſelf-love; the critic anſwered his arguments, but without producing conviction. In the mean time arrives a coxcomb, who caſts an eye upon the picture, and without giving himſelf a moment's time to reflect, cries out in a rapture, Gods! what a maſter-piece! Mars lives, breathes, terrifies in that admirable production. Obſerve thoſe feet, thoſe nails! What taſte, what an air of grandeur in the helmet, the ſhield, and in the whole armour of the terrible deity! The painter bluſhed, beheld the true connoiſſeur with a look that ſpoke confuſion and conviction; and ſaid to him, I am now perſuaded that your judgment is well founded. The coxcomb retired, and the picture was effaced."

K. Now for the moral.

G. It is this: "When the productions of an author do not ſatisfy a good judge, this is a ſtrong preſumption againſt them; but when they are extolled by a blockhead, then it is high time to commit them to the flames."

K. Excellent, Mr. Gellert! The piece is admirable; and there is ſomething elegant in the conſtruction of this fable. I can perceive the force and beauty of this compoſition. But when Gottſched read to me his tranſlation of *Iphigenia*, I had before me the French original, and did not underſtand a word of what he read. If I ſtay here ſome time, you muſt come and ſee me often, and read me ſome of your fables.

G. I don't know, Sire, if I may venture to read, as I have acquired by habit that ſinging tone of voice which is common in our mountains.

K. Aye, like that of the Sileſians. You muſt, however, read your fables yourſelf, otherwiſe they will loſe.—Return ſoon hither.

When Mr. Gellert was gone, the king ſaid, "This is quite another man than Gottſched;" and the day following, he ſaid at table, that "Of all the learned Germans, Gellert was the moſt rational and judicious."

Some account of the late Richard Naſh, Eſq;

RIchard Naſh, Eſq; or, as he is commonly called, Beau Naſh, the ſubject of this memoir, was born in the town of Swanſey, in Glamorganſhire, on the 18th of October, 1674. His father's principal income aroſe from a partnerſhip in a glaſs-houſe; his mother was niece to colonel Poyer, who was killed by Oliver Cromwell for defending

Pembroke caſtle againſt the rebels. Naſh himſelf was educated under Mr. Maddocks at Caermarthen ſchool, and from thence ſent to Jeſus college, in Oxford, to prepare him for the ſtudy of the law.

The firſt method Mr. Naſh took to diſtinguiſh himſelf at college was not by application to ſtudy, but by aſſiduity in intrigue. In the neighbourhood of every univerſity there are girls, who with ſome beauty, more coquetry, and little fortune, lie upon the watch for every raw amorous youth. Our hero was quickly caught, and went thro' all the mazes and adventures of a college intrigue, before he was 17; he offered marriage, the offer was accepted, but the affair coming to the knowledge of his tutor, he was ſent home, with proper inſtructions, to his father.

Mr. Naſh having thus quitted college, bought him a pair of colours, and entered into the army, but ſtill continuing his intrigues, and finding that the profits of his commiſſion would not enable him to ſupport his expences, he exchanged the military life for the ſtudy of the law, and accordingly entered his name in the Temple books. Here he went to the very ſummit of ſecond-rate luxury. Though very poor he was very fine, he ſpread the little gold he had in the moſt oſtentatious manner, and though the gilding was but thin, he laid it on as far as it would go.

In thoſe days it was cuſtomary for the inns of court to entertain every monarch, on their acceſſion to the throne, with a pageant. King William, the laſt to whom this honour was exhibited, was then juſt come to the crown. Mr. Naſh was appointed to conduct the ceremony, which he diſcharged ſo much to the ſatisfaction of his majeſty, that he offered him knighthood. "Pleaſe your majeſty (replyed Naſh) if you intend to make me a knight, I wiſh it may be one of your poor knights of Windſor, and then I ſhall have a fortune at leaſt able to ſupport the title." We do not find, however, that the king took the hint, he had numbers to oblige, and never cared to give money without adequate ſervices.

But though Naſh acquired no riches by his late office, he gained many friends. With theſe he converſed with the greateſt familiarity, and his generoſity and benevolence already began to ſhew themſelves amidſt all his poverty. An inſtance of this kind is told us about this time, which does him no ſmall honour. When he was to give in his accounts to the maſter of the temple, among other articles, he charged, "For making one man happy 10 l." Being queſtioned about the meaning of ſo ſtrange an item, he frankly declared, that happening to over-hear a poor man tell his wife and a large family of children, that 10 l. would make him happy, he could not avoid trying the experiment, adding, that if they did not chooſe to acquieſce in his charge, he was ready to refund the money. The maſter, ſtruck with ſuch an uncommon inſtance of good nature, publickly thanked him, and deſired that the ſum might be doubled as a proof of their ſatisfaction. This fact is recorded in the Spectator, though without a name.

On the other hand we are told, that while the poor bleſſed his charity and munificence, his creditors complained with great reaſon of his injuſtice; and amongſt other ſtories related

related of him to this purpoſe, is one which informs us of a friend's not being able to procure a juſt debt of him, but by the employing another perſon to borrow a ſum of Naſh to the amount. The perſon obeyed, and readily obtained that from Naſh's generoſity, which the other had often implored in vain from his juſtice.

Our hero being now thirty years old, without a fortune, or talents to procure one, and being entered beſides into a life of gaiety, commenced gameſter. In this profeſſion he experienced all the viciſſitudes which attend that courſe of life, being ſometimes in affluence, and at other times reduced to the loweſt ebb of poverty. His profeſſion naturally drew him down to Bath, the waters of which began then to be in repute. Captain Webſter, his predeceſſor in office, dying about the ſame time, Naſh found means to ſucceed him, and by the regulations he introduced both there and at Tunbridge, ſoon became the favourite of all the rich and great who frequented thoſe places of public pleaſure. Theſe preſented him with boxes and many other valuable teſtimonies of their favour, but the principal honour he received in this reſpect was from the late prince of Wales and the prince of Orange, to the memory of each of whom he has raiſed a column. A ſuit in chancery, however, which he imprudently commenced afterwards againſt the keepers of the gaming-tables there and at Tunbridge, contributed not a little to leſſen his reputation, as it ſhewed him to be intimately connected with a very infamous ſet of people; but ſtill continuing his protection to the innocent and his friendſhip to all who ſtood in need of it, he maintained his poſt as ſupreme arbiter of all their pleaſures, to the very day of his death.

Some time before his deceaſe, we are told, his temper became ſo changed through age and poverty, that he grew very affronting, peeviſh and diſguſtful. This gave encouragement, as is ſaid, to a gentleman, who trod the ſtage for many years with reputation, to endeavour to ſupplant him in his place. But be this as it will, Naſh ſtill preſerved his power, and the corporation of Bath, in gratitude for the great benefits derived from him to the city, allowed him a penſion of ſix ſcore guineas a year, which was paid him by ten guineas at a time, on the firſt Monday in every month. This, with the ſale of his ſnuff-boxes, and other trinkets, enabled him to lead out a lingering life, which he was very deſirous to have made longer, till the 3d of February, 1761, when he died ſincerely regretted by that city, to which he had been a great benefactor, aged eighty-ſeven years, three months, and ſome days.

His funeral was performed with all the pomp and ſolemnity the place could afford, and his epitaph was written both in Latin and Engliſh by ſome of the firſt geniuſes of the age. Two of the beſt of theſe are given us in the volume which contains his memoirs. [See our laſt volume.]

As to his abilities we are told, that he was not without good ſenſe, though he employed it on trifles; and as he was always aiming at ſaying good things, he now and then had the fortune to ſucceed. A ſpecimen of his wit is given us in a reply to Dr. Cheyne, who, having preſcribed for him, and aſking him the next day, if he had followed

his prescription, "No, (says he) for if I had, I should have broke my neck, for I threw it out of the two-pair-of-stairs window." Much better were the bon-mots that were played off against him. Telling a noble earl, one day, that he had lost five hundred pounds at cards, "Is it not surprising, (said he) that fortune should always serve me so?" "Not at all (replied the earl) it cannot be surprising that you should lose your money; but all the world is surprised where you get money to lose."

His conversation, like his life, was trifling, and strongly tinctured with vanity, braggade, and impertinence. Of this we have a specimen or two in some of those stories which, the writer of his life tells us, he used to be continually repeating towards the latter end of his life. But, with all his faults, it must be owned, that he was not without good qualities; and the many instances of his unbounded charity and benevolence, with the means that he contrived to put the pleasures of the rich under some regulation, ought to serve as a veil to those follies of which his life was but too full.

A short Character of his Excellency Thomas, Earl of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. By Dr. Swift.

London, Aug. 30, 1710.

THE kingdom of Ireland being governed by deputation from hence, its annals, since the English establishment, are usually digested under the heads of the several governors: but the affairs and events of that island, for some years past, have been either so insignificant, or so annexed to those of England, that they have not furnished matter of any great importance to history. The share of honour, which gentlemen from thence have had by their conduct and employments in the army, turneth all to the article of this kingdom; the rest, which relateth to politics, or the art of government, is inconsiderable to the last degree, however it may be represented at court by those who preside there, and would value themselves upon every step they make towards finishing the slavery of that people, as if it were gaining a mighty point to the advantage of England.

Generally speaking, the times which afford most plentiful matter for story, are those in which a man would least chuse to live; such as under the various events and revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or the violence of a prevailing one; and lastly, the arbitrary, unlawful acts of oppressing governors. In the war, Ireland hath no share, but in subordination to us: the same may be said of their factions, which, at present, are but imperfect transcripts of ours. But the third subject for history, which is arbitrary power, and oppression; as it is that by which the people of Ireland have, for some time, been distinguished from all her majesty's subjects, so being now at its greatest height, under his excellency Thomas earl of Wharton, a short account of his government may be of some use or entertainment to the present age, although, I hope, it will be incredible to the next: and, because this account may be judged rather an history of his excellency than of his government, I must here declare,

declare, that I have not the leaſt view to his perſon in any part of it. I have had the honour of much converſation with his lordſhip, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applauſe, and how inſenſible of reproach; which is not a humour put on to ſerve a turn, or keep a countenance, nor ariſing from the conſciouſneſs of innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the mere unaffected bent of his nature.

He is without the ſenſe of ſhame or glory, as ſome men are without the ſenſe of ſmelling; and, therefore, a good name to him is no more than a precious ointment would be to theſe. Whoever, for the ſake of others, were to deſcribe the nature of a ſerpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, muſt be underſtood to do it without any perſonal love or hatred for the animals themſelves.

In the ſame manner, his excellency is one whom I neither perſonally love nor hate. I ſee him at court, at his own houſe, and ſometimes at mine, (for I have the honour of his viſits) and when theſe papers are public, it is odds but he will tell me, as he once did upon a like occaſion, that he is damnably mauled; and then, with the eaſieſt tranſition in the world, aſk about the weather, or time of the day: ſo that I enter on the work with more chearfulneſs, becauſe I am ſure neither to make him angry, nor any way hurt his reputation; a pitch of happineſs and ſecurity to which his excellency hath arrived, and which no philoſopher before him could reach.

I intend to execute this performance by firſt giving a character of his excellency, and then relating ſome facts during his government, which will ſerve to confirm it.

I know very well, that mens characters are beſt known from their actions; but theſe being confined to his adminiſtration in Ireland, his character may, perhaps, take in ſomething more, which the narrowneſs of the time, or the ſcene, hath not given him opportunity to exert.

Thomas, earl of Wharton, lord lieutenant of Ireland, by the force of a wonderful conſtitution, hath paſſed ſome years, his grand climacteric, without any viſible effects of old age, either on his body or his mind; and, in ſpite of a continual proſtitution to thoſe vices which uſually wear out both, his behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five and twenty. Whether he walketh, or whiſtleth, or ſweareth, or talketh bawdy, or calleth names, he acquitteth himſelf in each beyond a Templar of three years ſtanding. With the ſame grace, and in the ſame ſtile, he will rattle his coachman in the middle of the ſtreet, where he is governor of the kingdom; and all this is without conſequence, becauſe it is in his character, and what every body expecteth. He ſeemeth to be but an ill diſſembler, and an ill liar, although they are the two talents he moſt practiſeth, and moſt valueth himſelf upon. The ends he hath gained by lying appeared to be more owing to the frequency, than the art of them; his lies being ſometimes detected in an hour, often in a day, and always in a week. He tells them freely, in mixed companies, although he knows half of thoſe that hear him to be his enemies, and is ſure they will diſcover them the moment they leave him. He ſweareth ſolemnly he loveth, and

and will ſerve you; and your back is no ſooner turned, but he tells thoſe about him you are a dog and a raſcal. He goeth conſtantly to prayers in the forms of his place, and will talk bawdy and blaſphemy at the chapel door. He is a preſbyterian in politics, and an atheiſt in religion; but he chuſeth at preſent to whore with a papiſt. In his commerce with mankind his general rule is, to endeavour to impoſe on their underſtanding, for which he hath but one receipt, a compoſition of lies and oaths: and this he applieth indifferently to a freeholder of forty ſhillings, and a privy counſellor; by which the eaſy and the honeſt are often either deceived or amuſed, and either way he gaineth his point. He will openly take away your employment to-day, becauſe you are not of his party; tomorrow he will meet or ſend for you, as if nothing at all had paſſed, lay his hands with much friendſhip on your ſhoulders, and, with the greateſt eaſe and familiarity, tell you that the faction are driving at ſomething in the houſe; that you muſt be ſure to attend, and to ſpeak to all your friends to be there, although he knoweth at the ſame time, that you and your friends are againſt him in the very point he mentioneth: and, however abſurd, ridiculous, and groſs this may appear, he hath often found it ſucceſsful; ſome men having ſuch an aukward baſhfulneſs, they know not how to refuſe on a ſudden, and every man having ſomething to hope or fear, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes with perſons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He hath ſunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom [England], and hath raiſed it by going far in the ruin of another [Ireland.] With a good natural underſtanding, a great fluency in ſpeaking, and no ill taſte of wit, he is generally the worſt companion in the world; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politics, ſo that bawdy, prophaneneſs, and buſineſs, fill up his whole converſation. To gratify himſelf in the two firſt, he maketh uſe of ſuitable favourites, whoſe talents reach no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdneſs that paſſeth in town. As for buſineſs, he is ſaid to be very dextrous at that part of it which turneth upon intrigue; and he ſeemeth to have transferred thoſe talents of his youth, for intriguing with women, into public affairs. For as ſome vain young fellows, to make a gallantry appear of conſequence, will chuſe to venture their necks by climbing up a wall or window at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone in at the door, and at noon-day; ſo his excellency, either to keep himſelf in practice, or advance the fame of his politics, affects the moſt obſcure, troubleſome, and winding paths, even in the moſt common affairs, thoſe which would be brought about as well in the ordinary forms, or would follow of courſe, whether he intervened or not.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a ſtoic, and thinks them well recompenſed by a return of children to ſupport his family; without the fatigues of being a father. He has three predominant paſſions, which you will ſeldom find united in the ſame man, as ariſing from different diſpoſitions of mind, and naturally thwarting each

each other: these are, love of power, love of money, and love of pleasure: they ride him sometimes by turns, and sometimes all together. Since he went into Ireland, he seemeth most disposed to the second, and hath met with great success, having gained by his government, of under two years, five and forty thousand pounds, by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential.

He was never yet known to refuse or keep a promise. But here I desire to distinguish between a promise and a bargain; for he will be sure to keep the latter when he has the fairest offer.

An account of the death of Oliver Cromwell, and the succession of his son Richard to the protectorship; as first published by authority.

"*Whitehall, Sept.* 3, 1658.

HIS most serene and renowned highness Oliver, lord protector, being, after a sickness of about fourteen days (which appeared an ague in the beginning) reduced to a very low condition of body, began early this morning to draw near the gates of death; and it pleased God, about three o'clock in the afternoon, to put a period to his life.

We would willingly express, on this sad occasion, the deep sorrow which hath possessed the minds of his most noble son and successor, and other dearest relations, had we language sufficient: but all that we can use will fall short of the merits of that most excellent prince.

His first undertakings for the public interest, his working things all along, as it were out of the rock; his founding a military discipline in these nations, such as is not to be found in any example of preceding times; and whereby the noble soldiers of these nations may, without flattery, be commended for piety, moderation, and obedience, as a pattern to be imitated, but hardly to be equalled by succeeding generations: his wisdom and piety in things divine; his prudence in management of civil affairs, and conduct of military, and admirable successes in all, made him a prince indeed among the people of God; by whose prayers being lifted up to the supreme dignity, he became more highly seated in their hearts, because, in all his actings, it was evident that the main design was to make his own interest one and the same with theirs, that it might be subservient to the great interest of Jesus Christ.

And in the promoting of this, his spirits knew no bounds; his affection could not be confined at home, but broke forth into foreign parts, where he was universally admired by good men, as an extraordinary person raised up of God; and by them owned as the protector and patron of the evangelical profession. This being said, and the world itself witness of it, we can only add, that God gave him blessings proportionable to all these virtues, and made him a blessing to us; by his wisdom and valour, to secure our peace and liberty, and to revive the ancient renown and reputation of our native country.

After all this, it is remarkable how it pleased the Lord, on this day, to take him to rest, it having formerly been a day of labour to him; for which both he and the

the day (September 3) will be moſt renowned to poſterity; it having been to him a day of triumphs and thankſgiving, for the memorable victories of Dunbar and Worceſter*: a day which, after ſo many ſtrange revolutions of Providence, high contradictions, and wicked conſpiracies of unreaſonable men, he lived once again to ſee; and then to die with great aſſurances and ſerenity of mind, peaceably in his bed.

Thus, it hath proved to him to be a day of triumph, indeed; there being much of Providence in it, that, after ſo glorious crowns of victory, placed on his head by God, on this day, having neglected an earthly crown, he ſhould now go to receive the crown of everlaſting life.

Being gone, to the unſpeakable grief of all good men, the privy council immediately aſſembled; and being ſatisfied that the lord protector was dead, and upon ſure and certain knowledge that his late highneſs did, in his life-time, according to the humble petition and advice, declare, and appoint the moſt noble and illuſtrious lord, the lord Richard, eldeſt ſon of his ſaid highneſs, to ſucceed him in the government as lord protector, it was ſo reſolved at the council; which being made known to the officers of the army, it was pleaſant to behold, with how much content and ſatisfaction they received the notice of it, and unanimouſly concurred therewith; being reſolved, to their utmoſt, to maintain the ſucceſſion according to law: which worthy reſolution of theirs, as it ſpeaks them men of honour, prudence, and fidelity, mindful of the merits of their late great leader and common father, and of the grand intereſt and eſtabliſhment after all our ſhakings; ſo it is but anſwerable to the worth and nobleneſs of his ſon, who, in all reſpects, appears the lively image of his father, the true inheritor of all his chriſtian virtues; a perſon, who, by his piety, humanity, and other noble inclinations, hath obliged the hearts of all, and thereby filled this people with hopes of much felicity, thro' God's bleſſing upon his government."

Then follows an account of the privy council's waiting on Richard, his ſhort ſpeech to them, and the manner of his proclamation; all which, being in every reſpect the ſame as at the acceſſion of every king, is not worth tranſcribing, as there would be nothing new in it, more eſpecially at this juncture, when he had a recent example.

This panegyric on Oliver and his ſon is cloſed with the following prayer: "May all the days of his highneſs's life be crowned with the bleſſings of the moſt high God, and the higheſt affections of his people."

Such was the language made uſe of by the friends and partizans of Oliver Cromwell, whoſe real character, after ſuch extravagant applauſes on one ſide, and detractions on the other, has been never better or more truly preſented, than by

* On the 3d of September, 1650, Cromwell totally defeated the Scots at Dunbar, under the command of Leſley; and on the anniverſary of this battle, in the ſucceeding year, was fought the great battle of Worceſter, when Charles II. was totally defeated by Cromwell, with great difficulty eſcaped from the field of battle, under the innumerable hardſhips which every one is acquainted with, and at laſt ſafely arrived in Normandy.

the

the great earl of Clarendon, who ſtiles him, *a great wicked man.*

Remarkable Speech of Richard Cromwell to his Parliament.

AS this ſpeech is curious in itſelf, and not to be met with in any of the common or general hiſtories of England, we imagine the peruſal of it will not be diſagreeable. The ſtile is perfectly puritanical; but, as Richard was never accuſed of hypocriſy, had no ſhare in the crimes of his father, and ever led an innocent life, the language appears not in ſo ridiculous a light, as when proceeding from the mouth of a man, the whole tenor of whoſe actions contradicted and belied his words. The terms in which he ſpeaks of his father, though it is needleſs to mention they are in the higheſt degree falſe and flattering, are no other than could be expected from him on ſuch an occaſion, at ſuch a juncture, and to ſuch an audience. The oration was as follows;

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" I believe there are ſcarce any of you here, who expected, ſome months ſince, to have ſeen this great aſſembly, at this time, in this place, in peace; conſidering the great and unexpected change, which it hath pleaſed the all-diſpoſing hand of God to make in the midſt of us: I can aſſure you, that if things had been according to our own fears, and the hopes of our enemies, it had not been thus with us: and, therefore, it will become both you and me, in the firſt place, (as to reverence and adore the great God, poſſeſſor of heaven and earth, in whoſe hands our breath is, and whoſe are all our ways, becauſe of his judgments) ſo as to acknowledge him in his goodneſs to theſe lands, in that he hath not added ſorrow to ſorrow, and made the period of his late highneſs's life, and that of the nation's peace, to have been in one day.

Peace was one of the bleſſings of my father's government; a mercy after ſo long a civil war, and in the midſt of ſo great diviſion which that war bred, is not uſually afforded by God unto a people in ſo great a meaſure.

The Cauſe of God and theſe nations, which the late protector was engaged in, met, in all the parts of it, as you well know, with many enemies and great oppoſition; the archers, privily and openly, ſorely grieved him, and ſhot at him; yet his bow abode in ſtrength, and the arms of his hands were made ſtrong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob.

As to himſelf; he died full of days, ſpent in ſore and great travail; yet his eyes were not waxed dim, neither was his natural ſtrength abated; as it was ſaid of Moſes, he was ſerviceable even to the laſt.

As to theſe nations, he left them in great honour abroad, and in full peace at home: all England, Scotland, and Ireland, dwelling ſafely, every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, from Dan even to Beerſheba.

He is gone to reſt, and we are entered into his labours; and, if the Lord hath ſtill a bleſſing for theſe lands, (as I truſt he hath) as our peace hath been lengthened out to this day, ſo ſhall we go on to reap the fruit, and gather the harveſt, of what his late high-

highneſs hath ſown and laid the foundation *.

For my own part, being, by the Providence of God, and the diſpoſition of the law, my father's ſucceſſor, and bearing that place in the government that I do, I thought it for the public good to call a parliament of the three nations, now united, and conjoined together in one commonwealth, under one government.

It is agreeable, not only to my truſt, but to my principles, to govern theſe nations by the advice of my two houſes of parliament: I find it inſerted in the humble petition and advice (which is the corner ſtone of this building, and that which I ſhall adhere to) "That parliaments are the great council of the chief magiſtrate, in whoſe advice both he and theſe nations may be both ſafe and happy." I can aſſure you, I have that eſteem of them; and, as I have made it the firſt act of my government to call you together, ſo I ſhall further let you ſee the value I have of you, by the anſwers I ſhall return to the advice that ſhall be given me by you, for the good of theſe nations.

You are come up from your ſeveral countries, as the heads of your tribes, and with hearts (I perſuade myſelf) to conſult together for their good: I can ſay, I meet you with the ſame deſires, having nothing in my deſign, but the maintenance of the peace, laws, and liberties, both civil and chriſtian, of theſe nations; which I ſhall always make the meaſure and rule of my government, and be ready to ſpend my life for.

We have ſummoned you up at this time, to let you know the ſtate of our affairs, and to have your advice in them: and I believe a parliament was never ſummoned upon a more important occaſion.

It is true, as I told you, we are, through the goodneſs of God, at this time at peace; but it is not thus with us becauſe we have no enemies: no, there are enough both within us and without us, who would ſoon put an end to our

* This puts one in mind of an anecdote related by M. de Voltaire. After Richard had quited the protectorſhip he made a voyage to France, where being one day at Montpelier, the prince of Conti, brother of the great Condé, diſcourſing with him, without knowing who he was, obſerved, "That Oliver Cromwell was a great man, but that his ſon Richard was a poor wretch, not to know how to enjoy the fruits of his father's crimes." This Richard, however, M. Voltaire remarks, lived contented, whereas his father had never known what happineſs was. The genius of Richard was wholly different from that of Oliver; he was poſſeſſed of all the meek virtues, which make the good citizen, and had none of that brutal intrepidity, which ſacrifices every thing to its own intereſts. He might have preſerved the inheritance which his father had acquired by his labours, if he would have conſented to put to death three or four of the principal officers of the army, who oppoſed his elevation; but he choſe rather to lay down the government, than to reign by aſſaſſination; and lived retired, and almoſt unknown, till the age of ninety, in a country of which he had once been the ſovereign; having, in his own perſon, exhibited a ſtriking proof, that the fate of a kingdom frequently depends upon the character of one man. *Tranſlation of Voltaire's Works, by Dr. Smollett, and others*, vol. iv. page 246.

peace,

peace, were it in their power, or ſhould it at any time come into their power.

It will be becoming your wiſdom to conſider of the ſecuring of our peace againſt thoſe, who, we all know, are, and ever will be, our implacable enemies; what the means of doing this are, I ſhall refer unto you.

This I can aſſure you, that the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are true and faithful to the peace and good intereſt of theſe nations; and it will be found ſo: and that they are a conſiſtent body, and uſeful for any good ends; and if they were not the very beſt army in the world, you would have heard of many inconveniences, by reaſon of the great arrear of pay, which is now due unto them, whereby ſome of them are reduced to great neceſſities: but you ſhall have a particular account of their arrears; and I doubt not but conſideration will be had thereupon, in ſome ſpeedy and effectual way. And this being matter of money, I recommend it particularly to the houſe of commons.

You have, you know, a war with Spain, carried on by the advice of parliament; he is an old enemy, and a potent one, and therefore it will be neceſſary, both for the honour and ſafety of theſe nations, that war be vigorouſly proſecuted.

Furthermore, the conſtitution of affairs in all our neighbour countries, and round about us (as well friends as enemies) is very conſiderable; and calls upon us to be upon our guard, both at land and ſea; and to be in a poſture able to maintain and conſerve our own ſtate and intereſt.

Great and powerful fleets are preparing to be ſet forth into thoſe ſeas, and conſiderable armies of ſeveral nations and kings are now diſputing for the maſtery of the Sound, with the adjacent iſlands and countries; among which is the emperor of Germany, and other popiſh ſtates. I need not tell you of what conſequence theſe things are to this ſtate.

We have already interpoſed in theſe affairs, in ſuch a manner as we found it neceſſary for the intereſt of England; and matters are yet in ſuch a condition in thoſe parts, that the ſtate may, with the aſſiſtance of God, provide that their differences may not prejudice us.

The other things that are to be ſaid, I ſhall refer to the lord-keeper Fiennes; and cloſe up what I have to ſay, with only adding two or three particulars to what I have already ſaid.

And, firſt, I recommend to your care, the people of God in theſe nations, with their concernments: the more they are divided among themſelves, the greater prudence ſhould be uſed to cement them.

Secondly, The good and neceſſary work of reformation, both in manners, and in the adminiſtration of juſtice, that profaneneſs may be diſcountenanced and ſuppreſſed; and that righteouſneſs and juſtice may be executed in the land.

Thirdly, I recommend to you the Proteſtant cauſe abroad, which ſeems, at this time, to be in ſome danger, having great and powerful enemies, and very few friends; and I hope, and believe, that the *Old Engliſh zeal* to that cauſe is ſtill amongſt us.

Laſtly, My lords, and you gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

That

That you will, in all your debates, maintain and conſerve love and unity among yourſelves; that therein you may be the pattern of the nation, who have ſent you up in peace, and with their prayers, that the ſpirit of wiſdom and peace may be among you: and this ſhall alſo be my prayer for you. And to this let us all add our utmoſt endeavours for the making this an happy parliament."

[Whoever penned this Speech, it was allowed to be a very handſome and ſenſible one by all, and far exceeded that which followed of the lord keeper Fiennes.]

A ſhort view of the character and writings of M. de Voltaire; taken from a French pamphlet publiſhed at Utrecht, under the title of Critical Reflections upon the Article GENEVA *in the Encyclopedie, in ſome letters from an Engliſh gentleman on his travels to a noble lord.*

THE article in queſtion, which was compoſed by Monſ. D'Alembert, tho' it be in many reſpects extremely honourable to the city of Geneva, is yet highly injurious to the whole body of its clergy, a clergy whoſe ſentiments, morals, and taſte, do honour to their profeſſion. In this article their moderation is repreſented as indifference, and their rational manner of treating the ſublime myſteries and doctrines of chriſtianity as ſocinianiſm, nay, as a kind of deiſm, and that by whom? by M. D'Alembert, whoſe attachment to chriſtianity is more than doubtful, notwithſtanding ſome mean profeſſions he has lately made to appeaſe a bigoted and perſecuting church in the laſt edition of his *Philoſophical and Literary Miſcellany*. The truth of the matter is, there is at preſent a club of pretended ſages, who by way of eminence call themſelves philoſophers, ſeem to have formed a ſort of confederacy againſt the cauſe of chriſtianity, and are not a little anxious about making proſelytes, that they may acquire weight by the number of their adherents. For this purpoſe they pretend to have ſecret as well as open friends, and are willing to dye with the colour of their ſect, as many as they can conveniently. Voltaire, who in genius, and in abuſe of genius, in exuberance of talent and want of principle, is this day one of the firſt men in Europe, is juſtly to be ſuſpected to be one of theſe pretended philoſophers, and he is thus repreſented in the letters above mentioned.

"Caſt your eye, my lord, upon monſieur de Voltaire, who is looked upon as the *Coryphæus* of theſe philoſophers; or rather permit me to give you a juſt, though general idea of his character and writings. He has undoubtedly been enriched by nature with a very conſiderable degree of genius and underſtanding; but has received with them ſuch an ungovernable imagination, ſuch impetuous paſſions, and ſuch a reſtleſs temper, as have, in many caſes, deſtroyed their natural effects, and perverted their application to the worſt purpoſes. His principal talent is poetry. His proſe, however, is highly and juſtly eſteemed, and is, not without reaſon, ſuppoſed

poſed to equal his poetic ſtyle in elegance and facility; though he has been reproached by ſome with running after antitheſes and epigrammatical points. His converſation is full of lively ſtrokes of wit, and rendered intereſting by a great number of agreeable anecdotes, which he has collected from a long intercourſe with perſons of the firſt diſtinction. All this is proper to form a *wit*; but in what light will he appear, if we conſider him as a philoſopher?

The period, in which he firſt came forth to public view, was certainly dangerous to unguarded innocence and virtue. It was under the regency of Philip, duke of Orleans, a period of luxury, licentiouſneſs, and irreligion, in which an Epicureaniſm, much worſe than that of Epicurus, reigned, and gave a tone to the principles and manners of the times, that Monſ. de Voltaire made his appearance in the world. It was pretty much ſuch a period as the reign of Charles II. in our iſland, when courtiers and poets, tired of the bigotry, hypocriſy, and fanaticiſm, that had extended their gloomy reign during the republic, ran headlong into the oppoſite extreme of atheiſm and ſenſuality, when they had got a libertine monarch at their head. And it is remarkable enough, that the religious diſputes of Janſeniſts and Jeſuits in France, about the *Conſtitution*, were followed with the ſame effects in France under the regency of Philip, that ſucceeded the debates about Epiſcopacy and Preſbyterianiſm, under the reign of Charles. Monſieur Arrouet (for ſo Voltaire was originally named) was born, in the midſt of the diſputes abovementioned, of parents who were Janſeniſts; and perceiving, among the diſputants on both ſides, much animoſity, artifice, and miſguided zeal, he, as many abſurdly do, conceived a diſguſt at religion in general, and contracted an early habit of pointing his ſatirical wit and pleaſantry againſt that reſpectable object. His connections with the late lord Bolingbroke confirmed him in this unreaſonable and perverſe habit, and wholly corrupted his taſte and judgment, with reſpect to religious matters. He ſeems to have adopted all the ideas of that incoherent noble author, though he has diſguiſed them much more than Bolingbroke did, and has expreſſed them with much leſs energy, eloquence, and ingenuity. Nothing leſs would ſatisfy Voltaire's ambition than the glory of adding to his fame, as a poet, the reputation of a profound philoſopher, and an eminent hiſtorian; though in theſe two latter characters he is no more than ſuperficial. *The Henriade*, *The Life of Charles the Twelfth*, ſome tragedies, and ſeveral pieces of poetry and literature, are, in my opinion, the only pretenſions he can plead to the character of an eminent author; and it muſt be confeſſed, that theſe productions are ſufficient to eſtabliſh a ſhining reputation. His *Eſſay on Univerſal Hiſtory*, though it contains ſeveral agreeable anecdotes, and ſome curious relations, is yet a very indifferent performance, pregnant with glaring falſhoods and wilful miſrepreſentations of facts; of which an attentive reader will find examples in every page. It reſembles a gallery of hiſtorical pictures, in which the painter has followed more the excurſions of his

his fancy, private sentiments, and particular views, than the dictates of nature or the truth of things.

It is more particularly observable, that this pretended historian never indulges his romantic vein with greater complacence, than when the history of religion, or the affairs of the church, come in his way; nay, he often goes out of his way, in order to disfigure them, and to set christianity and its ministers in a ridiculous or odious point of light. His philosophical performances are generally acknowledged to be superficial and inaccurate. He tried his talent in that way upon the philosophy of Sir Isaac Newton, with a view to obtain a place in the Academy of Sciences. But this project failed; for his book was despised, and he was denied admission into that learned body. The vivacity of his fancy renders him inconsiderate and imprudent beyond all expression. Were he really the author of that impious, obscene, and cynical poem, intitled the *Maid of Orleans*, this must be sufficient to render him infamous, in the opinion of all such as have any sense of decency left; but he has denied that the impieties that dishonour this work flowed from his pen. He is always talking of reason, humanity, forbearance, and mildness: he is always lamenting the indecent quarrels and animosities that prevail too much among men of learning; and perhaps no man living acts more in opposition to these pompous professions. He has composed an agreeable and witty chapter concerning *printed Lies*, and no author certainly has printed more than he himself."

Such are the principal strokes in the character, which the sensible author of the *Letters* abovementioned gives of Mons. de Voltaire. These, however, are but scattered and imperfect hints, which relate but to a very small part of the writings and character of that poet. I therefore hope to give you, some time hence, a more full, extensive, and circumstantial account of the *life, character, transactions, and writings* of that *mixed* man.

An original Letter from the Duke of Buckingham to King James I.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

AS necessity inforces me, instead of repairing to you, according to your command, and my promise, to go many miles from you another way, and consequently from myself, all my perfect joys and pleasures chiefly, nay solely, consisting in attending your person; so, methinks, duty and good manners command me, on the other part, to give you an account under my own hand, though it be yet something unsteady and weak.

But before I give the reasons of the change of my former resolutions, there is a thing not much in exercise now in the world, called thankfulness, that calls so fast and earnestly upon me, that I must first, though I have already done it by the assistance of a young gentleman, called Babie Charles, whom you likewise, by your good offices, made my friend, who, without doubt, hath already perfectlier made my thanks, than I shall myself; yet, having the pen in my hand, I must needs tell you what I observe in your late absent and public favour, but ancient manner of obliging your poor unworthy servant, whereby I find

find you ſtill one and the ſame dear and indulgent maſter you were ever to me, never being contented to overvalue and love me yourſelf, but to labour, all manner of ways, to make the whole world do ſo too. Beſides, this aſſures me, you truſt me as abſolutely as ever, lately expreſt in this, that you have no conceit of my popularity, otherwiſe why ſhould you thus ſtudy to endear me with the upper and lower houſe of parliament, and ſo conſequently with your whole kingdom; all and the leaſt I can ſay, is this, that I naturally ſo love your perſon, and upon ſo good experience and knowledge, adore all your other parts, which are more than ever one man had, that were not only all your people, but all the world beſides, ſet together on one ſide, and you alone on the other, I ſhould, to obey and pleaſe you, diſpleaſe, nay deſpiſe all of them; and this ſhall ever be my popularity.

Give me leave here to uſe your own proverb; "for this the devil con me thanks." The reaſon of my going to Newhall are theſe: firſt, I find buſineſs, and the ſight of buſy folks does me much harm; and though your extraordinary care and watchful eye over me, would keep them from ſpeaking with me, yet, in a court, I muſt needs look many of them in the face; then Theobald's houſe is now very hot, and hath but few change of rooms, both inconvenient to a ſick body; then my lord of Warwick tells me, that, by experience, he hath found Newhall air as good a one to ride away an ague, as any in England, and that lately he loſt one by the benefit of that air; I mean near hand, which I think will be all one. By this time, I fear I have troubled you, and were it not that I write to you, I am ſure I ſhould have wearied myſelf. I have now only one requeſt to you, as you firſt placed me in your Babie Charles's good opinion, if you think fit, for your ſervice, in my abſence continue me in it; and ſo give me your bleſſing.

Your Majeſty's

Moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STINIE.

Some Account of a very extraordinary Clergyman. From Mr. Morrice's Memoirs of the firſt Earl of Orrery.

UPON the ruin of the royal family, and the death of the king, his lordſhip retired to Marſton, his ſeat in England, which his father had bought of Sir John Hippiſley, and which was formerly part of Edmund earl of Cornwall's eſtate.

I have heard him repeat a remarkable incident that happened during his reſidence there; which, as it will ſhew the diſtreſs of the royal party in thoſe days, may perhaps be acceptable to the curious.

The pariſh church of Marſton is very near to the Manſion houſe: lord Orrery never failed to go thither on a Sunday; but one Sunday, having ſat there ſome time, and being diſappointed of the then qualified miniſter, his lordſhip was preparing to return home, when his ſervants told him a perſon in the church offered to preach. His lordſhip, though he looked upon the propoſal only as a piece of enthuſiaſm, gave permiſſion; and was never more ſurpriſed or delighted than with the ſermon, which was filled with learning, ſenſe, and pie-

ty. His lordſhip would not ſuffer the preacher to eſcape unknown, but invited him to dinner; and enquiring of him his name, life, and fortune, received this anſwer: "My lord, my name is Aſberry; I am a clergyman of the church of England, and a loyal ſubject to the king: I have lived three years in a poor cottage under your warren-wall, within a few paces of your lordſhip's houſe. My ſon lives with me, and we read and dig by turns. I have a little money, and ſome few books, and I ſubmit chearfully to the will of Providence."

This worthy and learned man (for ſuch lord Orrery always called him) died at Marſton ſome years after; but not till his lordſhip had obtained an allowance of 30 *l. per ann.* for him, without any obligation of taking the covenant.—Thus far Mr. Morrice.

As a memorial of the above tranſaction, the poor cottage in which Mr. Aſberry lived, with a little garden adjoining to it, is ſtill kept up in its old form by the preſent earl of Cork and Orrery, being taken into his gardens; and the two rooms of which it conſiſts, *viz.* a kitchen and a chamber, are furniſhed as much as poſſible in the taſte of thoſe times, and with all ſorts of uſeful furniture, and books, prints, *&c.* of equal antiquity.

NATU-

NATURAL HISTORY.

IT has been often obſerved by naturaliſts, that the bellies of ſalmons are always found empty, and many attempts have been made to aſſign the cauſe of it. The following is a letter to a friend on the ſubject, by a gentleman who reſides at Berwick, near the great ſalmon fiſhery.

To Mr. Peter Collinſon.

DEAR SIR,

I Have made what enquiry I could concerning the ſalmon, but I find that people who have the beſt opportunities, are not always the moſt curious in improving them. The fact you mentioned, was confirmed to me; ſome added, the ſalmon muſt live upon water, but I cannot well admit this, becauſe though they are generally caught in long nets, yet they are ſometimes caught with a rod, and artificial fly. I cannot ſee how ſalmon ſhould riſe at an artificial fly, unleſs they were accuſtomed to catch at natural ones. I believe they are ſometimes caught with bait alſo, which if it be ſo, muſt, I apprehend, direct to another ſpecies of their food; all that I have enquired of, agree, that the ſtomach of the ſalmon is remarkably ſmall. I apprehend therefore that they are not voracious, for as all voracious animals are apt at times to gorge themſelves to an incredible degree, and, at others, to ſuffer abſtinence, for a ſurprifing time, it is probable, their ſtomachs muſt be proportionably large, and fitted to retain the aliments a conſiderable time; on the other hand, creatures who are of a different nature, and have very ſmall ſtomachs, will require frequent ſupplies of food, as they can receive it but in ſmall quantities, and it will paſs quickly through their ſtomach; now as the ſtomachs of theſe animals will be more frequently empty than thoſe of the voracious ones, it will be more difficult to find any thing in them when killed. You ſee, that according to my hypotheſis, the ſalmon ought not to be capable of keeping a long faſt; yet their ſtomachs being always found empty, is a ſurprizing phenomenon. Some queries I think are neceſſary to be reſolved, in order to explain it; as, what quantity of food will the ſtomach of the ſalmon receive and retain at a time? what time does this food take in digeſtion and paſſing through the ſtomach? what is the interval between the ſalmon's being caught either in a net or upon a hook, and its death? Is this interval ſufficient for the digeſtion and paſſage of ſuch a quantity of food as its ſtomach is capable of receiving at a time? If this laſt query could be anſwered in the affirmative, it would account for the phenomenon, but the interval between their being caught and their death, muſt vary according to circumſtances. The ſalmon certainly retire to the ſea, and return to the freſh waters alter-

nately; it is alſo certain, I believe, that they ſeek the rivers for the ſake of ſpawning. I doubt whether they have any certain ſeaſons of going and returning; I am rather inclined to think, that ſome may be returning while others are only coming up; however, in general, the ſummer is the ſeaſon of their coming up from the ſea; of courſe, the winter muſt be the ſeaſon of their return to it: from the 30th of September to November 30, is what we call cloſe time, when fiſhing is forbidden here, it being ſuppoſed the ſeaſon of the ſalmon's ſpawning, when it is not lawful to diſturb them. According to this regulation, it is ſuppoſed, that the ſalmon have done ſpawning, and are returned to the ſea by the end of November. It is allowed, that the ſalmon are fatter and better at their return from ſea, than after they have lain any time in the freſh water; of courſe, the ſalmon ought to be caught only in their return from the ſea; the ſalmon caught in winter are far inferior to thoſe caught in ſummer. I ſuſpect they are caught in their return to ſea. By the latter end of April, or beginning of May, they begin to return in conſiderable quantities, and keep coming up all the ſummer. In great droughts, the ſalmon are always very ſcarce, they do not chuſe to take river till we have ſome land-floods; when the river is a little diſcoloured with a gentle flood, they come up in ſurpriſing quantities. Is not the bait or land flies, which the flood waſhes into the river on theſe occaſions, what tempts the ſalmon to take the river at that time? It cannot be the increaſed depth of water, for they have plenty of water for many miles above Berwick in the ſevereſt droughts, yet they will keep playing and hovering juſt off the mouth of the river, till a land-flood happens; in a great flood they do not come up ſo faſt; on theſe occaſions, when the flood has abated a little, the ſalmon come up. I apprehend that the ſtream at ſuch times, is too violent for them during the ſtrength of the flood.

Berwick, Auguſt 8. Yours, &c.

To this letter I ſhall only add the following remarks.

INſects, in general, leave off eating when near laying their eggs, or changing their form. The moth of the ſilk-worm engenders and lays eggs, but never eats.

When ſalmon are near ſpawning, they may perhaps grow ſick, and ſubſiſt for a time on animalculæ, with which all waters abound.

It is highly probable, by their waiting for land-floods, that ſome ſort of ſuſtenance is brought down, but whatever it is, it's quickly digeſted, or elſe it would be found in their ſtomachs when they are caught.

Some account of the animal ſent from the Eaſt Indies by general Clive, to his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, which is now in the Tower of London: In a letter from James Parſons, M. D. F. R. S. to the Rev. Tho. Birch, D. D. Secretary to the Royal Society. From the Phil. Tranſ.

AT the requeſt of the Rev. Dr. Littleton, dean of Exeter, I went to obſerve this creature, in order to find what claſs of animals he belonged to; and made the drawing now before the Royal Society, for its inſpection. I have endea-

voured to make it as accurate as poſſible in all its proportions; yet am afraid I have made the ears a ſmall matter too long. There is a figure of it in the London Magazine for December laſt, which has no reſemblance at all to it, except in the ears, which the engraver, who drew it, has made to turn forwards, contrary to nature. However, the following deſcription will, I believe, be the proper account of it.

It is ſomething taller than the largeſt ſized cat, being about 15 inches high at the ſhoulders; ſlender and light, tho' ſtrong. The head is ſmall in proportion to the reſt, and the neck ſlender. It has nothing fierce in its aſpect, but is mild and very tame. It is exactly of a fawn-colour, having its ears black on their outſides, and lined with white hairs, and ſome white round the root of each ear; it is alſo white under the throat and belly, and a little ſo on the backs of its limbs. Its eyes are ſmall, and its head like that of a cat, but ſomewhat ſlenderer; its legs are genteel and ſtrait, with the paws of a cat, having the power of dilating and contracting its toes, which are armed with ſtrong crooked nails, in the ſame manner as a cat or tyger does; and its actions are like thoſe of a cat. I ſat and watched its motion, and ſaw it lick its foot, and rub it over its face ſeveral times, exactly like a cat; and was told by the man who ſhewed it me, that, if it is offended, it hiſſes. I examined its teeth, and find them in the ſame number and manner with thoſe of a cat. And as to its food, they give it raw mutton every day; and when it is ſick, which it often is, they give it a live fowl, or rabbit, which it ſeizes eagerly, and lies upon it without motion, for a conſiderable time, to ſuck the blood, and this proves a certain cure. The figure ſhews it to have alſo a tail like that of a cat.

None of the natural hiſtorians have any account of this animal, that I have yet ſeen, except the learned Dr. Walter Charleton, who has a bad figure of it, engraved at the expence of Dr. John Lawſon, his cotemporary, of the college of phyſicians, as it appears in an inſcription at the bottom of the plate, wherein the head is, contrary to truth, very large and ſtrong in appearance, the tail like that of a fox, and the whole as ſtrong as a maſtiff dog; the name given it in the plate is the ſame with this, but differently ſpelled, thus, Siyah-ghuſh.

This author very juſtly ranks it among the cats, and has given ſuch an account of this animal, as well deſerves the notice of this learned ſociety, of which I have made the following Engliſh extract.

"Among the wild cats, which vary according to the difference of climate, manner of living, and the like, none is more worthy of notice than that which is now kept in the park of our ſovereign K. Charles II. It was ſent to the king by an Engliſh gentleman, who was governor of our mercantile affairs in the dominion of Surat, and is called, among other names, in the Perſian language, Siyah-ghuſh, that is, Black-ear*, all along the coaſt of Coromandel, and indeed all over India. It is about the ſize of a fox,

* Dr. Charleton ſays, that he was obliged to his good friend the learned Dr. Tho. Hyde, then principal librarain to the Bodleian Library, for this interpretation, who was well verſed in the oriental languages.

but like a cat in its form; and has the cunning and cruelty of a leopard, with the limbs of a cat, but longer and ſtronger; having ſo much ſtrength, that I ſaw it kill a hound, that came in his way, in a moment. The legs are thick ſet with hair, and its nails concealed under them, which are never extended but upon ſeizing its prey, which is common to lions, panthers, and domeſtic cats. But what ſeems peculiar to this animal is, that, having jumped upon his prey, he lies upon it unmoved, holding his bite, as if he was dead, whether for joy, or in order to drink the blood of the creature. The great men in India have them bred up tame; becauſe of their dexterity in catching birds, hares, rabbits, and ſuch-like; and ſuch is their craft and fierceneſs, that they will ſeize even a fox; but their keepers will not ſuffer them to attack any thing above their ſtrength, and therefore they only ſet them at cranes geeſe, ducks, pheaſants, partridges, peacocks and ſuch-like game, which they ſeize by many kinds of deceit, to the great pleaſure of the ſpectators; and catch thoſe timid animals, the hare, rabbit, fawn, goat, &c. by ſwift running, and ſometimes by craft.

When they are ſick (which, from over-gorging their ſtomachs, they often are) their keepers ſteep a piece of tender meat in human urine, and feed them with it, and being bruiſed or tired by over-hunting, they give them ſome mummy, wrapped up in their meat, and a warm place to reſt in till they recover."

It is ſaid of this animal, that he follows the lion at a diſtance, in order to feed on what he leaves of the animals he deſtroys. To illuſtrate this, Dr. Charleton quotes a paſſage from the *Apolog.* of *Sheich Saadi*, which was written five hundred years before, and publiſhed in Perſic and Latin by Georgius Gentius; which is in Engliſh as follows:—This Black-ear is aſked, "What makes him keep company with the lion, and ſeem ſo officious to pleaſe him?" to which he anſwers, "That I may feed on his leavings, and lead my life ſafely under his protection." To which it is replied, "Since you live under the ſhadow of his protection, and draw ſuch benefit from him, why do not you approach nearer to him?" He anſwers, "If I took your counſel, and came near to him, I ſhould not be ſafe from his fury a moment."

Now from this particular account by the learned Charleton, and my own obſervations on him and his actions, I am inclined to rank this animal among the cats; and join with Linnæus, who, in his *Ord. ſecund*, has a fifth ſpecies of Felis, which agrees well with the principal characters of the animal before us: his words are,

'*Felis caudâ elongatâ, auribus—*
'————*penicilliformibus.*'

The following account of a battle between a ſerpent and a buffalo, was ſent by a letter from a Dutch gentleman at Batavia to his friend at Berlin, with the manner in which theſe ſerpents attack, conquer, and devour the largeſt animals.

IN our colonies of the Eaſt Indies there are ſerpents upwards of 25 feet in length. Though their throat may ſeem too narrow to be capable of ſwallowing animals of a certain bigneſs,

bigneſs, we have notwithſtanding frequent proofs that this indeed happens; and, amongſt thoſe I have bought of our hunters, a ſtag of middle age was found quite intire, with his ſkin and all his members in the body of one of them. In another was found a wild he-goat, with his great horns, and no part of his body was wanting; and in a third a hedge-hog, armed with all its prickles. In the iſland of Amboyna a woman with child was thus ſucked in by one of theſe ſerpents: it is ſo they ſwallow up whole animals, which they find means to compaſs in the following manner:

When hunger preſſes them, they lie in ambuſh, and endeavour to ſurpriſe ſome animal; and, when they have ſeized it, they twine about its body ſo cloſely, that they break its bones by ſqueezing it. If the animal is ſtrong, and makes great reſiſtance, and the ſerpent cannot ſtifle him in his firſt poſition of laying hold of him, he ſtrives to grapple with ſome trunk of a tree, which he ſurrounds with his tail, and thereby acquiring an addition of ſtrength, redoubles his efforts, till he ſuffocates him. At the ſame time he ſeizes him by the noſtrils with his teeth, and, ſo, not only intercepts his reſpiration, but the deep wounds he gives with his bites occaſioning a great effuſion of blood, he at laſt kills by this method the largeſt animals.

Perſons of credit aſſured me of having ſeen in the kingdom of Aracan, on the frontiers of that of Bengal, a like combat, near a river, between an enormous ſerpent of this kind and a buffalo (an animal at leaſt as large as the wild ox) which was killed and devoured by the ſerpent. His bones made ſo great a noiſe while the ſerpent was breaking them, by twining about his body, and preſſing it together, that it was heard within cannon-ſhot by ſome who were witneſſes of this ſpectacle. It ſeems aſtoniſhing, that thoſe ſerpents, whoſe throat is ſo narrow in proportion to the reſt of their body, can ſwallow ſo large an animal quite intire, and without tearing it in pieces as dogs and lions; but they ſucceed effectually, and the way is thus:

When theſe ſerpents, whoſe throat is indeed narrow, but ſuſceptible of a great dilatation, have killed ſome animal, and ſhattered his bones, ſo as that nothing appears more than a ſhapeleſs maſs, they begin by ſtretching him out with the tongue as much as poſſible, and, by licking, to ſmooth and poliſh him, as well as they can, down the hair: they afterwards beſmear the whole ſkin with a glutinous mucoſity, then lay hold of him by the head, and at laſt ſwallow him quite intire by ſtrong reiterated ſuctions; but they ſometimes take up two days, and even more, in going through this work, according to the bigneſs of the animal: after this, the ſerpent, gorged with ſo great a quantity of food, becomes incapable of attacking or defending himſelf; and the country people and hunters, without incurring any danger, throw a rope about his neck, and ſtrangle him with it, or ſometimes even ſtrike him dead with clubs and ſticks. Having afterwards cut him up in pieces, they ſell his fleſh, which is reckoned very delicious food; but they ſeparate the head, being perſuaded, that the teeth of the upper jaw are ſurrounded with little bladders, filled with a venomous liquor, which, burſting at the

the time of biting, infuſe their poiſon into the wound; and this poiſon, ſoon mixing with the maſs of blood, occaſions certain death in all kinds of animals, when it reaches the heart.

Being deſirous to have the ſkeleton of one of theſe ſerpents which I had bought, and my ſervants having boiled it in a great copper with water and quick lime, one of them took the head for cleaning it, the fleſh being already ſeparated; and, in turning it about, one of the great fore teeth, which are extremely ſharp, wounded him in the finger, which was immediately followed by a prodigious inflammatory ſwelling in the hand, and a continued fever and delirium.

Theſe ſymptoms did not ceaſe, till the ſerpent-ſtone, prepared here by the Jeſuits, and applied to the wound, had attracted all the venom.

Hiſtory of Jeffery Hudſon the Dwarf, from Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England.

AT St. James's * (ſays he, in the life of Daniel Mytens) is Jeffery Hudſon, the dwarf, holding a dog by a ſtring, in a landſcape, coloured warmly and freely, like Snyder or Rubens. Mytens drew the ſame figure in a very large picture of Charles I. and his queen, which was in the poſſeſſion of the late earl of Dunmore; but the ſingle figure is much better painted. The hiſtory of this diminutive perſonage was ſo remarkable, that the reader will perhaps not diſlike the digreſſion.

† He was born at Oakham in Rutlandſhire in 1619; and about the age of ſeven or eight, being then but eighteen inches high, was retained in the ſervice of the duke of Buckingham, who reſided at Burleigh on the Hill. Soon after the marriage of Charles I. the king and queen being entertained at Burleigh, little Jeffery was ſerved up to table in a cold pye, and preſented by the ducheſs to the queen, who kept him as her dwarf. From ſeven years of age 'till thirty, he never grew taller; but after thirty he ſhot up to three feet nine inches, and there fixed. Jeffery became a conſiderable part of the entertainment of the court. Sir William Davenant wrote a poem called *Jeffreidos*, on a battle between him and a ‡ Turkey-cock; and in 1638 was publiſhed a very ſmall book, called the *New Year's Gift*, preſented at court from the lady Parvula to the lord Minimus (commonly called little Jeffery) her majeſty's ſervant, *&c.* written by Microphilus, with a little print of Jeffery prefixed. Before this period Jeffery was employed on a negociation of great importance: he was ſent to France to fetch a midwife for the queen; and on his return with this gentlewoman, and her majeſty's dancing-maſter, and many rich preſents to the queen from her mother Mary de Medicis, he was taken by the Dunkirkers ¶. Jeffery,

* The picture of the queen of Scots at St. James's is a copy by Mytens.

† See Fuller and Wright's Rutlandſhire.

‡ The ſcene is laid at Dunkirk, and the midwife reſcues him from the fury of his antagoniſt.

¶ It was in 1630. Beſides the preſent he was bringing for the queen, he loſt to

fery, thus made of conſequence, grew to think himſelf really ſo. He had borne with little temper the teazing of the courtiers and domeſtics, and had many ſquabbles with the king's gigantic porter †: at laſt, being provoked by Mr. Crofts, a young gentleman of family, a challenge enſued; and Mr. Crofts coming to the rendezvous armed only with a ſquirt, the little creature was ſo enraged, that a real duel enſued; and the appointment being on horſeback with piſtols, to put them more on a level, Jeffery with the firſt fire ſhot his antagoniſt dead. This happened in France, whither he had attended his miſtreſs in the troubles. He was again taken priſoner by a Turkiſh rover, and ſold into Barbary. He probably did not long remain in ſlavery; for at the beginning of the civil war he was made a captain in the royal army, and in 1644 attended the queen to France, where he remained till the reſtoration. At laſt, upon ſuſpicion of his being privy to the popiſh plot, he was taken up in 1682, and confined in the Gatehouſe, Weſtminſter, where he ended his life, in the ſixty-third year of his age.

On the exiſtence of Giants in South-America.

THE inſtability of philoſophic ſyſtems has long been a ſubject of ridicule or complaint; innovations in the ſubjects of taſte or religion are more permanent: but almoſt every age produces new attempts to explain the ſecrets of nature, as ſome latent property happens to be known; ſo that the old man finds the ſyſtem of his youth exploded or forgotten.

Among other diſquiſitions in phyſic or natural hiſtory, that of the ſize of men, in different countries or different ages, has not a little employed ſpeculation, and produced diſputes. On one ſide, the teſtimony of all antiquity, which mentions giants as familiarly known; the ſkeletons dug up of a monſtrous ſize, and ſome more modern diſcoveries in the ſouthern parts of America, are brought to confirm their exiſtence. On the other ſide, when theſe proofs come to be examined, the ancients will appear frequently to have been deceived themſelves, or to have attempted to deceive others: the ſkeletons will appear to have belonged to other animals, never to men; and the exiſtence of the tall Patagons in South America, has been called into queſtion by Sir Hans Sloane, Frazer, and others. In this manner the controverſy ſeemed almoſt at an end; but there has been lately publiſhed at Madrid a work, entitled *Gigantologia*, by P. Joſeph Tarrubia, proving the exiſtence of this ſpecies of men, not only from the concurrent teſtimony of all antiquity in this our old world, but from ſeveral Indian

to the value of 2500 *l.* that he had received in France on his own account from the queen-mother and ladies of that court.

† A baſſrelief of this dwarf and giant is to be ſeen fixed in the front of a houſe near the end of Bagnio court, on the eaſt ſide of Newgate-ſtreet. Probably it was a ſign. Oliver Cromwell too had a porter of an enormous height, whoſe ſtandard is recorded by a large O on the back of the terrace at Windſor, almoſt under the window of the gallery. This man went mad, and propheſied. In Whitechapel there was a ſign of him, taken from a print of St. Peter.

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antiquities diſcoverable in the new. The monſtrous ſtatues of ſeveral of their idols, which are affirmed to have been no bigger than the life, and ſeveral utenſils, that, from their ſize, could have been made uſe of only by giants, are confirmations of this; but what is a more irrefragable proof than either, the author inſiſts upon having ſeen ſeveral Spaniards, who have ſeen thoſe monſtrous men as they happened to ſtray from their wild retreats, verging towards the ſtraits of Magellan. They are deſcribed as being nine or ten feet high; ſtrong in proportion to their ſize; and active to a ſurpriſing degree: but inſtead of dipping into a controverſy, that time, and not diſputations, will one day determine, we will only tranſcribe a ſtory told us of one of thoſe extraordinary ſpecies of beings.

Madalena de Niqueza was one of thoſe unhappy women, who leaving Europe, expected to find affluence and fortune in ſome of the extenſive provinces, ſubject to the Spaniſh monarchy in Southern America. Thoſe who are friendleſs at home are generally friendleſs among ſtrangers. She wandered for ſome time in the ſtreets of Carthagena, feeling all the miſeries of houſeleſs indigence, and an unfavourable ſky. In this forlorn ſtate, an Indian ſhepherd ſaw her, married her, and brought her with him to his native village, which bordered on the ſavage countries of the Guanoas and Chiquitos.

Thoſe barbarous nations, which could never be reduced to the ſubjection of the Spaniards, make continual excurſions upon the countries that have been reduced, and kill or carry away the inhabitants who happen to fall into their power. In one of theſe incurſions, Madalena and her huſband were taken priſoners, and carried ſome hundred leagues to the ſouth, where they were ſeveral times exchanged for other commodities in the uſual courſe of traffic, till at length they arrived among a people ſtill, if poſſible, more rude than their former maſters; and here they were put to the uſual employment of keeping cattle.

In this ſituation, however, they had not long continued, when a general alarm was ſpread through the Indian town where they were ſtationed, for an army of giants were marching forward, and laying all things waſte with fire and ſword before them. Madalena could perceive, that the Indians, inſtead of attempting to fly, rather endeavoured to conceal themſelves, as they deſpaired of finding ſafety by ſwiftneſs, in which the giants ſo much excelled them. The formidable army at length appeared, but inſtead of ſpreading that terror which was expected, ſhe was ſurpriſed to ſee the humanity with which they treated their priſoners. This body of giants conſiſted of about four hundred, the loweſt ſoldier in the whole army was not under nine feet high, and the talleſt was about eleven. Their features were regular, their limbs exactly proportioned; they had a ſweetneſs and affability in their looks, and their ſpeech was deep, clear, and ſonorous. Madalena and her huſband were now made priſoners once more, but treated with infinitely more compaſſion and tenderneſs than by their former maſters. The giant to whoſe lot ſhe fell, uſed to hearken to the account of her adventures with pleaſure, and ſeemed to regard

regard her misfortunes with a paſſion mixed with love and pity. They lived in a ſtate of perfect equality among each other, and had people of ordinary ſtature to do the domeſtic offices of life. Their women were by no means proportionably large, not being above ſix feet and an half high; and the children, when brought into the world, were of the uſual ſize. In this ſituation Madalena continued for almoſt four years, when, growing weary of ſervitude, ſhe was reſolved to travel down to the weſtern ſhore, which bounds the great Pacific Ocean, which ſhe effected, and was brought off by a Spaniſh bark, and carried to Panama, from whence, ſome time after, ſhe found means of returning to Europe.

Account of a Girl who ſubſiſted near four years on Water alone.

From the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, at Paris, for the year 1756.

NOvember 9, 1751, Chriſtina Michelot, aged ten years and a half, the daughter of a vine-dreſſer at Pomard, half a league from Beaune, was ſeized with a fever, which was looked upon as the beginning of the meaſles. She took a light ptiſan: but abſolutely refuſed every other medicine, and would ſwallow nothing but water. The meaſles did not appear, and ſhe had no other ſymptom but ſuch a violent head-ach, that ſhe got out of bed to roll on the floor; and one day her father going haſtily to take her up, ſhe fell into a ſwoon, which continued ſo long, that ſhe was ſuppoſed to be dead: ſhe recovered, however, but ſome days after loſt the uſe of all her limbs, which retained only the flexibility of thoſe of a perſon newly dead.

This went off; ſhe recovered her appetite and her ſpeech, but the head-ach continued; and ſoon after ſhe fell into a delirium, accompanied with convulſions, ſtartlings, and a trembling of the arms and legs, and ſometimes ſhe could not be kept in bed.

To remove this, ſhe was bled in the foot, and bliſters were applied to her legs. This threw her into a total languor, and ſhe loſt the uſe of all her limbs, and the power of eating and ſpeaking, retaining only her hearing, ſeeing, and feeling, and a little reſpiration. Except in the delirium mentioned above, which did not continue long, ſhe ſtill preſerved the uſe of her reaſon, which ſhe employed to intimate, by inarticulate ſounds, what ſhe liked or diſliked. Theſe ſounds were at firſt only two: ſhe multiplied them afterwards, and began to add to them a little motion of her hands, which increaſed as the ſounds became more varied: ſtill ſhe took nothing but water, and that in a very ſmall quantity: hence her belly ſhrunk ſo much, that one imagined they could feel the vertebræ through it, and could diſtinguiſh none of the inteſtines. All that part, and the lower extremities, which had loſt all feeling, ſeemed to be ſeized with a partial palſy. As to the reſt, the body ſtill kept its colour, her eye was briſk, her lips of a good red, and her complexion very freſh: her pulſe was regular, and even ſtrong.

She ſtill continued the ſame regimen, except that ſhe ſwallowed the water with much more eaſe, and

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in greater quantity. A phyſician of Beaune, who ſaw her in this condition, could not believe her ſole nouriſhment was water, till a lady, at his deſire, took her into her houſe, and kept her long enough to ſatisfy him of it: he then thought to deceive her, by giving her, inſtead of water, veal broth highly clarified. He indeed deceived her ſenſes, but not her ſtomach, which immediately threw up the broth with nauſeas and violent convulſions, which were followed by a fever.

On her leaving this lady's houſe, her father carried her with him on a pilgrimage.

On her return, ſhe was ſo diſtreſſed with thirſt, that ſhe made a violent effort, and her ſpeech returned, to aſk for water: from this time ſhe retained the uſe of her ſpeech, which became more and more familiar to her. She alſo increaſed the quantity of her drink, which ſhe diſcharged plentifully by urine. It will be eaſily imagined, from the regimen ſhe had ſo long obſerved, that ſhe had no diſcharge by ſtool.

She now recovered the uſe of her arms ſo far as to be able to ſpin, to dreſs herſelf, and to make uſe of two ſhort crutches, by the help of which ſhe dragged herſelf on her knees, not being able yet to uſe her legs: by this means ſhe could go to the jar which contained all her proviſions, and even to the houſes of ſome neighbours: ſhe was in this condition when M. Lardillon ſaw her on the 9th of December, 1754, above three years after the beginning of her diſorder. He obſerved that ſhe began at that time to raiſe her right knee; that neither the fleſh of her thigh, nor that of her leg, on that ſide, was fallen away, nor thoſe of her arms and hands; that her ſkin was ſoft, her face plump, with an air of ſerenity that diſcovered no bad habit of body: he ventured to foretel that ſhe would get quite well, and perhaps ſooner than was generally imagined. His prediction was fully verified: as ſoon as ſhe arrived at the age of puberty, her appetite returned, ſhe began by little and little to eat; and, with the aſſiſtance of ſome light medicines, all the ſymptoms of her diſorder ſucceſſively diſappeared: ſo that, in the month of July, 1755, ſhe eat as uſual, and began to walk without crutches, having been near four years without taking any nouriſhment. However high we may have carried our knowledge of the human body, and the animal œconomy, we are very far from being able to account for ſuch phenomena.

An account of a periodical Dumbneſs. From the Ephemerides of the Curious.

THE ſon of an inn-keeper at Jeſing, in the duchy of Wirtemberg, of a choleric conſtitution, and about 25 years of age, was taken ſo ill after ſupper on St. Stephen's day, now upwards of 15 years ago, that he could neither ſtand nor ſit. He was alſo ſo ſick at heart, that, had he not been relieved by copious vomiting, he was often apprehenſive of being ſuffocated. About an hour after, he was better; but, during three whole months, he became much dejected and melancholy, and ſometimes as if ſeized with fear. After the expiration of this term, he was ſuddenly ſtruck dumb, without being able

able to pronounce the leaſt word, or form the leaſt ſound, though he could ſpeak very articulately before. At firſt, the loſs of his ſpeech and voice was inſtantaneous, but began to continue longer every day; ſo that, from the duration of ſome minutes, it amounted to half an hour, two hours, three hours, and laſtly to twenty-three hours, yet without order. Such was his condition upwards of half a year. At laſt, the return of his ſpeech kept ſo conſtant and regular an order, that now, for 14 years together, he cannot ſpeak but from noon, during the ſpace of an intire hour, to the preciſe moment of one o'clock. Every time he loſes his ſpeech, he feels ſomething riſe from his ſtomach to his throat. He cannot be deceived by the tranſpoſition of hours, becauſe he obſerves always and very exactly the term, from twelve to one, though no bell rings nor clock ſtrikes. Excepting this loſs of ſpeech, he makes no complaint of the diſorder of any animal function. Both his internal and external ſenſes are ſound: he hears always very exactly, and anſwers by geſtures or writing to the queſtions propoſed to him. He eats and drinks heartily, and is very handy and active in doing the buſineſs of the family. At his time of ſpeaking, his diſcourſe is diſcreet and ſenſible, for a perſon of his education; and, if deſired to read, which he ſometimes does of himſelf, he is ſure to ſtop ſhort always in ſilence the moment that one o'clock in the afternoon locks up the powers of his tongue.

There cannot be a more extraordinary caſe than this, nor one ſo much deſerving of the attention of the curious. How to account for it, muſt be extremely difficult. Perhaps ſomething he eat at ſupper, when he was firſt taken ill, has ever ſince remained undigeſted in his ſtomach or inteſtines; and, as he uſed to feel ſomething riſing from thence towards his throat, it probably cauſed the extinction of his voice, which he did not recover till it again ſubſided.

An account of a French lady, blind from her infancy, who can read, write, and play at cards, &c.

A Young gentlewoman of a good family in France *, now in her 18th year, loſt her ſight when only two years old, her mother having been adviſed to lay ſome pigeon's blood on her eyes, to preſerve them in the ſmall-pox; whereas, ſo far from anſwering the end, it eat into them: nature, however, may be ſaid to have compenſated for the unhappy miſtake, by beauty of perſon, ſweetneſs of temper, vivacity of genius, quickneſs of conception, and many talents which certainly much alleviate her misfortune.

She plays at cards with the ſame readineſs as others of the party; ſhe firſt prepares the packs allotted to her, by pricking them in ſeveral parts, yet ſo imperceptibly that the cloſeſt inſpection can ſcarce diſcern her indexes. She ſorts the ſuits, and arranges the cards in their proper ſequence, with the ſame preciſion, and nearly the ſame facility, as they who have their ſight. All ſhe requires of thoſe who play with her, is to name every card as it is

* Madamoiſelle de Salignac, born in Xaintonge.

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played; and these she retains so exactly, that she frequently performs some notable strokes, such as shew a great combination and strong memory.*

The most wonderful circumstance is, that she should have learnt to read and write; but even this is readily believed on knowing her method. In writing to her, no ink is used, but the letters are pricked down on the paper; and by the delicacy of her touch, feeling each letter, she follows them successively, and reads every word with her fingers ends. She herself in writing makes use of a pencil, as she could not know when her pen was dry; her guide on the paper is a small thin ruler, and of the breadth of her writing. On finishing a letter, she wets it, so as to fix the traces of her pencil, that they are not obscured or effaced; then proceeds to fold and seal it, and write the direction; all by her own address, and without the assistance of any other person. Her writing is very strait, well cut, and the spelling no less correct. To reach this singular mechanism, the indefatigable cares of her affectionate mother were long employed, who accustoming her daughter to feel letters cut in cards or pasteboard, brought her to distinguish an A from a B, and thus the whole alphabet, and afterwards to spell words; then by the remembrance of the shape of the letters to delineate them on paper, and lastly, to arrange them so as to form words and sentences.

She has learnt to play on the guittar, and has even contrived a way of pricking down the tunes as an assistance to her memory. So delicate are her organs, that in singing a tune, tho' new to her, she is able to name the notes.

In figured dances she acquits herself extremely well, and in a minuet, with inimitable ease and gracefulness. As for the works of her sex, she has a masterly hand, she sews and hems perfectly well; and in all her works she threads the needles for herself, however small.

By the watch, her touch never fails telling her exactly the hour and minute†.

As a supplement to this letter we shall give a postscript of the late bishop (then Dr.) Burnet to the second letter of his travels.

"In the account that I give you

* In this respect she is equalled, if not excelled, by Mr. Stanley, organist of St. Andrew's, who, though blind almost from his birth, plays at whist as well as most men.

† The reader may observe from this account, that the French lady has nothing to boast of in which she is not excelled by the gentleman already mentioned, except reading and writing. The works peculiar to her sex are gained mechanically; but the distinguishing colours, telling the precise time by a watch, naming the notes in music, and many other things depending upon the ear and touch, are so familiar to Mr. Stanley, that his friends cease to think them extraordinary in him: his naming the number of persons in a room on entering it; his directing his voice to each person in particular, even to strangers when they have once spoken; his missing any person absent; his telling who that person is; his conceptions of youth, beauty, symmetry, and shape, are such wonderful attainments as are, perhaps, all peculiar to himself; with which nothing that is reported of the French lady can be brought in competition.

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of Geneva, I forgot to mention a very extraordinary perſon that is there, Mrs. Walkier; her father is of Staff-houſe, ſhe loſt her ſight when ſhe was but a year old, by being too near a ſtove that was very hot: there reſts in the upper part of her eye ſo much ſight, that ſhe diſtinguiſhes day from night: and when any perſon ſtands between her and the light, ſhe will diſtinguiſh by the head and its dreſs a man from a woman, but when ſhe turns down her eyes ſhe ſees nothing: ſhe hath a vaſt memory: beſides the French, that is her natural language, ſhe ſpeaks both High-Dutch, Italian and Latin, ſhe hath alſo the pſalms by heart in French, and many of them in Dutch and Italian: ſhe underſtands the old philoſophy well, and is now ſtudying the new: ſhe hath ſtudied the body of Divinity well, and hath the text of the ſcriptures very ready: on all which matters I had long converſations with her. She not only ſings well, but ſhe plays rarely on the organ; and I was told ſhe played on the violin, but her violin was out of order. But that which is moſt of all, is, ſhe writes legibly: in order to her learning to write, her father, who is a worthy man, and hath ſuch tenderneſs for her, that he furniſheth her with maſters of all ſorts, ordered letters to be carved in wood, and ſhe by feeling the characters formed ſuch an idea of them, that ſhe writes with a crayon ſo diſtinctly, that her writings can be well read, of which I have ſeveral eſſays. I ſaw her write, ſhe doth it more nimbly than can be imagined; ſhe hath a machine that holds the paper, and keeps her always in line. But that which is above all the reſt, ſhe is a perſon of extraordinary devotion, great reſignation to the will of God, and a profound humility. The preceptor that the father kept in the houſe with her, hath likewiſe a wonderful faculty of acquiring tongues. When he came firſt to Geneva (for he is of Zurich) he ſpoke not a word of French, and within thirteen months he preached in French correctly, and with a good accent: He alſo began to ſtudy Italian in the month of November, and before the end of the following February he preached in Italian; his accent was good, and his ſtile florid, which was very extraordinary, for the Italian language is not ſpoken in Geneva, tho' the race of the Italians do keep up ſtill an Italian church there."

An account of the impoſture of the boy of Bilſon.

THE boy of Bilſon, who was only thirteen years old, by inſtruction, could ſo conduct himſelf before the public, that the ſpectators were induced, by the extraordinary fits, agitations, and the ſurprizing diſtempers wherewith he ſeemed to be affected, to believe him to be poſſeſſed of a devil and bewitched. In his fits, he ſeemed to be both deaf and blind, writhing his mouth, continually groaning and panting, and although often pinched with men's fingers, pricked with needles, tickled on his ſides, whipped ſeverely with rods, and treated with other corrections, he was never known to diſcover the leaſt ſenſe of what was done unto him. When he was thought to be out of his fits, he digeſted nothing given him for nouriſhment, but would often ſurprize the company with voiding and caſting rags, thread, ſtraw, crooked

pins, needles, &c. out of his mouth. By ſuch means his belly grew almoſt as flat as his back; his throat ſwelled and grew hard; his tongue ſeemed to be ſtiff and rolled up towards the roof of his mouth; ſo that he ſeemed always dumb; had he not vouchſafed to ſpeak a few words once a fortnight or three weeks.

This impoſtor proceeded ſo far, as to accuſe a poor honeſt, induſtrious old woman, named Joan Cock, of witchcraft, and of bewitching him in particular. And by his artful behaviour, when ſhe was brought ever ſo ſecretly into the room where he was, raiſed a ſtrong preſumption of the truth of his accuſation; for which crime of witchcraft the poor woman was apprehended, and obliged to take her tryal at Stafford aſſizes in 1620, to the manifeſt danger of her life, but acquitted by the jury.

The judges then committed the care of the boy to the biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, then preſent in court, who carried him to his palace at Eccleſhal; and there having firſt taken the advice of well-approved phyſicians, concerning the ſtate of his body, his lordſhip did intend to proceed with him by ſeverities; but being informed, in the mean time, that the boy always fell into agitations and violent fits, upon hearing theſe words of St. John's goſpel, *In the beginning was the Word*, &c. he reſolved to begin with this experiment: "Boy, ſaid the biſhop, it is either thou thyſelf, or the devil, that abhorreſt thoſe words of the goſpel; and if it be the devil, there's no doubt of his underſtanding all languages; ſo that he cannot but know, and ſhew his abhorrence, when I recite the ſame ſentence in the goſpel out of the Greek text: But if it be thyſelf, then thou art an execrable wretch, who playeſt the devil's part, in loathing that part of the goſpel of Chriſt, which above all other ſcriptures, doth expreſs the admirable union of the Godhead, and manhood, in one Chriſt and Saviour, which union is the arch-pillar of man's ſalvation: Wherefore, look to thyſelf, for now thou art to be put upon trial, and mark diligently whether it be the ſame ſcripture which ſhall be read unto thee out of the Greek Teſtament, at the reading whereof in the Engliſh tongue thou doſt ſeem to be ſo much troubled and tormented."

Then the biſhop read to him the 12th inſtead of the 1ſt verſe of the 1ſt chapter of St. John, which the pretended demoniac, ſuppoſing to be the firſt verſe, he, as uſual, fell into a fit, which being ſoon over, the biſhop then read to him the real firſt verſe in Greek; but he ſuppoſing this was ſome other text, ſhewed no ſort of emotion at this reading.

Here the biſhop would have reſted the detection of the impoſture, and the youngſter ſeemed greatly confounded at his own miſtake; but recovering himſelf, and reſuming various emotions and poſtures, he excuſed himſelf to the company by pretending he was diſturbed at the ſight of two mice; complained of great ſickneſs; and in order to get home to his fathor's houſe, he would anſwer no more queſtions; but by writing, as well as he could, ſignified that he was troubled with a violent pain in his belly. To confirm his complaint, he next day contrived to make water as black as ink, and continued ſo to do for two days, with tokens of great pain.

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A circumſtance which alarmed the biſhop greatly, and had well nigh obtained his diſmiſſion, before the impoſture could be ſufficiently made out to quiet the minds of the divided people. But, by diligence and narrow watching, it was on the third day diſcovered, that he made black water by the help of an inkhorn, which ſtood in one corner of the room; and being taken in the fact, he confeſſed, and related the manner of his impoſing ſo many ways upon the public.

An account of the family at Wattiſham, which has lately been afflicted with the loſs of their limbs; publiſhed by Dr. Wollaſton, of Bury, in Suffolk.

JOHN DOWNING, a poor labouring man, living at Wattiſham, in January laſt, had a wife and ſix children; the eldeſt, a girl 15 years of age, the youngeſt about four months.—They were all at that time very healthy, and had not any of them been ill for ſome time before.—On Sunday, the 10th of January 1762, the eldeſt girl complained, in the morning, of a pain in her left leg, particularly in the calf of the leg. Towards evening the pain grew exceedingly violent.—The ſame evening another girl complained of the ſame violent pain in the ſame leg.—On the Monday, the mother, and another child; and on Tueſday all the reſt of the family were affected in the ſame manner; ſome in one leg, ſome in both legs.—The little infant was taken from the mother's breaſt: It ſeemed to be in pain, but the limbs did not mortify; it lived a few weeks. The mother, and the other five children, continued in violent pain a conſiderable time: In about four, five, or ſix days, the diſeaſed leg began to turn black gradually, appearing at firſt covered with blue ſpots, as if it had been bruiſed.—The other leg of thoſe who were affected at firſt only in one leg, about that time alſo began to be affected with the ſame excruciating pain, and in a few days that leg alſo began to mortify.—The mortified parts ſeparated gradually from the ſound parts; and the ſurgeon had, in moſt of the caſes, no other trouble than to cut through the bone, which was black, and almoſt dry.—The ſtate of their limbs at preſent is this:

Mary, the mother, aged 40, has loſt the right foot at the ancle; the left foot alſo is off, and the two bones of the leg remain, almoſt dry, with only ſome little putrid fleſh adhering in the ſame places.—The fleſh is ſound to about two inches below the knee.—The bones would have been ſawn through that place, if ſhe would have conſented to it.

Mary, aged 15, both legs off below the knees.

Elizabeth, aged 13, both legs off below the knees.

Sarah, aged 10, one foot off at the ancle.—The other foot was affected, but not in ſo great a degree, and is now ſound again.

Robert, aged 8, both legs off below the knees.

Edward, aged 4, both feet off.

An infant, four months old, dead.

The father was attacked about a fortnight after the reſt of the family, and in a ſlight degree; the pain being confined to his fingers.—Two fingers of the right hand continued for a long time diſcoloured,

and partly ſhrunk and contracted; but he begins now to have ſome uſe of them.—The nails of the other hand were alſo diſcoloured.—He loſt two of them.

It is remarkable, that during all the time of this misfortune, the whole family are ſaid to have appeared, in other reſpects, well, eat heartily, and ſlept well, when the violence of the pain began to abate.—The mother is now emaciated, and has very little uſe of her hands.—The eldeſt girl has a ſuperficial ulcer in one thigh, and ſeems alſo ill. The reſt of the family are pretty well.—The ſtumps of ſome of them perfectly healed.

An account of an Amputation of a leg, without any ſubſequent Hæmorrhage. By Thomas Antrobus, ſurgeon in Liverpool. Extracted from the ſecond volume of Medical Obſervations and Inquiries.

WILLIAM JAMES, of Briſtol, aged thirty years, was admitted Feb. 1758, into the infirmary at Liverpool, for a ſpitting of blood; and ſoon afterwards, was ſeized with an epidemic malignant fever; which brought on a mortification of the left foot. On this occaſion, warm ſpirituous fomentations were uſed; cataplaſms, made of the Spec. e Cymino, with the grounds of ſtrong beer, were applied; and the Peruvian bark adminiſtered in a warm cordial julep. By this method, the progreſs of the mortification was ſtopped, about two inches above the ancle: and, in a little time, a ſeparation, with a good digeſtion of the ſound part, enſued. This favourable appearance, though ſome ſymptoms of a fever ſtill remained, determined me, with the approbation of the other ſurgeons, Mr. Bromfield, and Mr. Pickering, to take off the leg.

The amputation was accordingly performed, in the uſual place below the knee: but when the tournequet was ſlackened, there was no efflux of blood, from the divided arteries, nor the leaſt pulſation to be perceived, at any of their extremities. By what the patient ſeemed to ſuffer in the operation, there was no apparent diminution of ſenſibility. The effuſion of blood, which followed the inciſion through the ſkin and fleſh, was very ſmall, and ſeemed to be no other than the recurrent blood, from the crural, and other veins. It appeared blackiſh, as if it had ſtagnated ſome time; and much reſembled that which is found in the veins of a dead body. Sponges, dipt in warm water, were applied to the ſtump, for the ſpace of ten or fifteen minutes, the tournequet being ſtill looſe; whilſt thoſe who were preſent at the operation, were aſtoniſhed that no hæmorrhage followed. After attending ſo long, and no ſign of bleeding being obſerved, the ſtump was dreſſed, without any ligatures made on the arteries, with compreſſes dipt in warm oil of turpentine, and laid on the extremities of the arteries. Theſe, with the other dreſſings, were ſecured by an eaſy bandage; and the tournequet remained looſe, leſt, a new acceſſion of fever ſhould bring on the apprehended hæmorrhage. The integuments, muſcles, and bones of this part, appeared to be in a natural and vivid ſtate; but the arm, on the ſame ſide, had ſuch an uncommon blackiſh hue, as ſeemed to threaten a total gangrene, though the radial artery enjoyed a good pulſation.

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In the evening, I visited my patient, found the pulse much raised, and no appearance of the livid colour on the arm remaining; nor were the dressings discoloured with any blood. I ordered the tourniquet to be kept loose on the thigh, an opiate to be given, and the bark to be prepared again for him. On the fourth day after the operation, I renewed the dressings, and perceived not the least appearance of blood: and instead of seeing a gangrened stump, unexpectedly a good digestion presented itself round the edges thereof, without much inflammation, hardness, or other bad symptom. He was dressed every day after; the digestion increased; and the delirium of the fever, which had still remained, soon went off. Thus, in the ordinary time, the part was healed, and the health of the patient perfectly recovered. From this account, truly stated, we find there was a separation of the mortification above the ancle, and a good digestion upon the live part; and though, upon amputating the limb, at the usual place below the knee, there was not the least appearance of blood, or pulsation, at the divided arteries; yet a digestion appeared upon the stump, on the fourth day after the operation.

An account of a Conception without rupture of the Hymen. From the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1756.

IN the month of March 1756, an unmarried woman, aged 30, died at Lille, of the consequences of a fixed pain in the left iliac region. Her body being opened by M. Varocquier, professor of anatomy at that place, in the presence of two surgeons, the left ovarium was observed to be as big as a hen's egg; and being opened there flowed from it about an ounce of a lymphatic liquor like whey, and there was found in it a fœtus a little decayed. It was of the length of two inches from the crown of the head to the knees. The uterus and the opposite ovarium were in their natural state: but what is extraordinary in this subject, in which M. Varocquier found a fœtus, the hymen was quite entire. That which is reckoned an infallible proof of virginity is therefore but an equivocal mark.

An account of a remarkable Mummy. From the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1756.

SOME peasants being at workin a field belonging to the village of Matres-d'Artieres, near Riom in Auvergne, found a kind of trough, seven feet long, three broad, and eight inches in depth, cut out of a stone which seemed to be a granite, and covered with another stone of the same kind. In this trough was a leaden coffin, which contained the body of a lad about twelve or thirteen, so well embalmed, that the flesh was still flexible and supple. The arms were covered with bands twisted round them from the wrist to the top of the shoulders, and the legs in the same manner from the ancles to the top of the thighs: a kind of shirt covered the breast and belly, and over all was a winding-

ſheet. All theſe linens were imbibed with a balm of ſuch a ſtrong ſmell, that the ſtone trough retained it, and communicated it to thoſe who came near it, long after the coffin was taken out of it. This mummy was carried firſt to the curate's of the pariſh: it had at that time on its head a wooden cap, lined with an aromatic paſte, which had the ſame ſmell as the balm in which the linen had been dipped. It had alſo in its hands balls of the ſame paſte, which were kept on by little bags, which covered the hands and were tied at the wriſts; and the arms, thighs, and legs were covered with ſome of the ſame paſte. But being removed ſoon after to Riom, by order of the intendant of that place, all the coverings were taken away; and the colour of the ſkin, which was at firſt very clear, changed to a dark-brown. The drug employed in embalming had very much diminiſhed the bulk of the fleſhy parts; but had preſerved their ſuppleneſs ſo well, that a ſurgeon making an inciſion in the ſtomach, one of the by-ſtanders put in his finger, and could feel the diaphragm, the great lobe of the ſpleen, and the liver; but theſe two laſt had loſt much of their bulk. A part of the epiploon, about three inches in length, being extracted at this opening, was found to be quite ſound, and as flexible as in its natural ſtate. About twelve inches of the jejunum being likewiſe extracted, and tied at one end, it was inflated by blowing in it, as readily as if it had been that of an animal juſt killed. In ſhort, the body ſeemed to be embalmed in a quite different manner from that of the Egyptians, whoſe mummies are dry and brittle.

No inſcription on the coffin or linen, no medal, nor any ſymbol whatever, was found, that might diſcover the time when it was depoſited in this place: and the peaſants affirmed, with oaths, that they had not removed or embezzled any thing.

An account of a Body, which had been found intirely converted into Hair, a conſiderable time after it was buried.——From the Acts of Leipſic.

ABOUT forty-three years ago, a woman was interred at Nuremberg, in a wooden coffin painted black, according to the cuſtom of the country. The earth, wherein her body was depoſited, was dry and yellow, as it is for the moſt part in the environs of that city. Of three bodies, buried in the ſame grave, this woman's was laid the deepeſt in the ground; and, there being an occaſion to make room for a fourth body, the grave was dug up anew; but, to the great ſurpriſe of the digger, when he had removed the two uppermoſt coffins, he perceived a conſiderable quantity of hair that had made its way through the ſlits and crevices of the coffin. The lid being taken off, there appeared a perfect reſemblance of a human figure, the eyes, noſe, mouth, ears, and all other parts, being very diſtinct; but from the crown of the head to the ſoles of the feet, it was covered with very long, thick, and frizzled hair. The grave-digger, after examining it for ſome time, happened to touch the upper part of the head; but was more ſurpriſed than before, on ſeeing the intire body ſhrink, and nothing at laſt remain

main in his hand, but a bundle of rough hair, which insensibly assumed a browniſh-red colour.

The learned Honoratus Fabri, Lib. 3. de Plantis, and several other authors, are of opinion, that hair, wool, feathers, nails, horns, teeth, &c. are nothing but vegetables. If be so, we need not be surprised to see them grow on the bodies of animals, even after their death, as has been frequently observed. Petrus Borellus, Hist. & Obs. Med. Cent. I. Obs. 10, pretends, that these productions may be transplanted as vegetables, and may grow in a different place from that where they first germinated. He also relates, in some of his observations on this subject, among others, that of a tooth drawn out and transplanted, which may appear pretty singular.

Though the external surface of bodies is the usual place for the growth of hair, it has, notwithstanding, been sometimes found on the tongue, in the interior of the heart, and on its surface; in the breasts and kidnies; and in other glandular and muscular parts: but there is no internal part where it is oftener found than in the ovarium of females. This has been observed in three different subjects by Dr. Tyson, as we find it related in the Philosophical Collections of Mr. Hooke; who also tells us, on the testimony of Mr. Arnold, that a man, hanged at Tyburn for theft, was found, in a very short time after he was taken away from the gallows, covered over in a very extraordinary manner with hair.

Observations on the Hair of dead Persons; being an Extract of a Letter from Bartholine to Sachs, inserted in the Acts of Copenhagen.

I Do not know, whether you ever observed, that the hair which, in people when living, was black or grey, often after their death, in digging up their graves, or opening the vaults where they lie, is found changed into a fair or flaxen colour; so that their relations can scarce know them again by such a mark. This change is produced, undoubtedly, by the hot and concentered vapours which are exhaled from the dead bodies.

Thoughts on the poisonous effects of Muscles.

THE poisonous effect, consequent on eating muscles, does not proceed, as I apprehend, from any ill principle in the muscle itself, nor from any noxious quality in those little crabs frequently found in them: neither does it proceed from any property derived from the copperas beds, near which muscles are sometimes found; nor from the malignity of any corrosive mineral whatever, nor from any heterogeneous mixture of animal salts that muscles may meet with in the stomach of the eater, for the following reasons:

1. That no poisonous quality is inherent in the substance of the muscle, is evident from this; that multitudes have made the muscle a part of their food, for many years, without finding the least inconvenience; on the contrary, have found them a wholesome, nourishing, and even a delicious food.

2. That the poison which produces the effect, if any such there be, does not reside in the crab, is

equally demonſtrable; for ſome will ſwallow as many as can be brought them, without the leaſt ſcruple; and, indeed, there is but little reaſon to ſuppoſe that a quantity of poiſon, ſufficient to produce ſuch ſudden and apparent ill effects, can be contained in ſo ſmall a crab, when thoſe of much larger dimenſions are daily eaten with ſafety by all ſorts of people, on thoſe coaſts, where they are found in plenty.

3. That it cannot be owing to any vicious quality imbibed from the copperas-beds near which they are found, becauſe the ſame effect is frequently produced by eating muſcles gathered many hundred miles from any copperas-beds; and by thoſe of the whiteſt and moſt inviting kind; nor can a quantity of vitriolic or mineral pungent ſalts, ſufficient to poiſon a perſon, exiſt in dreſſed muſcles, without diſcovering itſelf either in the liquor, or upon the palate when the muſcles are eating.

And, 4. It cannot proceed from any heterogeneous mixture of animal ſalts in the ſtomach of the eater, becauſe the ſudden ſwelling of the perſon affected is a ſymptom that never follows from ſuch a cauſe.

It is further obſervable, that particular people only are affected by the eating of muſcles, and thoſe differently at different times. I am myſelf acquainted with ſome perſons who never could eat muſcles without being ill; but who can now eat them boldly, and without the leaſt apprehenſion of any bad conſequences: and I have myſelf eaten them from my infancy, and yet they have never once diſagreed with me, nor with any of my family, ſave one.

I am therefore of opinion, from all the obſervations I have been able to make, that the diſorders proceeding from the eating of muſcles, happens from the ready diſpoſition of ſome glutinous particles on the ſurface of the muſcle to adhere to what it touches of the ſtomach; and that the real cauſe, of what is generally thought the poiſonous effect, is only the coheſion of the membrane of the muſcle, like a piece of leaf gold, to the inner coat or lining of the ſtomach, which, when once diſlodged, the patient almoſt inſtantly recovers.

The reaſon why ſome may be more liable than others to be affected in this manner, may be owing to the diſpoſition of the ſtomach itſelf, the viſcoſity of whoſe contents may be a concurrent cauſe of the diſorder.

The uſual ſymptoms that follow ſuch an adheſion, are great oppreſſion of the *præcordia*, ſtrangulation, anhelation, ſhort cough, tingling ears, watery eyes, ſwelled face and hands, with efflorescence and itchings in the ſkin; moſt of which ſymptoms I have known to follow the eating of raw hot bread, ſwallowing the ſkins of grapes, and even from eating French beans. In all theſe caſes, gentle emetics ſeldom fail to relieve the patient; but as ſudden diſorders of this kind ſometimes prove fatal before help can be called in, oils of any kind, mixed with warm water, taken into the ſtomach, may, in ſome caſes, have a good effect: for, as in looſening a plaiſter from the ſkin, oil is often the eaſieſt way of removing it, ſo, in caſes of an adheſion to the internal coat of the ſtomach, oil may have the like effect.

Were people of weak ſtomachs in-

inclined to make the muſcle a part of their neceſſary food, as in ſome places they are plenty, and are certainly nouriſhing, I would adviſe them, by way of prevention, firſt to prepare their ſtomachs by gentle emetics, and then to eat of them ſparingly, with much bread and butter; and, by frequently eating them in this manner, thoſe people, with whom ſuch wholeſome ſhell-fiſh have diſagreed, have been brought to eat them without danger.

Eſſex, March 20. J. C.

On the property of the Box-Tree to make the Hair grow.—From the Ephemerides of the Curious.

A Young woman, of Grunberg in the Lower Sileſia, having had a malignant dyſentery, which occaſioned the falling-off of all her hair, was adviſed by a perſon, ſome time after her recovery (as her hair was not likely to grow again of itſelf, her head being then as bare as the hand) to waſh it all over with a decoction of box-wood, which ſhe readily did, without the addition of any other drug. Uſing no precaution to ſecure her neck and face, hair of a cheſnut colour grew in effect on her head, as ſhe was told it would; but her whole neck and face were alſo ſoon covered with red hairs, which made her ſo deformed, that ſhe appeared little different from an ape or monkey. A phyſician adviſed her to apply to her face and neck, a depilatory of the reſin of the larch-tree, mixed up with that of maſtich: but we have not yet learned what effect this remedy has produced on her.

Of a Stone, that, like the Chameleon, has the property of changing its colour, in certain circumſtances.—From the Ephemerides of the Curious.

M. Andrew Cnoffelius, one of the phyſicians of the court of Poland, relates, that, having been at Thorn, a famous lapidary there ſhewed him, among other curioſities, a ſtone, called by ſome the mineral polypus, about the ſize of a large pea, and of an aſh colour. What was wonderful in this ſtone is, that, though opaque, and having no tranſparent part, after being laid in water, it began, in leſs than ſix minutes, to appear ſhining at the edges, and to communicate to the water a ſort of luminous ſhadow, of the colour of yellow amber: it afterwards paſſed from yellow to the colour of an amethyſt, and from thence ſucceſſively to black, white, and a cloudy colour, and, as it were, ſurrounded with ſmoke. At laſt it appeared quite brilliant, intirely tranſparent, and of a very beautiful yellow-amber colour. Taken out of the water, it returned to its former opaque ſtate, after being coloured ſucceſſively, and in a retrograde order, with the ſame dyes it had before aſſumed in the water.

The doctor adds, that this ſtone is natural, and not a production of art; and that it alſo may be regarded as a proof of the exiſtence of a formal light in nature.

Deſcription of a new mineral.

IT may be reaſonably doubted, whether mankind will ever know all the riches of nature. Every century,

tury, every age, every country is diſtinguiſhed by new diſcoveries, and the time preſent in this article always adds to the time paſt. The mineral lately found in the neighbourhood of Gera in Voigtland, a province of Saxony, is an inconteſtible proof of this aſſertion. It appears in form of a pretty ſtrong vein, leaning againſt a mountain. No perſon hath as yet preſumed to define or impoſe a name upon it, either old or new; becauſe its properties are ſo peculiar, that when ſome people find an analogy between it and certain minerals, others perceive very conſiderable differences between them. It is a very duſty ſubſtance, extremely white, reſembling chalk, or the whiteſt terreſtrial marrow, a quality without which it would be taken for the talc of ſilver (*lapis talci argenteus*) for it feels fat to the touch. It is uſed as paint by the ladies, and can neither be altered or impaired by fire: but the talc of ſilver is uſually greeniſh, and that of gold yellow: beſides, talc is flinty, and found in large pieces. All theſe qualities do not center in this new mineral, while it hath others which we don't find in talc. A learned and indefatigable mineraliſt and chemiſt has endeavoured, by all poſſible experiments, to diſcover the properties, and determine the true uſe of this ſubſtance: and theſe are what he has already aſcertained. 1. The mineral is very proper for poliſhing gold and ſilver: it leaves not one ſcratch, and takes away every thing that can ſtain theſe metals. 2. It ſuffers no change in the fire, and cannot be brought to fuſion. 3. In conſequence of this laſt quality, it may be uſed for the ſmelting and ſeparation of metals. 4. It makes an excellent waſh for the ſkin, which it wonderfully cleans and ſoftens, having nothing corroſive in its compoſition. 5. Being put in water, it inſtantly diſſolves. 6. Being diluted with a great quantity of water, it may be uſed as varniſh to figures of plaiſter, which afterwards appear as if they were ſilvered. 7. It may be uſed for drawing on paper like lead ore: the ſtrokes of it are ſoft, ſubſtantial, and ſhining, and extremely proper for drawing flowers to be coloured and painted. 8. It yields a very fine magiſterium, infinitely ſuperior to that which is prepared from marcaſite, and affords an incomparable white for the ladies. 9. It may be uſed by organ makers, to ſmear the fuſtian of their moulds, which, by that means, will be preſerved in the furnace, without being burnt ſo ſoon as it commonly is. 10. It gives a poliſh to the organ pipes, like that of ſilver. A perſon of learning, to whom we communicated this paper, being juſtly ſtruck with the qualities of ſuch a mineral which melts in water, and reſiſts fire, thinks he perceives in it ſome reſemblance to a mineral mentioned by Samuel Northon, who calls it Electra.

Strange effects of Sea-water on Caſt Iron.—From the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1756.

IN the month of July 1756, there were fiſhed up, in the road of La Hogue, within muſquet ſhot of Fort Lillet, four iron guns, one of which was a ſixteen-pounder, part of the wreck of M. de Tourville's ſquadron, to which that general ſet fire on

on the 29th of July, 1692; and which, consequently, had lain in the water sixty-four years. M. Morand, jun. had the curiosity to examine them; and sent the following account to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris.

The guns were covered, both without and within, with a crust of mud mixed with sand, &c. This crust being taken off, the cannon were found to be as soft as tin: but after being exposed to the air for twenty-four hours, they resumed their former degree of hardness, and bore the largest charges three times successively, without being suffered to cool, tho' besides the balls, they were loaded with a number of flints on purpose to try them.

Becher, and some other authors, have given some interesting hints on the properties of marine salt; which may serve to explain this phænomenon: but as this is only a single fact, Mr. Morand doth not pretend to account for it, contenting himself with relating the circumstances.

Observations on the Salamander, by Matthias Tilingius, a member of the Academy of the Curious in Germany.

SOME years ago, when I was a student in physic at Rostock, being out herborising in a wood in the neighbourhood of that town, I found a land salamander, which was black, and spotted with yellow, like a lizard. I was pleased to have an opportunity of trying whether this insect could effectually resist the heat of fire; and, as soon as I came home, I threw it accordingly into the fire, but it was in a short time burnt, and reduced to ashes.

The ancients have told us a great number of fables concerning the salamander, and, among others, that it remains unhurt by the activity of fire. Some authors have indeed asserted, that the salamander resists not only the heat of fire, but that it lives in it as its own element, and feeds and thrives upon its substance. Some others have thoughr it enough to say, that the salamander can live for some time in fire, without being burnt, because, at first, the aqueous exudation, caused by heat, from its body, extinguishes the fire; but if the fire should be rekindled, or its heat increased, it would be burnt and consumed. Others, in fine, have maintained with more reason, that nothing is more contrary to salamanders than fire, being consumed and reduced to ashes, soon after they are thrown into it. This is verified not only by the following observations, but by those of several modern authors.

For my part, I am persuaded, that what has given room to so erroneous an opinion, which passed from ancient authors, who copied one another, to the moderns, is, that formerly this insect was known no otherwise than by its name: hence, we may account for the monstrous paintings and descriptions that have been made of it, sometimes representing it with the head of a sheep, and sometimes with the head of a serpent; sometimes cloathed with a lanuginous skin, and sometimes with a scaly skin, rough, oily, &c. One author puts it in the class of worms; another in that of spiders; so that those descriptions and paintings no more resemble

reſemble the ſalamander, than the aſs does the horſe, or the owl the parrot.

I ſhould be inclined to embrace the ſecond opinion, if the obſervations I made did not ſeem very contrary to it. I cannot indeed aver it for matter of fact, that the ſalamander that I threw into the fire, lived therein one moment: for, having repeated ſeveral times the experiment, in preſence of ſome learned men, I obſerved, that ſo ſoon as I laid them on the coals, after ſtruggling a little to ſave themſelves, they gaped and expired; ſo that it always appeared to me that they could not bear the heat of fire, during the ſhorteſt interval of time. It is true, they remained afterwards pretty long before they were conſumed, becauſe a plentiful exudation of milky liquor oozed from all the pores of their ſkin, as others have already obſerved, which diminiſhed the activity of the fire for ſome moments; but, as this moiſture acquired a thicker conſiſtence, the ſalamander became leſs, and, waſting away by degrees, was at laſt reduced to aſhes.

Now, what is there in this extraordinary, or particular to ſalamanders? Does not the ſame thing happen whenever a bit of raw fleſh is put into the fire, or even wood, which are not inflammable till the humidity contained in them is evaporated? Without paying therefore any regard to the authority and ſuperſtitious ſtories of the ancients concerning ſalamanders, it may be confidently aſſerted, purſuant to experience, that ſalamanders, inſtead of living in fire as in their own element, inſtead of being nouriſhed with fire, and extinguiſhing it by a property peculiar to them, ſurely die in it, and are conſumed in as ſhort a time as all other animals.

If any, ſtill prepoſſeſſed in favour of the ancients, cannot perſuade themſelves that their opinion can be thus deſtitute of all foundation, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that in ſuch caſe, they had in view the metaphorical ſalamander of the chymiſts, or the amianthus, which ſome have called by the name of ſalamander.

An Account of a Treatiſe in Latin, preſented to the Royal Society, intituled, A Diſſertation on the ſurpriſing degree of artificial cold, by which Mercury was frozen. *By J. Braun, of the Academy of Sciences, &c. Read at a meeting of the Royal Society in the month of May,* 1761, *and extracted from vol.* lii. *part* i. *of the* Philoſophical Tranſactions *for the ſame year.*

To the Royal Society.

Gentlemen,

VERY early laſt year, we were informed, that at Petersburg, by the means of artificial cold, the mercury in thermometers had been condenſed to ſo great a degree, as to become perfectly fixed and ſolid: but as this information was received only in a looſe way, from the public gazettes, the opinions of philoſophers here were ſuſpended, in relation to their giving credit to this very extraordinary phænomenon, until the truth of it could be ſufficiently authenticated. This has very lately been done by Profeſſor Braun, who firſt made the experiments, and who preſented an account of them to the Royal Academy

my at Peterſburg, a printed copy of which has been communicated by him to the Royal Society.

Profeſſor Braun obſerves, that every age has its inventions, and that the diſcovery of ſome things ſeem to be reſerved for particular perſons. To this, the hiſtory of ſciences in all ages, more particularly of the late and the preſent, bears witneſs ſufficiently, by the invention of the air-pump, barometers, thermometers, optical inſtruments, electricity, more particularly the natural, artificial magnets, phoſphorus, the diſcovery of the aberration of light, and of many other things in natural philoſophy. He does not know, whether the congelation of mercury, which it was his good fortune to diſcover, may not be ranged among theſe: for who did not conſider quickſilver, as a body, which would preſerve its fluidity in every degree of cold? Neither was the fact otherwiſe, if this is underſtood of natural cold, ſuch as it has been found in any part of the globe, hitherto diſcovered. But if it ſhould happen, that the natural cold ſhould ever be ſo intenſe as artificial cold has been found to be, the whole globe would have a different face, as men, animals, and plants, would certainly be deſtroyed. He did hint ſome time ſince, in a diſſertation upon the degrees of heat, which certain liquors and certain fluids would bear before they boiled, and the degrees of cold they reſpectively bore before they were converted into ice, that there was a ſuſpicion, that the mercury in ſome of the barometers and thermometers made uſe of for experiments in Siberia had been frozen: but ſince that in greater degrees of cold, the mercury continued fluid in other barometers and thermometers, the immobility and hardneſs obſerved in ſome of theſe inſtruments was attributed more probably to the lead or the biſmuth, with which the mercury had been adultered, and was not conſidered as a real freezing of the mercury: but this has been ſince put out of all doubt; ſince it is certain, that pure mercury would not freeze under ſuch ſmall degrees of cold, great as they were for natural cold. The experiments, which the profeſſor made, in order to congeal mercury, demonſtrate this moſt evidently; beſides which, they exhibit new phænomena.

There happened at Peterſburg, on the 14th of December, 1759, a very great froſt, equal, if not more intenſe, than any which had been obſerved there: for, between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, Deliſle's thermometer ſtood at 205; at ſeven o'clock, at 201; which laſt was the greateſt degree of cold, that had been obſerved at Peterſburg, either by himſelf or others. At one o'clock at noon, the thermometer ſtood at 197. Mr. Braun had been employed, ſeveral days before this, in obſerving the ſeveral decrees of cold, which different fluids would bear, before they were converted into ice; partly to confirm thoſe things which he had already laid before the academy; and partly to make experiments upon liquors, which had not yet been examined; as on the days between the 7th and 14th the cold was intenſe enough to be between the degrees of 181 and 191.

When the natural cold was ſo intenſe as to be at 205, Profeſſor Braun conjectured, that it was of all others the moſt proper occaſion

to

to try the effects of artificial cold; not doubting, but that artificial cold would be increaſed in proportion as the natural was more intenſe. Aquafortis, which was found by the thermometer to be 204 degrees cold, was the greateſt part of it frozen, the ice having the appearance of cryſtals of nitre; which, however, immediately diſſolved in a ſmall degree of heat. This aquafortis, which though frozen at the ſides, was liquid in the middle, was poured upon pounded ice, in that proportion which was directed by Fahrenheit, the firſt perſon who made artificial cold with ſpirit of nitre. But before the profeſſor made this experiment, he, by examination, found, that both the ice and aquafortis were of the temperature with the air, which was then 204. Upon the firſt pouring, the mercury fell 20 degrees; this ſpirit was poured off, and freſh put on, ſeveral times; but it was poſſible, by theſe means, to introduce no more than 30 decrees of cold; ſo that the mercury in the thermometer fell no lower than 234. Since therefore Fahrenheit could not produce cold greater than that of 40 below the cypher of his thermometer, which correſponds with 210 of that employed by Profeſſor Braun; nor Reaumur, nor Muſchenbroek, who often repeated the ſame experiment, our author was upon the point of giving up this purſuit; as conſidering this as the greateſt degree to which artificial cold could be carried; thinking it ſufficient honour to himſelf, to have added 20 degrees to the cold formerly known.

But reflecting, that this was not all the fruit he expected from theſe experiments, he determined to purſue them; but at the ſame time, however, to vary the manner of them. By good fortune, his ice was all gone, and he was compelled to uſe ſnow in its ſtead, after having firſt tried, and found the ſnow of the ſame degree of cold with the air, at this time 203. The ſnow, the thermometer, and the aquafortis, being of the ſame temperature, he immerſed the thermometer in ſnow, contained in a glaſs; and, at firſt, only poured a few drops of the aquafortis upon that part of the ſnow, in which the thermometer was immerſed; upon which he obſerved the mercury to ſubſide to 260. Elated by this remarkable ſucceſs, he immediately conceived hopes, that theſe experiments might be carried further: nor was he deceived in his expectations; for repeating the experiment in the ſame ſimple manner, he poured on only ſome more aquafortis, and immediately the mercury fell to 380. Upon which he immerſed the thermometer in another glaſs filled with ſnow, before it had loſt any of this acquired cold; and at length, by this third experiment, the mercury ſubſided to 470 degrees. When he obſerved this enormous degree of cold, he could ſcarce give credit to his eyes, and believed his thermometer broke. But, to his infinite ſatisfaction, upon taking out his thermometer, he found it whole; though the mercury was immoveable, and continued ſo in the open air twelve minutes. He carried his thermometer into a chamber, where the temperature of the air was 125 degrees; and, after ſome minutes, the mercury being reſtored to its fluidity, began to riſe. But to be certain, whether this thermometer had received

ceived any injury, and whether it would yet correſpond with his thermometer, which he keeps as a ſtandard, he ſuſpended them together, and in twenty minutes the thermometers correſponded one with the other.

The thermometers, which our author uſually employs, have a ſpherical bulb, and their ſcale is divided into 1200 parts, of which 600 are above the cypher, which denotes the heat of boiling water, and 600 below that heat. A thermometer of this conſtruction was uſed in inveſtigating the heat of boiling mercury and oils. He had another thermometer, of which the ſcale went no lower than 360 degrees below the cypher, denoting the heat of boiling water. He repeated the former experiment with this, and the mercury very ſoon deſcended ſo, that the whole was contained in the bulb, which, however, it did not quite fill. The mercury in this bulb was immoveable, even though he ſhook the thermometer; until about a quarter of an hour, it began to aſcend in the open air; and it continued to aſcend, till it became higher than the circumambient air ſeemed to indicate. He was ſtruck with this extraordinary phænomenon, and very attentively looked at the mercury in this thermometer, and found certain air bubbles interſperſed with the mercury, which were not in that of the other thermometer. From theſe, and other experiments (it would be unneceſſary to recite them all) he was ſatisfied, that the mercury in theſe thermometers had been fixed and congealed by the cold.

Hitherto our profeſſor had only ſeen the mercury fixed within the bulb of his thermometers. Theſe he was unwilling to break. He was, however, deſirous of examining the mercury in its fixed ſtate, and therefore determined to break his thermometers in the next experiments. It was ſeveral days before he got other thermometers, which exactly correſponded with thoſe he had already employed.

When theſe were procured, the natural cold had ſomewhat relented. In the former experiment, the thermometer ſtood at 204; it was now at 199. In making the experiment, he varied the manner a little. He firſt put the bulb of the thermometer into a glaſs of ſnow, gently preſſed down, before he poured on the aquafortis; he then, in another glaſs, poured the aquafortis upon the ſnow, before he immerſed his thermometer therein; he then, in like manner, put the ſnow to the aquafortis, before he put his thermometer therein. Which ever of theſe ways he proceeded, he found the event exactly the ſame; as the whole depended upon the aquafortis diſſolving the ſnow. When he had proceeded ſo far, as to find the mercury immoveable, he broke the bulb of the thermometer, which had already been cracked in the experiment, but the parts were not ſeparated. He found the mercury ſolid, but not wholly ſo, as the middle part of the ſphere was not yet fixed. The external convex ſurface of the mercury was perfectly ſmooth; but the internal concave one, after the ſmall portion of mercury, which remained fluid, was poured out, appeared rough and uneven, as though compoſed of ſmall globules. He gave the mercury ſeveral ſtrokes with the peſtle of a mortar, which ſtood near him. It had ſolidity enough to bear extenſion

tenſion with theſe ſtrokes; its hardneſs was like that of lead, though ſomewhat ſofter; and, upon ſtriking, it ſounded like lead. When the mercury was extended by theſe ſtrokes, he cut it eaſily with a penknife. The mercury then becoming ſofter by degrees, in about twelve minutes it recovered its former fluidity, the air being then 197. The colour of the congealed mercury did ſcarce differ from that of the fluid: it looked like the moſt poliſhed ſilver, as well in its convex part, as where it was cut.

The next day, the cold had increaſed to 212 degrees, which was 7 degrees beyond what it had ever before been obſerved at Peterſburg. The ſeaſon ſo much favouring, he thought it right to continue his purſuit, not only in further confirmation of what he had already obſerved, but to inveſtigate new phænomena. In two thermometers, he obſerved the ſame facts in relation to the congealing of mercury, as he did the preceding day. In the bulbs which he broke, the whole of the mercury was not fixed, as a very ſmall portion, much leſs than that of the preceding day, continued fluid. He treated this mercury as he did the former; he beat it with a peſtle; he cut it, and every thing was thus far the ſame. But he ſaw a very great difference in relation to the deſcending of the mercury in the thermometer, the like of which did not occur to him, neither in the former, nor any of the ſubſequent experiments. From the former ones it appeared, that the mercury in the firſt experiment had only deſcended to 470, when it became immoveable, though the glaſs bulb was not cracked. In the experiment of the 25th, it deſcended to 530; and in two thermometers on the 26th, to 650. But as well in the thermometer, which he uſed on the 25th, as in two of the 26th, the bulbs were cracked in the experiment: they cohered however; nor was the leaſt part of the bulb ſeparated, but the congealed mercury ſeemed to adhere to all parts of the bulb. In the following experiments, he invariably found, that the mercury ſunk lower, if the whole of it was congealed, than if any part of it remained fluid. It then generally deſcended to 680 and 700, but the bulbs were never without cracks; moreover, it deſcended to 800, and beyond even to 1500; but in this laſt experiment, the bulb was quite broke, ſo that the globe of mercury, thoroughly frozen, fell out, and by its fall, of about 3 feet, the globe of mercury became a little compreſſed; but in the former, only ſome parts of the bulb fell off.

Mr. Braun always found, that, cæteris paribus, the more intenſe the natural cold was, the more eaſy and more expeditiouſly theſe experiments did ſucceed.

In continuing theſe experiments he obſerved, that double aquafortis was more effectual than ſimple ſpirit of nitre; but that if both the aquafortis and Glauber's ſpirit of nitre, which he ſometimes alſo uſed, were well prepared, the difference was not very conſiderable. When his aquafortis was frozen, which often happened, he found the ſame effects from the frozen parts, when thawed, as from that part of it, which remained fluid in the middle of the bottle. Simple ſpirit of nitre, though it ſeldom brought the mercury lower than 300 degrees, by the following method he even froze

froze mercury with it. He filled ſix glaſſes with ſnow, as uſual, and put the thermometer in one of them, pouring thereupon the ſpirit of nitre. When the mercury would fall no lower in this, he, in the ſame manner, put it in a ſecond, then in a third, and ſo in a fourth; in which fourth immerſion, the mercury was congealed.

Another very conſiderable difference preſented itſelf in purſuing theſe inquiries, with regard to the mode of deſcent of the mercury. He conſtantly and invariably obſerved, that the mercury deſcended at firſt gently, but afterwards very rapidly. But the point, at which this impetus begins, is not eaſy to aſcertain; as in different experiments it begins very differently, and ſometimes at about 300, at other times about 350, and even further. In the experiment before-mentioned, in which the mercury fell to 800, it proceeded very regularly to 600; about which point it began to deſcend, with very great ſwiftneſs, and the bulb of the thermometer wes broke. The mercury, however, was perfectly congealed.

He frequently obſerved another remarkable phænomenon; which was, that although the ſpirit of nitre, the ſnow, and the mercury in the thermometer, were previouſly reduced to the ſame temperature, upon pouring the ſpirit of nitre upon the ſnow, the mercury in the thermometer roſe. But as this did not always happen, he carefully attended to every circumſtance; from which it appeared, that this effect aroſe from his pouring the aquafortis immediately upon the bulb of the thermometer, not previouſly well immerſed in the ſnow. He likewiſe obſerved another effect, twice only; and this was, that, after the thermometer had been taken out of the ſnow and aquafortis, the mercury continued to ſubſide, in the open air, down as low as the congealation of mercury.

In the courſe of theſe inquiries, our profeſſor found no difference, whether he made uſe of long or ſhort thermometers; whether the tubes were made of the Bohemian, or the glaſs of Peterſburg. Under the ſame circumſtances, the ſame effects were alſo produced, making an allowance for the different contraction of the different glaſſes, under ſo ſevere a degree of cold. But if theſe tubes were filled with different mercury, there was then a ſenſible difference; inaſmuch as mercury revived from ſublimate did not ſubſide ſo faſt in the thermometer, as that did, which was leſs pure. He has even found, that he has been able to congeal the leſs pure mercury, at a time when he could not bring the revived mercury lower than 300 degrees: but this he would, till farther trials have been made, not have conſidered as a general axiom.

From theſe experiments, our author conceives it demonſtrated, that heat alone is the cauſe of the fluidity of mercury, as it is that of water and other fluids. If, therefore, any part of the world does exiſt, in which ſo great a degree of cold prevails, as to make mercury ſolid, there is no doubt, but that mercury ought to appear there as a body equally firm and conſiſtent, as the reſt of the metals do here: that mercury, upon congealing, becomes its own ice, however different the mercurial ice may be from that of water, or other liquids. The idea of freezing does or can comprehend

nothing more than a tranſition of bodies from a ſtate of fluidity to that of firmneſs by the ſole interpoſition of cold.

The ice of oily and ſaline bodies differs greatly from that of water, which is friable and eaſily broke, whereas that of mercury is ductile. And M. Braun proceeds to conſider all bodies, which liquify by heat, as ſo many ſpecies of ice; ſo that every metal, wax, tallow, and glaſs, comes within his view in this reſpect.

Mercury then is, in its natural ſtate, a ſolid metal; but is fuſible in a very ſmall degree of heat. Every metal begins to flow in a certain degree of heat; but this degree is different in different metals. Pure tin begins to run at 420; lead, at 530; and biſmuth, at 470, in Fahrenheit's thermometer: or, according to our author, lead liquifies at 320 above the cypher in his ſcale, which correſponds with 596 in Fahrenheit; lead at 170=416 of Fahrenheit; biſmuth at 235=494; zinc requires a greater heat to melt it than will make mercury boil. Now, if it could be ſettled, at what point mercury would begin to be congealed, we ſhould know the point at which it began to flow; as it has been long known, that water is either fluid or ſolid, as the heat of it is a very few degrees above or under 32 in Fahrenheit's thermometer. Juſt ſo metals become ſolid, at almoſt the ſame degree of heat in which they become fluid. But in mercury, the congealing point is at too great a latitude to be exactly determined; but our author eſtimates it to be about 469 degrees in his thermometer; at a leſs degree than which, he has not been able to obſerve the ſlighteſt congealation. Hence it follows, that the condenſation or contraction, and conſequently the diminution of the volume of mercury muſt be very great indeed. This is demonſtrated by the great deſcent of the mercury in the thermometer, while it is freezing. But how great this diminution of the volume of the mercury is, cannot exactly be determined; and hence ariſes no ſmall difficulty in determining its ſpecific gravity, as this laſt muſt increaſe, as the bulk of the mercury leſſens. Hence as mercury, even in its fluid ſtate, comes of all bodies, platina excepted, the neareſt to gold; in its ſolid ſtate, it muſt ſtill approach much nearer.

Our author had three thermometers filled with the moſt highly rectified ſpirit of wine. Theſe not only correſponded exactly with one another, but, in leſs ſevere trials, correſponded reaſonably well with thoſe filled with mercury. But by the mixture of ſnow and ſpirit of nitre, which froze the mercury, he never was able to bring the ſpirit thermometers lower than 300. From hence it appears, that the cold, which will freeze mercury, will not freeze ſpirit of wine; and and that therefore ſpirit thermometers are the moſt fit to determine the degree of coldneſs in frigorific mixtures, until we are in a ſituation to conſtruct ſolid metallic thermometers with ſufficient accuracy.

Our author made many experiments, to try the effects of different fluids, in his frigorific mixtures. He invariably found, that Glauber's ſpirit of nitre and double aquafortis were the moſt powerful. With oil of vitriol, the moſt ponderous of all acids, he was never able to congeal mercury. He likewiſe tried a great number of other fluids, both

both acid and ſpirituous, which though, when mixed with ſnow, produced cold, it was in very different degrees. He tried a ſeries of experiments to this purpoſe; but it was in weather far leſs cold than the preceding experiments were tried in, viz. between 159 and 153, by his thermometer. By theſe it appears, that ſpirit of ſalt pounded upon ſnow, increaſed the natural cold 30 degrees; ſpirit of ſal ammoniac, 10; oil of vitriol, 35; Glauber's ſpirit of nitre, 58; aqua-fortis, 40; ſimple ſpirit of nitre, 30; ſpirit of vinegar, and lemon juice, made no remarkable difference; dulcified ſpirit of vitriol, 20; Hoffman's liquor anodynus, 32; ſpirit of hartſhorn, 10; ſpirit of ſulphur, 10; ſpirit of wine rectified, 20; camphorated ſpirit, 15; French brandy, 12; and even ſeveral kinds of wine, increaſed the natural cold to 6, 7, or 8 degrees. That inflammable ſpirits ſhould produce cold, ſeems very extraordinary, as rectified ſpirit ſeems to be liquid fire itſelf; and what ſtill appears more paradoxical is, that inflammable ſpirits poured into water, cauſe heat; upon ſnow, cold: and what is water, but melted ſnow?

Though not immediately relating to the principal purpoſe of this treatiſe, our author meaſured by his thermometer, when it ſtood in his ſtudy at 128 degrees, the heat occaſioned by pouring different fluids into water. He found, that oil of vitriol produced 35 degrees; ſpirit of ſea ſalt, 10; Hoffman's anodyne liquor rectified, 5; ſpirit of wine, 10. On the contrary, ſpirit of ſal ammoniac mixed with ſnow, ſpirit of ſulphur, and ſpirit of hartſhorn, mixed likewiſe with ſnow, made no perceptible difference. Highly rectified chymical oils, mixed with water, produced no heat; nor with ſnow, no cold; as was tried in the oils of turpentine, amber, mint, and mother of thyme. And here it is to be remarked, notwithſtanding the contrary has been given out by ſome, that theſe chymical oils mixed with the moſt highly rectified ſpirit of wine, do produce no cold, either upon their mixture, or half an hour after.

It reſults from theſe experiments, that although there are many liquids, which can produce artificial cold, the nitrous acid is the moſt powerful; and mercury may be congealed by it, without any difficult proceſs, at any time, when the heat of the atmoſphere is not greater than 175 by the thermometer before-mentioned. And theſe experiments have not only ſucceeded with our author, but with many others; among whom, it may be ſufficient to mention Meſſieurs Lomonoſow, Zeiher, Aepinus, and Model, as theſe gentlemen have made themſelves well known in the philoſophical world. The nitrous acid was poured upon the ſnow, in no determinate quantity; ſometimes a few drops were ſufficient, ſometimes it required a larger quantity. Snow ſeems to be more fit for thoſe experiments, than pounded ice; as the former, from its looſe texture, is of more apt and eaſy ſolution.

Hence it appears, that mercury is no longer to be ranked with the ſemi-metals, but as a perfect one, fuſible, though with a much leſs degree of heat than any of the others. It agrees likewiſe with other metals; as their parts like it, when in fuſion, attract one another, and run into globules, and, from a ſtate

of fluidity, pafs into a folid ftate, not all at once, but fucceffively, and *vice verfa*. But it is not worth inquiring, whether this metal, which agrees with all others, both in a folid and fluid ftate, has not the particular property of boiling at a certain degree of heat, which is by no means to be obferved in other metals. The degree of heat, in which mercury begins to boil, is not at 600 of Fahrenheit's fcale, as is generally imagined; but at leaft at 709 of the fame fcale, which correfponds with 414 of our author's, whofe cypher is at the heat of boiling water.

Both the boiling and freezing of mercury have this in common; that when it begins to boil, it rifes with rapidity; and defcends rapidly, when it begins to freeze. If, therefore, the mean term of the congealation of mercury is fixed at 650 below the cypher, and the term of its boiling at 414 above the cypher; its greateft contraction to its greateft dilatation, will be 1064 degrees of our author's thermometer, and 1237 of Fahrenheit's; as 212 is the point of boiling water in this laft, and 32 the freezing one; which correfponds with 150, under the term of boiling water, in our author's. Hence every one will fee the great alteration of fpecific gravity in frozen and boiling mercury, as, between one and the other, the tenth part of the volume is leffened.

It may be afked, why the mixture of fnow and nitrous acid does not run into a folid mafs, and form itfelf into ice, but remain of a foft conffiftence, although actually much colder, than what is required to freeze aquafortis? We have already mentioned, that aquafortis freezes at 204 of our author's thermometer, which correfponds with 34 below the cypher of Fahrenheit's. The frigorific mafs, in a degree of cold far below this, remained foft like a pultice. The caufe of this extraordinary phænomenon feems to be no other than a continuation of the folution of the fnow, and its mixing with the nitrous acid. For as the production of cold depends folely upon the folution and mixture, it cannot happen, that this mafs, which conftitutes a fluid of a hard kind, fhould run into a folid conffiftence, fo long as the folution and mixture cotinnue.

And now, Gentlemen, it requires no fmall fhare of your indulgence, to pardon my having extended this account fo far: but I have to plead in my excufe, that the fubject of this work is entirely new, and replete with a vaft variety of curious facts; all which exactly fall in with our excellent inftitution. For who, before Mr. Braun's difcovery, would have ventured to affirm mercury to be a malleable metal? who, that fo intenfe a degree of cold could be produced by any means? who, that the effects of pouring nitrous acid upon fnow, fhould fo far exceed thofe, which refult from mixing it with ice; when fnow and ice are produced from the fame fubftance, and feem to differ only in their configuration? As Mr. Braun's work is in very few hands, I had reafon to hope, that you would not be difpleafed to be informed, in a degree fomewhat circumftantial, of thefe very extraordinary facts. I am,

Gentlemen, &c.

W. WATSON.

PROJECTS.

PROJECTS.

IT will not, we hope, be neceſſary to advertiſe our Readers, that we do not anſwer for the real utility of the ſeveral Projects which we inſert in our work. We inſert them, becauſe they wear a plauſible appearance, and do not appear ſo chimerical in their nature, or ſo trivial in their deſign, as not to be deſerving of a further examination, if found to anſwer the ends they propoſe, theſe ends being often of ſome moment to the convenience of life, or the improvement of manufacture. In examining ſchemes of this ſort, new lights are often ſtruck out, and the field of uſeful diſcoveries much enlarged.

New materials for making paper.

BEing informed that Mr. Collinſon's garden on Mill-hill, near Hendon, in Middleſex, was celebrated for a collection of foreign trees, ſhrubs, and flowers; and having acquired ſome knowledge in theſe things by my travelling about, I determined to take it in courſe, and, I muſt confeſs, I was highly entertained with ſeeing ſo many new and rare trees and plants. Among others, I was ſhewn a China mulberry tree, which had been raiſed by him from ſeed: it is called in Japan the paper mulberry tree, becauſe from this tree is made the greateſt quantity of the paper that they uſe. I inſtantly thought, why not make paper of it here as well as there? As rags may grow ſcarce and dear, this tree may ſupply that defect, for it is very flouriſhing, and eaſily increaſed.

I took a branch of the tree to compare it with the Japan mulberry, deſcribed and figured by Dr. Kempfer's *Amœnitatum exoticarum*, fol. 473, and found it agreed exactly in every reſpect.

We are much beholden to that eminent traveller, for giving us a deſcription of the Japaneſe art of paper-making, which is here inſerted, in hopes it may aſſiſt the ingenious artiſt to make the experiment, to whom I heartily wiſh ſucceſs. Yours, &c.

JAMES WRIGHT.

A deſcription of the manner in which the Japaneſe make Paper of the bark of a tree.

PAPER is made in Japan of the bark of the *Morus Papyrifera Sativa*, or *True paper tree*, after the following manner: Every year when the leaves are fallen off, or in the tenth Japaneſe month, which commonly anſwers to our December, the young ſhoots, which are very ſucculent, are cut off into ſticks about three feet long, or ſomething leſs, and put together in bundles to be afterwards boiled with

water and aſhes. If they ſhould grow dry before they can be boiled, they muſt be firſt ſoaked in common water for about 24 hours, and then boiled. Theſe bundles, or faggots, are tied cloſe together, and put upright into a large kettle, which muſt be very well covered, and then they are boiled till the bark ſhrinks ſo far as to let about half an inch of the wood appear naked at the top. When the ſticks have all been ſufficiently boiled, they are taken out of the water, and expoſed to the air till they grow cold, then they are ſlit open lengthways for the bark to be taken off, which being done, the wood is thrown away as uſeleſs, but the bark dried and carefully preſerved, as being the ſubſtance out of which they are in time to make their paper, by letting it undergo a further preparation, conſiſting in cleanſing it a-new, and afterwards picking out the better from the worſe. In order to this, it is ſoaked in water three or four hours, and being grown ſoft, the blackiſh ſkin which covers it is ſcraped off, together with the green ſurface, of what remains, which is done with a knife, which they call *Kaadſi Kuſaggi*, that is, a *Kaadſi* razor; at the ſame time alſo the ſtronger bark, which is a full year's growth, is ſeparated from the thinner, which covered the younger branches, the former yielding the beſt and whiteſt paper, the latter only a dark and indifferent ſort. If there is any bark of more than a year's growth, mixed with the reſt, it is likewiſe picked out and laid aſide, as yielding a coarſer and worſe ſort of paper; all groſs knotty particles, and whatever elſe looks in the leaſt faulty and diſcoloured, is picked out at the ſame time, to be kept with the laſt coarſe matter.

After the bark has been ſufficiently cleanſed, and prepared and ſorted according to its differing degrees of goodneſs, it muſt be boiled in clear lye. From the time it begins to boil, they keep perpetually ſtirring it with a ſtrong reed, pouring from time to time ſo much freſh lye in as is neceſſary to denſe the evaporation, and to ſupply what hath been already loſt by it; this boiling muſt be continued till the matter is grown ſo tender, that being but ſlightly touched with the finger, it will diſſolve and ſeparate into flocks and fibres. Their lye is made of any ſort of aſhes, in the following manner: two pieces of wood are laid acroſs over a tub and covered with ſtraw, on which they lay wet aſhes, and then pour boiling hot water upon it, which, as it runs through the ſtraw into the tub underneath, is embued with the ſaline particles of the aſhes, and makes what they call lye.

After boiling the bark as above deſcribed, follows the waſhing of it, which is of no ſmall conſequence in paper-making, and muſt be managed with great judgment and attention; if it hath not been waſhed long enough, the paper will be ſtrong, indeed, and of a good body, but coarſe, and of little value; and if, on the contrary, the waſhing has been too long continued, it will afford a whiter paper, but ſuch as will not bear ink. This part of paper-making, therefore, muſt be managed with the greateſt care and judgment, ſo as to keep to a middle degree, and avoid either extreme. They waſh it in a river, putting the bark into a ſort of ſieve, which will let the water run thro', and

and ſtirring it continually with the hands and arms, till it comes to be diluted into a delicate ſoft pulp, or mucilage. For the finer ſort of paper the waſhing muſt be repeated; but the bark muſt be put into a piece of linen, inſtead of a ſieve, becauſe the longer the waſhing is continued, the more the bark is divided, and would come at laſt to be ſo thin and minute, that it would run out at the holes of the ſieve and be loſt, and at the ſame time alſo, what hard knots or flocks, and other heterogeneous uſeleſs particles remain, muſt be carefully picked out, and put up with a coarſer ſort of bark for worſe paper. The bark having been ſufficiently waſhed, is put upon a thick, ſmooth, wooden table, in order to its being beaten with ſticks of the hard *Kuſnoki* wood, which is commonly done by two or three people, until it is wrought fine enough, and becomes withal ſo thin, as to reſemble a pulp of ſoaked paper, which being put into water, will diſſolve and diſperſe like meal. The bark being thus prepared, is put into a narrow tub, with the fat ſlimy infuſion of rice, and the infuſion of the *oreni* root, which likewiſe is very ſlimy and mucilaginous. Theſe three things being put together muſt be ſtirred with a thin clean reed, till they are thoroughly mixed and wrought into a uniform liquid ſubſtance, of a good conſiſtence; this ſucceeds beſt in a narrow tub, but afterwards the mixture is put into a larger one, which is not unlike thoſe made uſe of in our paper-mills; out of this tub the leaves are taken off one by one, on proper patterns made of bulruſhes, inſtead of braſs wire, called *Mys*. Nothing remains now but a proper management in drying of them; in order to this they are laid up in heaps, upon a table covered with a double matt, and a ſmall piece of reed is put between every leaf, which ſtanding out a little way, ſerves, in time, to lift them up conveniently, and take them off ſingly. Every heap is covered with a ſmall plank or board, of the ſame ſhape and ſize with the paper, on which are laid weights, firſt, indeed ſmall ones, leſt the leaves, being then wet and tender, ſhould be preſſed together into one lump, but, by degrees, more and heavier, to preſs and ſqueeze out all the water. The next day the weights are taken off, the leaves are lifted up one by one, by the help of the ſmall ſtick above-mentioned, and with the palm of the hand, clapped to long rough planks made for this purpoſe, which they will eaſily ſtick to, becauſe of the little humidity ſtill remaining. After this manner they are expoſed to the ſun, and when quite dry, taken off, laid up in heaps, pared round, and ſo kept for uſe or ſale.

I took notice that the infuſion of rice, with a gentle friction, is neceſſary for this operation, becauſe of its white colour, and a certain clammy fatneſs, which at once gives the paper a good conſiſtence, and pleaſing whiteneſs. The ſimple infuſion of rice-flour will not do it, becauſe it wants that clammineſs, which however, is a very neceſſary quality. The infuſion I ſpeak of is made in an unglazed earthen pot, wherein the rice grains are ſoaked in water, and the pot afterwards ſhaken, gently at firſt, but ſtronger by degrees; at laſt, freſh cold water is poured upon it, and the whole percolated through a piece of

linen. The remainder muſt go under the ſame operation again, freſh water being put to it, and this is repeated ſo long as there is any clammineſs remaining in the rice. The Japaneſe rice is by much the beſt for this purpoſe, as being the whiteſt and fatteſt ſort growing in Aſia.

The infuſion of the *oreni* root is made after the following manner: the root pounded, or cut ſmall, is put into freſh water, which in one night's time turns mucilaginous, and becomes fit for uſe, after it has been ſtrained through a piece of linen. The different ſeaſons of the year require a different quantity of water to be mixed with the root. They ſay the whole art depends entirely upon this. In the ſummer, when the heat of the air diſſolves the jelly, and makes it more fluid, a greater quantity is required, and leſs in proportion in the winter, and in cold weather; too much of this infuſion mixed with the other ingredients, will make the paper thinner in proportion; too little, on the contrary, will make it too thick, therefore a middle quantity is required to make a good paper, and of an equal thickneſs; however, upon taking out a few leaves, they can eaſily ſee whether they have put too much or too little of it. Inſtead of the *oreni* root, which ſometimes, at the beginning of the ſummer, grows very ſcarce, the paper-makers uſe of a creeping ſhrub called *ſane kadſura*, the leaves whereof yield a mucilage in great plenty, though not altogether ſo good for this purpoſe, as the mucilage of the above-mentioned *oreni* root. I have alſo mentioned the *juncus ſativus*, which is cultivated in Japan with great care and induſtry. It grows tall, thin, and ſtrong; the Japaneſe make ſails of it, and very fine matts to cover their floors.

It hath been obſerved above, that when the leaves are freſh taken off from their patterns, they are laid up in heaps, on a table covered with two matts. Theſe two matts muſt be of a different fabric, one which lies lowermoſt is coarſer, but the other, which lies uppermoſt, is thinner, made of thin, ſlender, bull-ruſhes, which muſt not be twiſted too cloſe one to another, but ſo as to let the water run through with eaſe, and very thin, not to leave any impreſſions upon the paper.

A coarſer ſort of paper, proper to wrap up goods, and for ſeveral other uſes, is made of the bark of the *kadſe kadſura* ſhrub, after the method above deſcribed. The Japaneſe paper is very tight and ſtrong, and will bear being twiſted into ropes. A thick ſtrong ſort of paper is ſold at Siriga (one of the greateſt towns in Japan, and the capital of the province of that name) which is very neatly painted and folded up, ſo much in a piece as is wanted for a ſuit; it looks ſo like ſilken or woollen ſtuff, that it might be miſtaken eaſily for them. A thin neat ſort of paper, which hath a yelloviſh caſt, is made in China and Tonquin, of cotton and bamboas: at Siam, the Samnites make their paper of the bark of the *Pliokkloi* tree, of which they have two ſorts, one black and the other white, both very coarſe, rude, and ſimple, as they themſelves are. They fold it up into books, much after the ſame manner fans are folded, and write on both ſides, not, indeed, with a pencil, in imitation of thoſe more polite nations who live farther eaſt, but with a rude ſtylus, made of

of clay.—Thus far the deſcription of the way of making paper in the eaſt, which the late learned Beckmannus was ſo deſirous to know, and ſo earneſtly entreated travellers to enquire into, being, however, miſtaken in ſuppoſing that it was made of cotton, whereas it evidently appears by this account, that all the nations beyond the Ganges make it of the bark of trees and ſhrubs. The other Aſiatic nations on this ſide the Ganges, the black inhabitants of the moſt ſouthermoſt parts excepted, make their paper of old rags of cotton ſtuff, and their method differs nothing from ours in Europe, except that it is more ſimple, and the inſtruments they make uſe of are groſſer.

An Account of an Experiment lately made in France, to know if ſilk-worms would live there and work to advantage, in the open air. From the Memoirs de Trevoux for September, 1762.

TO know if ſilk-worms were as ſenſible of the injuries of the weather, as the author of the *Spectacle of Nature*, or *Nature Diſplayed*, imagines they are (*tom.* i.), about twelve hundred of theſe inſects, juſt paſt their firſt moulting, were placed, the fifteenth of April, 1761, on ſome eſpalier mulberry-trees, breaſt high. Here they remained, expoſed to all the rigour of the ſeaſon, which having been cold in the beginning, and afterwards very ſtormy, left ſcarce any hopes of their doing well. Neither wind or rain, however, obliged them to take ſhelter under the rails of the eſpalier, or the leaves of the tree. They endured every ſpurt of all this bad weather on the ſame ſpot where it ſurpriſed them, juſt remaining motionleſs as long as it laſted: the ſtorm paſt, they began to move again very briſkly, devouring the leaves, though wet with the rain, without any ſeeming concern. Neither cold, moiſture, heat, or thunder, made that impreſſion upon them which there was reaſon to expect they would. Not one of them was attacked by any of theſe diſorders, during which they are called *fat* worms, *lean* worms, *yellow* worms, *&c.* They always continued exceedingly white. Their moulting, indeed, was later and longer than it generally is, when they are kept within doors, but free from any bad conſequences.

The greateſt part of them periſhed for want of food, or rather for want of inſtinct to go in queſt of it. Several died at the foot of the eſpalier, where the wind and hail had beat them from off the leaves. But it would be an eaſy matter to provide againſt the firſt of theſe inconveniences, by removing them from one part of the tree to another; an aſſiſtance which few would require above thrice, during their whole lives. The ſecond inconveniency would, indeed, require more attendance, which, after all, might be of no uſe, as probably they receive ſome hurt in their fall. It did not appear that the birds, though very numerous in the place where this experiment was tried, deſtroyed many of them.

Theſe twelve hundred worms yielded five hundred and fifty cocoons, weighing two pounds and a half, Lyons weight, of fourteen ounces to the pound; and theſe cocoons produced above three ounces of the fineſt ſilk ever obtained in France:

France: but one of the cocoons was faulty, and not one of them double; ſo that the operations requiſite to get the ſilk from them was not attended with any waſte. This method therefore, notwithſtanding the loſs of worms with which it was attended, appeared, on calculation, more advantageous, in regard both to the quantity and quality of the ſilk obtained by it, than that, uſually followed, of feeding them within doors.

The uſe of Furze in fencing the banks of rivers. In a letter to the late Dr. Stephen Hales; and by him communicated to the Royal Society. (*This ſeems worthy of being confirmed by further experiments.*)

Rev. Sir,

I Had occaſion to inform you before, that on obſerving a little ſand placed in the midſt of a river, where the ſtream was pretty rapid, I enquired into the cauſe, and found a furze buſh lodged there, which had detained the ſand, in ſpite of the current. It was eaſily concluded from hence, that furze might be profitably uſed in fencing the banks of rivers at a very cheap rate, and thereby preventing many acres of rich ſoil from being changed into barren gravel. Several years after, I prevailed on ſome gentlemen of my acquaintance to try the experiment; which was ſo cheaply done, and followed with ſuch remarkable ſucceſs, that numbers ſoon followed their example; ſo that it is now almoſt univerſally practiſed here; and, hitherto, has never been once known to fail in anſwering the deſign. In purſuing the ſcheme, I found, upon trial, that locks and dam-heads might be raiſed, at one tenth of the ordinary expence, by the help of furze, as a very thin perpendicular wall of ſtone and lime, or one of deal-boards, two inches thick, is the principal part of the expence. Cloſe to this wall, on the other ſide, is a mound of furze intermixed with gravel, and along the top of the wall a ſtrong beam, equal with the higheſt part of the mound. It is plain, this wall cannot be hurt by the weight of the water, or force of the current, as it is defended by the contiguous mound, which is ſix or ſeven yards broad; nor can the preſſure of the mud and gravel make it give way, as their weight is ſuſpended by the interweavings of the furze: if, therefore, the beam on the top of the wall can be made to keep its place, the whole is firm.

It is well known, that they make their ſea-dykes in Holland with faggots of any ſort of bruſh-wood; and it muſt appear to any one, who examines the net-work formed by the croſſings of the branches and prickles of furze, that it is far more effectual for this purpoſe, both as it detains the collected earth, and is far more cheaply procured than faggots.

I hope it will be eaſily obſerved, from what has been ſaid of locks and dam-heads, that a great deal of expenſive ſtone-work in building harbours may be avoided, by the help of furze mounds.

A new

A new method of tanning leather.—From the Hiſtory of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris for the year 1756.

TO make the hides of oxen, cows, and calves, fit for the uſes to which they are deſtined, they firſt uſually receive a preparation called tanning: they are macerated in water, for diſſolving any corruptible matter that may adhere to them, and, being depilated with quick lime, are thrown into heaps, with a duſt made of the bark of young oak, and in ſome places of young pine which has been ground or pounded: this duſt is called the tan. The deſign of the laſt operation is for taking from the hides and ſkins all the matter before diſſolved by water, which might have occaſioned the corrupting of the leather. M. Albert Geſner, firſt phyſician of the duke of Wirtemberg, having fancied that the duſt of heath, dried in an oven, and afterwards pulveriſed, might be a good ſubſtitute to that of oak-bark, had ſeveral ſucceſsful experiments made with it; and he ſent to the Academy ſome pieces of leather prepared by this method, which appeared very good. The only inconveniency he found in the uſe of heath, inſtead of oak-bark, was the length required for the operation; but there is great reaſon to hope that M. Geſner's reſearches will furniſh him with means for abridging the operation, the principal cauſe of the dearneſs of tanned leather, and for perfecting in all reſpects this invention, which preſents ſome very evident views of utility, 1ſt, in lowering the price of tanned leathers by the ſubſtitution of heath, which very common, and has ſcarce any value, to bark, which is often paid for at a dear rate; 2dly, in ſparing woods and foreſts, whereof the trees are often cut down too young, or ſtripped to their great prejudice.

Method of diſcovering adulterations by lead, in wines, butter, &c.

M. Gaubius, phyſician to the Prince Stadtholder, and no leſs famed for his tender philanthropy than his medical abilities, has publiſhed a method for diſcovering the pernicious adulteration of ſome wines, by the mixture of plumbagineous matter.

The great vogue, to which the Rheniſh and Moſelle wines are riſen, has too often induced the dealers in thoſe wines to ſoften the natural tartneſs of them, and render them more agreeable to the palate, by mixing lead with them: a cruel practice, which cannot be too carefully guarded againſt! As lead, whatever be the vehicle which conveys it into the ſtomach and entrails, excites diſorders, the conſequences of which are always very excruciating, and often fatal. An opinion had prevailed, that ſpirit of ſalt, and rectified oil of vitriol, afforded a ſure detection of ſuch villainy: but M. Gaubius having, by repeated experience, found thoſe methods to have no ſuch effect, or, at leaſt, to be very fallible, has ſubſtituted another, which may be depended on, and is indeed made uſe of in ſome offices in Germany, as a teſt of the genuineneſs and ſalubrity of Rheniſh wines. This is the ſympathetic ink, by others called *Liquor vini probatorius*; the compoſition of which is thus:

Pul-

Pulverize an ounce of orpiment and two ounces of quick lime; and having well mixed them, put them in a glaſs retort, with twelve ounces of very pure rain water: your retort muſt be well ſtopt, and kept in a moderate heat for twenty-four hours, ſhaking it briſkly every two hours; then the whole being ſettled and cooled, gently decant the liquor into a bottle, which muſt likewiſe be cloſely ſtopped.

Inſtead of this digeſtive proceſs, the effect will be the ſame, if the compound be boiled for half an hour, but not beyond.

In order to be aſſured that you are right in your operation, drop a little of the liquor in ſome *vinegar of lead:* if it be good, the vinegar will immediately become turbid and blackiſh. This liquor being very volatile, the veſſel in which it is kept muſt be opened as ſeldom as poſſible; and, after being kept ſome time, it is only trying it in the manner abovementioned, to know whether it ſtill preſerves its efficacy.

The trial of this detecting liquor, in Rheniſh or Moſelle wine, is in the following manner: Take half a glaſs of either of the ſaid wines, and pour on it ſome drops of *ſympathetic ink*; if the wine be neat, there will only ariſe a tenuious whitiſh cloud; but if it produces a red or blackiſh tinge, ſuch wine may be concluded to have a mixture of lead, more or leſs, according to the deepneſs of the adventitious colour. Let it be obſerved, that, of all the ſeveral ſubſtances uſed in ſophiſticating wine, it is only lead on which this effect is produced.

It ſometimes happens that butter contracts a very noxious quality, by having been kept too long in leaden veſſels: when any ſuch thing is apprehended, the ſame liquor will clear up the matter. Having dropped a little on the butter, let it be well beaten in a glaſs mortar: if the butter be impregnated with any plumbeous particles, it will ſoon turn of a dingy brown; otherwiſe it will keep its colour.

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*Method of clarifying train oil *.*

DUring the courſe of the experiments made to aſcertain the efficacy of Mr, Doſſey's method, a very ingenious gentleman carried home ſome of the oil employed in that gentleman's experiments. Reſolving to try what effect each ingredient uſed by Mr. Doſſey might have on vicious oil, when uſed ſingly, he began with waſhing it frequently with water. This ſucceeded far beyond his expectation; for the oil was brought to ſo great a degree of ſweetneſs, that many doubted whether it was part of that which he had taken home with him. The experiment was repeated at the requeſt of the ſociety, but at an improper ſeaſon, *viz.* in November, when the cold had rendered the oil ſo thick, that water could not act upon it with the ſame efficacy as in the month of July, when the firſt experiment was made.

This gentleman contrived an inſtrument very proper for the purpoſe, *viz.* a barrel churn, which might contain about ſix gallons. The churn may be made of any

* In our laſt volume we gave (page 142) ſome receipts for edulcorating train-oil, by Mr. Doſſey, approved by the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce.

ſize.

ſize. There were in it four rows of narrow ſplit deals, from the centre to the circumference, each piece ſet at obtuſe angles to the other, in order to give different directions to the oil and water as the churn turned round, thereby to mix them more intimately. By this means the water acted with great force on every ſubſtance mixed with the oil, which was ſoluble in water; or, if not eaſily ſoluble in water, it adhered to them, and rendered them heavier than the oil. Thus every other animal ſubſtance ſubſided, and left the oil pure and ſweet.

In order to perform this experiment, the churn is turned ſwiftly round for a few minutes. It then remains at reſt till the oil and water ſeparate; which, in ſummer, generally is in fifteen or twenty minutes. When the water is drawn off, freſh water is again added to the oil; which is repeatedly waſhed in the ſame manner, till the water comes off pretty clear and ſweet. The whole is drawn off, after the laſt waſhing, into an open veſſel, in which it remains till the water and oil ſeparate. After they have ſtood two or three days, there is found betwixt the oil and the water a gelatinous ſubſtance, which mixes difficultly with either the oil or the water. If the oil and water are put into a glaſs veſſel, this ſubſtance will appear white, and diſtinct from both.

Pure oil is found to remain longer ſweet, or free from putrefaction, than any other animal ſubſtance. The putrid ſmell may, therefore, be ſuppoſed to proceed from ſome other juices mixed with it in boiling the blubber. We know that all other animal juices are ſoluble in water, and that water cannot alter the nature or qualities of oil. Hence water ſeems much more proper for the purpoſe of edulcorating vicious oil, than any mixture which has a fixed alkali in it, becauſe the latter is known to adhere to, or diſſolve in oil, and thereby impair its qualities as oil; as, on trial, the manufacturers found the oil edulcorated with ſuch mixture.

It may be ſaid, that waſhing oil with water is no new invention. I grant it: but the frequent and ſtrong ſhaking of the oil and water together is new, and indeed effectual, as every perſon may inform himſelf, by making the experiment on ſome oil and water in a phial.

On this principle, a thought, which may be of uſe, occurred to an ingenious gentleman, moſt deſervedly eſteemed in the learned world, who has the peculiar talent of inſtantly tracing every valuable purpoſe to which any uſeful experiment may be applied. He reaſoned thus:

When the blubber is boiled, ſome other animal juices, probably of the gelatinous kind, are ſo intimately united with the oil, that they remain an uniform ſubſtance. As every other animal juice is more liable to corruption than pure oil, and as the other juices had contracted ſome degree of putrefaction in the blubber, there ſtill remains in them a tendency to putrefaction, which is eaſily excited, eſpecially by any degree of warmth, ſo as to give the oil the vicious quality. The gentleman propoſed, that, to prevent this, the oil, as ſoon as ſettled, ſo as to become clear after boiling, be waſhed as above with water, which will then more readily unite itſelf with every other ſub-

ſtance

ſtance mixed with the oil, ſo as to carry them off entirely. Whether any degree of warmth will add to the efficacy of the water, experiment muſt determine. If any diſagreeable ſmell ſtill remains in the oil, it might probably be intirely carried off, if the oil was ventilated with Dr. Hales's ventilator for ſweetning ſtinking water; and if any particles of water remained in the oil, the ventilation would probably carry them off. The oil thus waſhed will, it may be preſumed, keep long ſweet, and longer fit for manufacturers and burning.

Method of making fiſh-glue. Extracted from ſome letters relative to the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John's, written ſince the commencement of the preſent war.

THERE have been inſtances of a glue made of *requiens* †; and it is preſumed it might be extracted from all ſorts of rough-ſhinned fiſh, as well as from porpoiſe, ſcuttle-fiſh, ſea-monſters, and other fiſh without ſcales. As the method of preparing it is very little known, I ſhall make you acquainted with it; and this I can affirm, that if ever you come to uſe it here, you will find it will anſwer your expectation. And, indeed, if they were to apply themſelves hard to make this kind of glue, France might ſoon diſpenſe with that which at preſent ſhe is obliged to import from Holland and the Levant. Though the ſubject at firſt ſight ſeems to be but of ſmall importance, yet it will appear in a different light to thoſe, who know of what conſequence it is to a kingdom not to be obliged for neceſſaries to any other country whatever.

They take the ſkins of the above-mentioned fiſhes, with their fins, tails, heads, cartilages, in ſhort, the whole body of the fiſh, except the fleſh and the fat or oil. All theſe they boil in water, taking care to preſerve it from the ſmoke, or from any thing that might diſcolour the liquor. When it is boiled down, and the water has extracted all the ſubſtance of the fiſhy parts, they let it ſtand to grow cool, and then ſtrain the liquor either through a ſieve or a piece of linen. Then they boil this liquor over again with the ſame precaution, till the drops that fall grow hard and conſiſtent as they cool. When they can judge from thence that the glue is made, they let it cool a little; but not ſo as to hinder it from running on the tables of ſtone or ſlate upon which they pour it. For want of ſuch conveniency, ſeveral other things may be contrived to receive it, taking care however to put paper over it, and to raiſe the edges of the paper, becauſe the glue ought to ſpread itſelf, and to riſe without faſtening to any other ſubſtance. As ſoon as it is become conſiſtent, it is twiſted round like paſte, and ſtringed, in order to hang up in rows in the ſhade: and when they are obliged to make it upon paper, it is not taken off; but they either twiſt the paper along with the glue, or elſe they do not twiſt it at all.

The glue made in this manner is more or leſs perfect, according as they take more or leſs care to clarify it, and make it keep its colour. It intirely diſſolves in water, without leaving the leaſt mark behind it.

‡ Probably Sharks.

Proceſſes

Proceſſes for making the beſt and fineſt ſort of Pruſſian Blue with Quick-Lime.—From the hiſtory of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris *for the year* 1756.

PROCESS I.

TAKE 3 lb. of ox's blood, dried and reduced into a kind of ſmall ſcales; an equal quantity of quick lime newly baked, 2 lb. of red tartar, and 1 lb. 8 ox. of ſaltpetre; pulveriſe the whole groſsly, and put it into a crucible placed in the midſt of a great furnace, and give it a gradual fire. After four hours of a good fire, when the matter is reduced into a kind of paſte which emits no more ſmoke, and is equally red, throw it by ſpoonfulls into two pails of boiling water; and, having filtrated the lixivium, mix it with a ſolution of 6 lb. of allum, and 1 lb. 8 oz. of green vitriol. This operation will yield but 7 oz. of fecula; but its beauty will make ſufficient amends for the ſmall quantity, as it will ſurpaſs in this reſpect all the blues of Pruſſia, which are prepared by other methods. It has alſo as good an effect as the fineſt ultramarine; and has, beſides, the advantage of reſiſting the impreſſion of the air.

PROCESS II.

Take 3 lb. of dried ox's blood, an equal quantity of quick lime, 2 lb. of red tartar, and 2 lb. of nitre, all of them calcined and lixiviated as in the foregoing proceſs; pour the lixivium into a ſolution of 4 lb. of allum and 1 lb. of green vitriol. This operation will yield more of the blue fecula than the other, but the colour will be leſs beautiful.

PROCESS III.

Take 3 lb. of dried ox's blood, 4 lb. 8 oz. of quick lime, 2 lb. of red tartar, 1 lb. 8 oz. of ſaltpetre. Calcine and lixiviate as in the foregoing operations, and proceed in the ſame manner. This is the operation that will be productive of the moſt beautiful blue; but it yields only 8 oz. and ſomewhat upwards of four drams.

PROCESS IV.

Take 3 lb. of dried ox's blood, 6 lb. of quick lime, 2 lb. of red tartar, and 1 lb. 8 oz. of nitre. Calcine and lixiviate as in the foregoing proceſſes; pour the lixivium ſtill warm into a ſolution of 4 lb. of allum, and 1 lb. of green vitriol: a blue fecula, as beautiful and fine as that of the firſt proceſs, will be precipitated, but the quantity will be much greater; for this way will yield twenty-ſix ounces.

On a durable Gold Colour, communicated to Silver by Dew, reduced into the conſiſtence of an extract.—From the Ephemerides of the Curious.

THE author ſays, that chance occaſioned this obſervation. Being buſy in making ſeveral experiments on dew, which he had kept for half a year in a tub, that it might acquire the ſtate of putrefaction he deſired, and having ſet a certain quantity of the liquor to evaporate, he took up a ſilver ſpoon at hand, to know if it had the neceſſary conſiſtence; which finding too liquid, he poured it back immediately into the veſſel; but was greatly ſurpriſed, when, caſting his eyes on the ſpoon, he perceived a brilliancy, and a very fine gold colour on the part which had been dipped into the liquor; and which,

when the ſpoon was cool, could not be got off, by either rubbing it with the hands, or with a linen-cloth. In hopes of ſtill increaſing the intenſeneſs of the colour, and of making it more durable, he dipped again, during a few minutes, the ſpoon into the ſame hot liquor, of the conſiſtence of a mucilage; and, by this ſecond immerſion, this gold colour changed into a beautiful purple. Being afterwards willing to try the permanency of the colour, he had the ſpoon ſerved every day at table, and a whole year paſſed before its colour was defaced. This tincture, the author adds, is much preferable to that of Glauber, and other chemiſts, from ſulphureous, antimonial, and vitriolic ſolutions, which afford but a weak copper colour, that diſappears in a ſhort time.

An account of the method purſued ſome years ago to extirpate the grubs of Oak-webs, or Cock-chafers, in the county of Norfolk, where theſe inſects eat away the roots of graſs and corn to ſuch a degree, as to deſtroy the produce of large tracts of land. Extracted from ſeveral letters inſerted in the Philoſophical Tranſactions *for the year* 1748.

THESE inſects have been more or leſs about Norwich for twenty years paſt. They are the *erucæ* of the *ſcarabæus vulgaris major* of Mr. Ray.

In different parts of England it is called the brown tree beetle, the chafer, the cock-chafer, the jack-horner, the jeffry-cock, the May-bug, and in Norfolk the Dor. By the Dutch they are named *baum-kaefer*, *roub-kaefer*, *koren-worm*, or corn-worm, becauſe they deſtroy the roots of corn; and in Zealand, *molenaers* or *millers*, as Goedartius ſays, chap. lxxviii. becauſe they bite the leaves of ſeveral ſorts of trees into particles, as ſmall as if they were ground. In England I have likewiſe heard them called millers; but ſuppoſed to be from a mealy powder, wherewith their wings are covered. The French call them *hanetons*.

This inſect has two pair of wings, one filmy, and the other ſcaly; the firſt pair fold together under the latter, and remain quite hid, unleſs when ſpread out for flight. The *elytræ*, or caſe-wings, are of a reddiſh light-brown colour, and ſeem ſprinkled with a white powder that may eaſily be wiped off; the legs and pointed tail are whitiſh, the reſt of the body brown, except at each joint on the ſides of the belly, where there is an indented line of white.

It is probable the females make holes in the ground with their ſharp tails, and there depoſit their young: but whether at firſt they are ſmall *erucæ*, or eggs from which ſuch *erucæ* are hatched, I cannot ſay: it is certain theſe *erucæ* are extremely miſchievous, by devouring the roots of almoſt every thing where they come, and in ſome grounds they are found in ſuch numbers as are ſcarcely credible.

"I have ſeen, ſays Mr. Arderon, whole cloſes of fine flouriſhing graſs, in ſummer-time, become withered, dry, and as brittle as hay in a few weeks, by this vermin's eating of the roots *; ſo that many

* Some affirm, that they do not eat the roots, but only looſen the earth from them.

yards

yards of this withered turf might be rolled up in one piece.

When one of them fixes upon a turnip, he eats only the middle ſmall root, which ſoon cauſes it to wither and die, and then moves on to the next. In like manner they deſtroy the roots of wheat, rye, &c. and almoſt every other uſeful vegetable in their way. What makes this peſt the more deplorable, is the long time of their continuance in their *erucæ*, or moſt miſchievous ſtate, which, according to Goedartius, is four years at leaſt: but Mouffet writes, that in Normandy they are obſerved to be moſt numerous every third year, which is therefore called *l'an des hanetons*. And it is not improbable that, in the open fields, where they are well fed, they may come to their perfect ſtate a year ſooner than thoſe did which Goedartius almoſt ſtarved in glaſs jars.

Mr. Arderon ſays, neither the ſevereſt froſts of our climate, nor the being immerged in water, will deſtroy the *erucæ*; ſome having been expoſed for many days to the keeneſt froſts, and others covered with water for as long a time, which notwithſtanding were found to revive, and become vigorous as ever.

Crows and hogs devour them greedily; but their numbers are too great to be diminiſhed thereby. The moſt effectual way, though very laborious, is to beat the chafers off the trees in the day-time with long poles, and then ſweep them together and burn them. On a farm at Heathal, five miles S. W. from Norwich, of 80l. per ann. belonging to St. Helen's hoſpital in that city, in the occupation of farmer Ebden, they were ſo numerous laſt year, that he and his ſervants affirmed they gathered eighty buſhels of them, the *erucæ* of which had ſo ſpoiled the produce of his farm, that that city, in compaſſion of his misfortune, allowed him 25l.

The following is a copy of the farmer's letter.

"The deſtructive calamity which, for near 20 years, has attended us in divers parts of this county, by the cankers, occaſions my ſending this, with a view of doing good to the public, as I have been a great ſufferer by theſe vermin, and endeavoured many ways to deſtroy them, which proved ineffectual.

Some people have fed themſelves with hopes that exceſſive wet weather will deſtroy them; others, that a ſevere winter will do it; but they are greatly miſtaken: I once in digging a piece of firm ground found ſome of them at leaſt ſix feet deep: I have thrown ſoot on my land, and uſed many ways to deſtroy them in the ground, but to no purpoſe.

The only expedient I ever found out, is, when they become flies, and are on the trees, which are moſtly oaks, elms, and maples, to make packſheets or tilters to throw them upon, and by deſtroying them in this manner, when in the fly, you prevent their doing further miſchief by lodging in the ground.

Theſe cankers become flies every fourth year. In 1736 I prepared packſheets, and gathered into them at leaſt ſeventy buſhels from the trees in my own premiſes; four years after I had not 40s. damage done; but my neighbours, not gathering them as I did, ſuffered greatly. In 1740, when they were flies again, I was more induſtrious,

and gathered eighty bushels. In 1744 I was indisposed at the time of flying, and gathered none; for want of which I suffered above 100l. damage the second year after they flew, by their getting into my ground.

I advise all farmers, &c. perplexed with these vermin, to observe that this is the time [June] of their flight, being their fourth year, and forthwith to gather them in the manner abovesaid, by which they may not only in a great measure prevent any future mischief from those insects, but also in time totally destroy them.

JAMES EBDEN."

In the day-time few of the beetles fly about, but conceal themselves under the leaves of oaks, sycamores, limes, &c. and may be shaken off: here they seem asleep till near sunset, when they take wing and fly about the hedges, as thick as swarms of bees; at which time they frequently dash themselves against peoples faces with great violence, and occasioned the proverb, *As blind as a beetle.*

It is recorded, that on Feb. 27, 1574, there fell such a multitude of these insects into the river Severn, that they stopped and clogged the wheels of the water-mills: their coming so early in the year was no less extraordinary than their multitudes; for the larger species seldom appear till the month of May; and a smaller sort, which come out in July and August, are seldom seen after the evenings grow cold.

We are told, in the *Transactions* of the Dublin Society, that the country people in one part of that kingdom suffered so greatly by the devastation made by these insects, that they set fire to a wood some miles in length, which parted two adjacent counties, to prevent their spreading further.

The young of some animals being destined for the food of others, the abundance, or flourishing of one sort, is the destruction of another. —Thus these grubs, which are said to be the devourers of the eggs of other insects, are eaten up by the rooks; insomuch that Mr. Arderon, author of most of the preceding remarks, attributes the increase of the grubs to the destruction of the woods and rookeries about that city.—It seems, therefore, a great error in some farmers, who envy gentlemen their rooks, and wish ill to them on that account; and they may be convinced of it, by the unanimous sentence of a jury of husbandmen, convoked by a gentleman in the county of Suffolk, when those vermin were making ravage in that county, to sit in judgment on his rooks, who would have destroyed them, had they not been honourably acquitted.

On restoring to life persons drowned, or in any other manner suffocated. —From Feijoo, a learned Spanish author. (*See our 2d vol. p.* 420.)

A Method has been lately found out to recover such persons as have been drowned, or in any other manner suffocated, provided they are not totally dead; which they may not be for many hours after the accident has happened. In the first case they suspend them with their head downward near a fire, till such time as the body begins to warm and throw out water by the *aspera arteria.*

arteria. They then foment the whole breaſt and ſeat of the heart, with ſpirits of wine, with *elixir vitæ*, or bread dipped in ſtrong wines; this muſt be frequently repeated. By ſuch methods, if they are not quite dead, motion is again reſtored to the heart, which receives, by degrees, the blood that it afterwards repels to the arteries, till at length life entirely returns. As to thoſe who having been hanged have ſtill ſome remains of life, they are eaſily recovered by blowing air into them through the *aſpera arteria*; for the lungs being by this means inflated, the blood has a free communication from the right to the left ventricle of the heart; which laſt, as well as the blood, recovers that motion which the nooſe of the rope had ſtopped. To promote this motion in the blood, and diſſolve that part of it which may have begun to coagulate in the right ventricle and pulmonary veſſels; great aſſiſtance may be received by making uſe (as circumſtances permit) of the *elixir magnanimitatis*, *elixir proprietatis*, *elixir vitæ*, ſpirits of *ſal ammoniac*, thoſe called *thearical*, *julep vital*, with ſaffron, *oleum cinnamoni*, and ſuch like compoſitions. But as to thoſe inſtances, where perſons have lived after they had ſuffered ſuffocation upwards of two hours, as Cardan affirms of a perſon whoſe *aſpera arteria* was oſſified; ſuch having not undergone a total ſtoppage in the veſſels that admit air, have conſequently ſtill preſerved the proper motion of the heart and blood.

In a letter wrote to Feijoo, he is acquainted that the life of a blind fiſherman was ſaved, after he had been drowned an hour and an half, by following the directions given above. He himſelf likewiſe related the recovery of a girl in the city of Eſtella, after ſhe had been drowned an hour, through the charitable aſſiſtance of a gentleman who eſteemed his works, and had the above-mentioned directions preſent in his mind. But he added this circumſtance thereto, which was, that, beſides the application to the fire, and inverſe ſuſpenſion of the body, he introduced air therein through the *aſpera arteria*. This addition Feijoo does not entirely condemn, but would have it put in practice only when the other methods do not meet with timely ſucceſs, taking then great care that the introduced air paſſes through the *aſpera arteria* in order to proceed to the lungs; and that it does not enter the *œſophagus*, which would be very prejudicial, the miſtake being eaſy, as the orifices of the two canals are very near.

The following recovery of a man ſuffocated by the exhalations of lighted coal in a mine, is a ſtrong argument in favour of what has been ſaid above. His eyes were fixed, his mouth open, his body cold, and every way motionleſs, and was concluded to be quite dead. A ſurgeon imagining that by this extraordinary method he might reſtore him to life, applied his mouth to that of the ſuppoſed dead body, and ſtopping the noſtrils of it, blew with ſuch ſtrength that he filled his breaſt; and continuing this method, perceived ſix or ſeven ſtrong beatings of the heart. The cheſt recovered its elaſticity, and the pulſe became ſenſible. A vein being thereupon opened, the blood at firſt ran drop by drop; but in a quarter of an hour very freely: the patient's body was then well rubbed; he recovered his ſenſes an hour afterwards,

terwards, and returned home in perfect health.

The possibility and even easiness of recovering persons in the above circumstances, is further confirmed by the following recent instance extracted from the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris.

A Young fellow about one and twenty, a waterman at Passy in France, fell into the river about ten o'clock in the morning of the 24th of July 1757; as he was then near the shore, he received a blow upon his head in the fall, which stunned him, and the tide immediately carried him into the middle of the stream, where he was stopped by a great stone in about seven or eight feet water. The people that saw the accident immediately called out for help; but it was half an hour before he was taken out, being dragged to shore with a boat hook without the least signs of life; he was carried into a neighbouring house and supposed to be dead; but a physician happening to come by, blew up a great quantity of tobacco smoke by the *anus*, with a straw, and blew also the same smoke plentifully into his mouth and nostrils; the man very soon gave signs of life, very slight indeed, but sufficient to encourage the good Samaritan to proceed; he caused a vein to be opened both in his arm and his foot, and in order to restore the vital heat, wrapped him in the skin of a sheep that was flead upon the spot for that purpose: in a short time the patient recovered so far as to be able to speak; and the marquis of Courtivron, who has attested this fact, saw him six days afterwards in perfect health, though a little weak from the loss of blood.

Instances of drowned persons recovered are by no means so rare as is generally imagined; and they would be much more common if proper methods were used for the purpose. The French academy, by whom this fact is related, observe, that many persons have recovered who have lain many hours in the water; and that as persons immerged in water die only because the circulation is stopped, the blood being prevented from returning from the right to the left ventricle of the heart, by the water's having stopped the respiration, nothing more is necessary to recover such persons, than to put the heart again into motion, and gradually and equally to warm the body in every part. To put the heart in motion, it is adviseable to force irritating and spirituous remedies up the nostrils, and to blow with some degree of force, the smoke of tobacco into the lungs by the mouth, and into the abdomen by the *anus*; the body may be equally and gradually warmed by rubbing it with warm flannels, and placing it in a warm bed, and changing the coverings as often as they grow cold, for others taken from the fire, and by many other expedients of the like kind, which will naturally occur in different places and situations.

ANTI-

ANTIQUITIES.

AT a time that so many voyages are made to the remotest parts of the globe to gratify the cravings of avarice, or ambition, and so few, even to places near home, from any laudable views of extending the bounds of virtue and learning, it is no small satisfaction to us to be able to present our readers with the following relation of a voyage undertaken upon very different principles. It is impossible not to be struck with the importance of many of the discoveries contained in it, and much more with the courage, patience, and capacity of the discoverer, who, in so small a period, and in such circumstances, could learn so many languages, utterly unconnected with those already known in Europe, and copy and translate so many books written in them. No character can be more respectable than that of a true virtuoso, who braves every danger and difficulty in order to promote useful knowledge, and to increase the materials of speculation in the learned world. It is true, that many things contained in the books already brought over by Mr. Perron, appear, at first view, little better than a heap of idle tales, calculated to amuse a barbarous people; but there are mixed with those visionary ideas, objects very deserving of attention; and even things trivial in themselves become worthy of regard, when they tend to illustrate the manners of so considerable a people as the ancient Persians, or when they furnish something towards the history of the human mind in general.

A brief account of a voyage to India, undertaken by M. Anquetil du Perron, to discover and translate the works attributed to Zoroaster. Translated from the original, drawn up by M. Perron himself, and read last May before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris.

THE religion and history of the Parsees are very interesting objects of themselves, but they merit the attention of the learned still more by the connection which this people have had with the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Indians, and perhaps with the Chinese; but if we content ourselves with what the ancients have told us of them, our knowledge will be very superficial; for a few passages scattered here and there in their writings, most of them manifestly dictated by prejudice, can convey but a very imperfect idea of their history and manners.

These reflections engaged the learned Dr. Hyde, about the end of the last century, to attempt a deeper investigation of a subject, which, till then, had been but slightly touched: he therefore applied himself, with great diligence, to read the works of Arabian and Persian writers, from which, and from the relations of travellers, and a great number of letters, which he received from persons who were settled in India, he compiled his celebrated work on the religion of the Parsees.

This work, which abounds with Oriental learning, may be consi-

dered as the only one that contains any thing curious and particular concerning the Parſſes, though the principal ſources which Hyde exhauſted are not of the firſt antiquity: he cites in particular the *Pharhangh Djehanguir*, a celebrated dictionary, which, he ſays, had been digeſted about 200 years before his time by Ebn Fakhruddin Angjou, a Mahometan: he alſo cites many paſſages from *Virafnama* and *Sadder*, works poſterior to Zoroaſter, of which he had ſeen only tranſlations in modern Perſic. He was, however, poſſeſſed of two works in *Zend**, the *Jzeſchne* and the *Neaeſchs*, and it was reaſonable to expect that he would have tranſlated theſe rather than *Sadder*, or at leaſt if he underſtood Zend, he ought to have ſupported what he has advanced contrary to opinions generally received by the authority of theſe original pieces.

The Parſſes have been little known, except by theſe inquiries of Dr. Hyde; and, as he has contented himſelf with the mere mention of the *Zendaveſta*, a general name for the works attributed to Zoroaſter, without tranſlating it, his work muſt be conſidered as nothing more than an eſſay. The beſt way would certainly have been to have conſulted the Parſſes themſelves, concerning their own religion, which was by no means impracticable; a very numerous body of them has been eſtabliſhed more than 900 years in Guzarate, to which place they came fugitives from Kirman, A. D. 767, on account of the Mahometan perſecutions; and where the genius for commerce and induſtry, which is their known characteriſtic, has procured them very conſiderable ſettlements. They are called in India, *Parſſis*, or *Parſſes*, and by the name *Parſſes*, I ſhall henceforward diſtinguiſh the remains of Zoroaſter's diſciples.

Two Engliſh gentlemen brought ſome Perſic manuſcripts into Europe, which have never been printed; and theſe were the only attempts which have been lately made to acquire and underſtand the works attributed to Zoroaſter; the reſt of Europe have been content to reſt implicitly in what has been done by Dr. Hyde, without once conceiving a deſign to learn languages, of which the learned themſelves ſcarce know the names. This general negligence, with reſpect to ſo intereſting a ſubject, I always conſidered with wonder and regret; and, at length, reſolved upon a voyage to India myſelf.

In 1754, I happened to ſee a fragment of the *Vendidad Sade*, which had been ſent from England to M. Fourmont, and I immediately reſolved to enrich my country with that ſingular work. I formed a deſign of tranſlating it, and of going with that view to learn the ancient Perſic in Guzarate or Kirman; an undertaking which would neceſſarily enlarge the ideas I had already conceived, concerning the origin of languages, and the ſeveral changes to which they are ſubject, and probably throw a light upon Oriental antiquity, which was unknown to the Greeks and Romans.

* *Zend* is generally uſed to ſignify the language in which the works attributed to Zoroaſter are written; though ſtrictly it means only the characters of that language.

I de-

I determined alſo, to obtain a knowledge of the religion of the Parſſes, from the Parſſes themſelves, and knowing that the four *Vedes*; ſacred books of the Indians, were written in the ancient Samſkretam, a dead language, ſuppoſed to be the common ſtock of which all the the Indian languages are branches; and that there were books in the king's library which nobody underſtood, I was led to prefer India to Kirman, as I might there learn the ancient Perſian, and the ancient Samſkretam together.

When I got to Port l'Orient, I heard that the king had granted me a penſion, and I embarked for the Eaſt Indies, on the 24th of February 1755, with a reſolution of bringing back the laws of Zoroaſter and the Bramins.

I arrived at Pondicherry on the 10th of Auguſt in the ſame year.

The coaſt of Malabar is a muſeum of natural curioſities. The Gattes, a chain of mountains which divides the peninſula of India into two parts from north to ſouth, are on this coaſt but a little way from the ſea, and afford a fine field for botanical enquiries. The Indian cuſtoms continue here in their original ſimplicity, the country having always been ſubject to princes attached to the ancient religion; the Tamoula, or Malabarian language, approaches nearer to the Samſkretam than that of the coaſt of Coromandel.

After viſiting the Chriſtians of St. Thomas I went to Cochin, where I obtained an exact copy of an inſcription in the ancient Samſkretam, on two copper plates, being a confirmation of ſeveral privileges granted to the Jews at Cochin about 1200 years ago, by Charan Perumal, emperor of the Malabar coaſt, a tranſlation of it in Rabbinical Hebrew, and a copy of a map of the environs of Cochin, with the names of the places in the characters peculiar to the Rabbins. I likewiſe obtained a copy in modern Samſkretam, and a French tranſlation of ſome privileges granted by the ſame emperor to the Chriſtians of St. Thomas. There is a Samſkretam of different ages, and I was deſirous of having examples of it thro' all its variations, that I might fix the language in which all the books which are held ſacred in that part of Aſia, which reaches from Perſia to China, are written.

On the 14th of February, 1758, I ſet out from Mahe for Goa, in order to proceed to Surat; and in all my routs I took care to keep ſpecimens of the money of all the ſtates I paſſed through, ſo that I have examples of every coin that is current from the Cape Comorin to Dehli: I paſſed the Gattes the 27th of March the ſame year, about ten in the morning; and, when I entered the country of the Maratas, I thought myſelf in the midſt of the ſimplicity and happineſs of the golden age, where nature was yet unchanged, and vice and miſery were unknown. The people were chearful, vigorous, and in high health, and unbounded hoſpitality was an univerſal virtue; every door was open, and friends, neighbours, and ſtrangers, were alike welcome to whatever they found.

When I came within about ſeven leagues of Aurengabad, I went to ſee the celebrated pagodas of Iloura: theſe temples are hollowed in the living rock, and contain in baſſe relief all the Indian mythology; but I did not find in them either

either the ancient inſcriptions, or the ſchools of the bramins, which the accounts of travellers had given me reaſon to expect.

I was in my journey from this place extremely enfeebled by a *dyſentery*, and was juſt ſinking under it when I diſcovered the walls of Surat, where I arrived on the 28th of April, 1758. This city has been the center of my ſtudies, and I ſhall give a brief account of the particular objects that detained me there three years.

I ſhall firſt indulge myſelf in a few words concerning the hierarchy of the Parſſes. I ſhall often have occaſion to mention the Deſtours and the Mobeds, and it is therefore neceſſary to explain the terms. The miniſters of the religion of the Parſſes are divided into five claſſes: Erbeds, Mobeds, Deſtours, Deſtour Mobeds, and Deſtoran Deſtours, or Deſtours of Deſtours. An Erbed is he who has ſubmitted to the purification directed by the law, who has read, during four days without interval, the *Jzeſchne*, and the *Vandidad*, and who is inſtructed in the ceremonies of the worſhip eſtabliſhed by Zoroaſter. If the Erbed, after this kind of ordination, continues to read publickly the *Zend* works, which conſtitute the liturgy, and to perform the miniſterial functions, he becomes a Mobed, though he does not underſtand the *Zendaveſta*; but if he contents himſelf with ſtudying the law, the Zend, and the Pehlvi, without exerciſing the miniſterial functions, he is called a Deſtour. The Deſtour Mobed is he who unites the qualifications of the Mobed and Deſtour; and the Deſtouran Deſtour is the principal Deſtour of a city or a province; he decides caſes of conſcience, and determines points of law, and the Parſſes pay him a tythe of their revenues.

When I arrived at Surat, I found the Parſſes divided into two ſects, which oppoſed each other with the moſt furious zeal; one of theſe ſects was called the Ancient Believers, the other the Reformers; and the ſchiſm commenced on the following occaſion:

About five and thirty years ago, there came from Kirman, a Deſtour Mobed of great abilities, whoſe name was Djamaſp, and who was ſent to compoſe ſome differences that had ariſen among the Parſſes concerning the *penom*, a piece of linen about nine inches ſquare, which the Parſſes, at certain times, placed upon the middle of their noſe, ſo that it hung down and covered their mouth: ſome contended that this linen ſhould be placed upon the noſes of dying perſons, and others that it ſhould not. Djamaſp decided the diſpute in favour of thoſe who maintained that the linen ſhould not be applied to the dying, ſuch application not being cuſtomary at Kirman. If this Deſtour had not put an end to this ridiculous diſpute, it would have drenched the country in blood; but he did not ſtop here: he examined the copy of the *Vendidad* that was in uſe among the Parſſes of Guzarate, and he found the Pehlvic tranſlation too long, and, in many places, very corrupt: he found the people in general alſo groſly ignorant; and, to remedy theſe inconveniencies, he eſtabliſhed proper perſons, his diſciples, at Surat, Nangary, and Parotche, to whom he had taught the Zend and the Pehlvi; but being at length wearied with the perverſe and vexatious oppoſition

position that was fomented againſt him, he returned to Kirman.

The books which he left in India were an exact copy of the *Vendidad*, both in Zend and Pehlvi; the *Ferouefchi* in Zend, the *Vadierguerd* and the *Nerengueſtan*. The two laſt are purely ceremonial, and in a mixed language of Zend and Perſic.

Darab, the diſciple whom Djamaſp had left at Surat, and who was a conſummate maſter of the Zend, the Pehlvi, and the Perſic, ſet himſelf to correct the Pehlvic tranſlation of the *Vendidad*, and the corrupt parts of the Zend text; and began to explain to the young Parſſic divines the writings of Zoroaſter, which the Mobeds read every day without underſtanding them.

It is eaſy to conceive that an abject people, who, for more than eight centuries, had practiſed a thouſand ceremonies, of which they knew neither the origin nor the meaning, would be the dupes of innumerable impoſitions; and Darab ſoon diſcovered that this had been the caſe; that ceremonial purifications had been multiplied almoſt without number, and the Zend text almoſt buried under frivolous Pehlvic commentaries: theſe abuſes he made an attempt to correct, by expoſing the abſurdity of them; but he found a very formidable adverſary in Macherdji, the chief of the Ancient Believers, and the ſon of a Deſtour; and this breach between them was made ſtill wider by a diſpute concerning the firſt day of the year, which Kaouſs, a relation of Darab's, well verſed in the aſtronomy of Ulughbeigh, inſiſted was advanced a whole month.

I took advantage of theſe broils to obtain the books I ſtill wanted from both parties, and from Darab inſtructions in the Zend and Pehlvic languages, and aſſiſtance in tranſlating the *Vendidad* into modern Perſian, ſo that no difficulties now remained but thoſe that were eſſential to the kind of ſtudy which I had commenced, and the inconveniencies inſeparable from a ſiege, the Engliſh being at this time carrying on an attack againſt the fortreſs of Surat. My cloſe application to ſtudy frequently impaired my health; but, at length, I compleated a tranſlation of the works attributed to Zoroaſter, and ſome other manuſcripts to which they have relation. The modern Perſic ſerved me as an intermediate language, becauſe Darab, for fear of being underſtood by the domeſtics, would not diſcloſe the myſteries of his religion in the vulgar language. I alſo took the trouble of writing the Zend and the Pehlvi in European characters, and by a frequent compariſon of what Darab told me at one time, with what he told me on the ſame ſubject at another, I aſſured myſelf I was not impoſed upon. By theſe means, after a ſickneſs of three months, I was able to renew my ſtudies, and was fortified againſt the fear of forgetting them, which procured me a tranquility of mind that haſtened my cure.

After having enabled myſelf to form a juſt and exact idea of the religion of the Parſſes, and been preſent in their temples, which they call *derimers*, at their worſhipping of fire, I was deſirous to compleat the ſecond part of my plan; having propoſed, when I quitted France, to make myſelf maſter of the religious inſtitutions of all Aſia.

The article of the Parſſes was finiſhed,

finiſhed, and though I was much weakened by continual labour, yet I felt myſelf ſtill in a condition to attempt the Samſkretam. I therefore endeavoured to procure the four *Vedes* at Surat, at Brampour, and at Amadabad; theſe works, as the Bramins ſuppoſe, were compoſed by Kreſchnou, 4000 years ago; they are called the *Samveda*, the *Ridjouveda*, the *Atharnaveda*, and the *Raghouveda*; the *Samveda* is the moſt ſcarce of all.

I took care as ſoon as I arrived in India, to ſettle a correſpondence in a great variety of places, particularly at Ceylon and Cochin with the Dutch; and at Bombay and Tatta upon the Linde, with the Engliſh: and, Mr. Spencer, commiſſary of the marine at Bombay, had the politeneſs to ſend to Dehli, to a wakil, or agent of the company, an account of the books which I wanted; particularly recommending a perfect tranſlation of the four *Vedes*, made about 200 years ago, by Abulfazel, miniſter of Akbar.

While my friends were thus buſied in my behalf, I cauſed copies to be made of the three Samſkretam dictionaries, which were held in the higheſt eſtimation in India: two of them are dictionaries of the Bramins, called *Amerkoſch*, and *Viakkeren*, and the third is a dictionary of the Sciouras, called *Nammala*. Theſe copies were no ſooner finiſhed, than, to avoid the fury of the black troops, I found myſelf under a neceſſity of quitting Surat: I therefore took this opportunity to viſit the famous pagodas of Kennery and Elephantia. Thoſe of Elephantia are moſt known, becauſe they are in an iſland not far from Bombay.

In my way I viſited Soualy, Sadjam, Daman, and Naucary, the principal ſettlements of the Parſſes, where the fire is kept up called *Behram*, for which they have a peculiar veneration. I converſed with the principal Deſtours at all theſe places, and had the ſatisfaction to find that they all honoured the parts and learning of Darab, tho' they did not equally approve of his conduct, which they thought rather ſteady than prudent.

On the 28th of November, 1760, I arrived at the iſland of Salſette, and immediately furniſhed myſelf with proviſions for ten days, the time I intended to paſs in the pagodas of Kennery, which are ſituated in the middle of the iſland. Theſe pagodas, like thoſe of Houra, are great temples, hollowed out of the rock; the walls are without plaiſter, and at preſent very much out of repair. I was obliged to ſet fire to ſome buſhes that ſtopped up the entrance; and having with ſome difficulty got in, I examined the whole place with great attention, nor did the moſt obſcure caverns eſcape me. I found at Kennery twenty inſcriptions, cut upon ſtone, in ancient characters, with which the moſt learned Bramins were utterly unacquainted; one in modern Samſkretam, and another ſtill later, in characters ſomething reſembling thoſe which Hyde, *p.* 551, *plate* 15, of his book, on the religion of the Parſſes, ſays, he believes to have been uſed among the Mogul Tartars, who poſſeſſed themſelves of China. If it had not been for the misfortunes of the French in this part of the world, I ſhould not have thought of gratifying my curioſity in theſe dreary caverns ſo ſoon: it is well, however, that it was not

delayed; for part of these inscriptions was already obliterated by time, and the rest is on the point of being so. Of all that I found I made copies with the utmost exactness; and the ten days, which I had allotted to this undertaking, being expired, I proceeded to the pagodas of Elephantia, which are in the island of Galipoury, and are also hollowed out of the living rock.

In these pagodas, I found no inscriptions; I therefore took their proportions, and the dimensions of the columns and the bases, as I had done at Iloura and Kennery, and set out on my return to Surat.

My health was extremely injured, yet I made shift to get to the foot of the Gattes, in quest of the seeds and offsets of Thec and Champa. This effort quite exhausted me, and, besides, threw me into a fever so violent, that, after a journey of eight days, I was brought into Surat in a state of the most deplorable insensibility.

The journey to Benares was now given over, and I was confined to my bed by a complication of disorders, when news was brought me of the loss of all our settlements.

I had specimens of the Samskretam of the highest antiquity in the inscriptions of Kennery, and in the first pages of the extracts of the *Vedes*; of about 1200 years old, in the grant of privileges to the Jews of Cochin; and of 300 years old in translations of some of the works of Zoroaster. Among my manuscripts, I had also the three most celebrated Samskretam dictionaries, a very good dictionary, French and Malabarian, duplicates of the works of Zoroaster, and of a part of the Pehlvic translation; seven modern Persic dictionaries, many other Persic, Indian, and Arabian manuscripts, and a general map of the Peninsula of India, made at Malabar by the Bramins. The danger to which my little library was continually exposed, and the bad state of my health, determined me to return to Europe, deferring the translation of the *Vedes*, and the explanation of the antiquities of India, to some more favourable opportunity.

I have only a few words to add concerning the works of Zoroaster, and the languages in which they were written, and into which they have been translated. By the works of Zoroaster, I mean those Zend writings, which the Parsses attribute to their legislator, and for which they have the same veneration which the Jews have for their Hebrew text. I do not pretend to affirm, that they are really the works of Zoroaster; but I would have every one judge for himself, when he sees this opinion of the Parsses, supported by an unbroken tradition from Zoroaster to Jezdedjerd, and adopted by the Mahometans their declared enemies.

The law, which was either framed or regulated by Zoroaster, was divided, as we are told by the modern authors, into one and twenty *nosks*, or parts. Seven treat of the creation and history of the world, seven of morality, and civil and religious duties, and seven of physic and astronomy.

It is a tradition universally received among the Parsses, that Alexander the Great condemned these one and twenty volumes to the flames, after having caused them to be translated into Greek. Those which escaped are the *Vendidad*, the

the *Jzeſchne*, the *Viſpered*, the *Yeſchts*, and the *Neaeſchs*, in Zend; ſome Pehlvic tranſlations of Zend originals, which are not extant, as the *Boundebeſch*, and the *Bahman Jeſcht*, and the Pehlvic tranſlation of the Zend originals, which eſcaped the flames, except one part of the *Jeſchts*.

The Parſſes have alſo a great number of prayers, which they call *Nerengs*; and which, in general, are written in modern Perſic, with Zend characters, which they affect to uſe in all writings that treat of religion, though compoſed in modern Perſic.

The manuſcripts Zend, Pehlvic, and Perſic, which I have mentioned above, are thoſe which I have brought with me, and have tranſlated and depoſited in the king's library: ſome of them are alſo tranſlated into Samſkretam, and modern Indian, with an interlineary Perſic verſion, which will greatly facilitate the ſtudy of thoſe languages to perſons who have already made the *Zendaveſta* familiar.

As all theſe works paſs in the country whence they came for originals, and are very reſpectable monuments of antiquity, I have taken the pains to collate two or three copies with each other, and have carefully marked the variations. I have alſo done the ſame thing with reſpect to the little Perſic pieces, which ſpeak of Zoroaſter; and of the *Barzournamé*, a poem, of one hundred and twenty thouſand verſes; which contains a part of the hiſtory of Rouſtoun, Sforab his ſon, and Barzour, the ſon of Sforab: the copy which I have of that work was made from the only copy which exiſts in India.

The writings of Zoroaſter, which ſtill remain, ſpeak of the creation of the univerſe, of the terreſtrial paradiſe, of the diſperſion of mankind, and the cauſe of the reſpect paid by the Parſſes to fire, which they call *Athro Ehoremeſdaopothre*, ſon of God. They contain alſo an account of the origin of evil, moral and natural; eulogiums on all the angels that were appointed to the government of the univerſe; many hiſtorical facts, which are more fully related in other works, written in modern Perſic: they alſo frequently mention Djemchid, Zohak, Feridoun, Gueſchaſſp, and ſome other kings of the firſt dynaſty; and exhibit chronologies of the kings of Iran, and the Pahlevans, or heroes of Sſiſſan and Zabouleſtan: laſtly, they contain predictions, with reſpect to the latter times; ſeveral particulars relating to the end of the world, and the reſurrection; ſome excellent moral precepts, and a very extenſive ceremonial code.

Great lights may be derived from theſe works by men of true genius and learning, who are well ſkilled in the ancient languages, by comparing them with other manuſcripts which may probably be ſtill found in Kirman; and very important diſcoveries may be made concerning the origin of mankind, and the hiſtories of thoſe ages which were near the general deluge.

As to the ſtile of Zoroaſter, it appears to me to reſemble that of the ancient ſages of the Eaſt. We find in his writings frequent repetitions, little connection, and an authoritative tone, which characterizes divinity or enthuſiaſm. The name of God in Zend is, *Mon'ofcpenſſe*; and in Pehlvi, *Madonnad ifzouni*, words which ſignify *a being abſorbed in excellence*.

The text of the one and twenty *noſks* of the Parſſen legiſlator, is called *Aveſta*, that is, the world: it is a dead language, totally different both from the Pehlvi and the Perſic; but the moſt learned Deſtours could never give me any ſatisfactory account of its origin. Being thoroughly perſuaded of the divine miſſion of Zoroaſter, they ſuppoſe, that he received the books of his law from God himſelf, after having paſſed ten years at the foot of his throne; but if I might be permitted to hazard my own conjectures, I would ſay, that, in my opinion, he compoſed his works in ſome mountain, where he concealed himſelf with ſome able prieſts, aſſociated with him in the ſame deſign. The hardneſs of the language called *Aveſta*, ſuits well with mountaineers, whom nature has cut off from the ſociety of other men; ſo the ſubjects of the *Jeſſings*, and the *Jeſſomſings*, *Rajas* of the mountains which ſeparate Perſia from Indoſtan, ſpeak an Indian language, much more hard than that of the inhabitants of the plains.

Zend is the name of the characters of the *Aveſta*, though it is generally put for the language itſelf, in which the works of Zoroaſter were written, as I have before remarked: the character is neat, and has an air of antiquity, that is diſcovered at the firſt view: the firſt languages, and their alphabets, reſemble each other by their ſimplicity, of which, whoever glances his eye over the Zend and Samſkretam characters, will be convinced in a moment.

The Pehlvi was, I believe, the true language of the Parſſes, tho' it is now a dead language, exiſting only in the tranſlations of the works of Zoroaſter, which have ſurvived the ravages of time *.

The Parſſes maintain, that the Pehlvi owes its original to Kaiomorſs, the firſt king of their firſt dynaſty: the characters, which were originally well marked, and reſembled thoſe which they call *Zends*, have loſt their firſt neatneſs in the poliſhing they have received ſince, while the ſcrupulous veneration which has been always paid to the Aveſta, has preſerved their Zend letters in their firſt purity.

The Pahzend is a language almoſt extinct, a few words of it only being preſerved in the Pehlvic tranſlations. As my ſubject is altogether new, and the language foreign, it may not perhaps be amiſs, to ſay a few words on the difference between the Aveſta, the Pehlvi, and the Pahzend languages.

The Aveſta, as I have already obſerved, is that of the works of Zoroaſter, and, before the time of that legiſlator, was intirely unknown to the Parſſes; and I am of opinion that it was brought by him from the mountains.

The Pehlvi is the language which was ſpoken by the Parſſes in the time of Zoroaſter. The tranſlations which are now extant in that language, are ſuppoſed to have been made during his life, or at leaſt ſoon after his death.

The Pahzend is a dialect or a corruption of the Aveſta. Zoroaſter left this third idiom to his Deſtours, and recommended the uſe of it to diſtinguiſh them from the peo-

* The Aveſta is to the Pehlvic tranſlation, what the Hebrew text is to the Septuagint tranſlation of it.

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ple: it is to the Aveſta, nearly what the Syriac is to the Hebrew; two examples will ſerve to ſhew the difference of the two languages, *Mreod* in Aveſta, ſignifies *he has ſaid*, and in Pahzend, it is *Meri*: the name *Ormuſch* is Pahzend, and it comes from the Aveſta *Ehoremeſdoa*: the Pahzend has not a peculiar alphabet, but adopts that of the Zend and the Pehlvi indifferently.

The bounds of a relation ſo ſuccinct and compendious, will not permit me to be more particular; but, beſides the objects of intereſted curioſity which the works of Zoroaſter may contain, the knowledge of the Aveſta and Pehlvi languages, will, without doubt, appear to be of ſome utility, from the relation which they bear to thoſe language which we know. The ſtile of theſe languages, which are of ſufficient antiquity, may perhaps lead us to the ſenſe of many paſſages of the ſacred writings of the ſame date; and Europe will be able to judge, whether the works which the Parſſes attribute to Zoroaſter, are ſufficient to ſecure to him a continuance of that reputation, which he has acquired by laws that have ſubſiſted 2500 years.

The following is Mr. Perron's account of the MSS *attributed to Zoroaſter, and of the other works relating to the religion of the Parſſes, which he has depoſited in the king of France's library.*

I Do not pretend that any of theſe MSS are originals, written by Zoroaſter himſelf, but only copies of different degrees of antiquity, written, like moſt other MSS, upon paper made of linen or cotton, covered with a varniſh, on which the ſlighteſt ſtroke is viſible.

Theſe MSS may be divided into three claſſes: 1ſt, Zend works, of which Zoroaſter is ſuppoſed to have been the author, and which contain what may be called the breviary and ritual of the Parſſes; theſe are preſerved with the greateſt care, and are recited publickly by the prieſts at certain times preſcribed by the law, and alſo by the private Parſſes as a meritorious act, though they do not underſtand one word of what they utter. The 2d claſs contains Pehlvic works, ſome of which are tranſlations of originals, attributed to Zoroaſter: and, the third claſs conſiſts of Indian and Perſic verſions of Zend originals, and ſome MSS written ſince the time of Zoroaſter, which ſerve as commentaries upon the Zend text.

The works of Zoroaſter are all written in a wild unconnected manner, but the reader will not wonder at this, when he recollects the genius of Eaſtern writers, and conſiders Zoroaſter, not as a philoſopher writing in the quiet of ſilent recollection, but as a legiſlator who believed himſelf to be inſpired. Of theſe works, the following is a ſummary.

I. *Vendidad Sade*, a folio of 560 pages. The word *Vendidad*, literally tranſlated, ſignifies, *ſeparated from the devil*, i. e. contrary to the maxims of the devil, or the object of his hatred: *Sade* ſignifies, *pure and without mixture*, and is a name given to thoſe Zend works which are not accompanied with the Pehlvic tranſlation.

This volume is called by the general name, *Vendidad*, tho', beſides what is the *Vendidad*, in a ſtrict ſenſe, it contains two other tracts of Zoroaſter,

ter, called the *Jzeschne*, and the *Visspered*; because the priest, who reads the *Vendidad*, is also obliged to read these two other works at the same time, which are divided into proper lessons for that purpose.

The *Vendidad* itself is the twentieth treatise of Zoroaster, and contains a dialogue between Zoroaster and Ormusd, the deity, who answers several questions which are put to him by Zoroaster. In this book, Ormusd is called the pure being, who recompenses, absorbed in excellence, the creator and the righteous judge of the world, which subsists by his power.

The work is divided into XXII chapters, which they call *Fargards*, and all which conclude with a prayer, which they call *Eschem Vohou*, pure and excellent: these are the first words of the prayer in the original language, which is thus translated. "He who does good, and all those who are pure, shall go to the mansions of abundance which are prepared for them:" the two first chapters, and the five last, contain a relation of the historical facts upon which the Parsees found their faith; the rest of the work consists of their morals, polity, and legal ceremonies.

In the first chapter, Ormusd acquaints Zoroaster, that he created sixteen cities, which were equally celebrated for their beauty, and for the wealth of their inhabitants; and that Ahriman, (the devil) his rival, or antagonist, produced all the guilt and misery that had plagued the world. These cities were called Iranvedj, Gaom, Moerem, Bakhdim, Nessaem, Haroioum, Veekeretem, Orouanm, Kheneantem, Herekhetim, Hetomentem, Raghanm, Tchekhrem, Verenem, Haphtehando, and Rengheiao, each of which was the capital of an empire of the same name. *Iranvedj*, (i. e.) the pure *Iram*, the first and most considerable, was situated on the side of Aderbedjam; and *Haphtehando*, (i. e.) the *Seven Indies*, consisted of seven kingdoms, forming one empire, among which they reckoned *Caschmite*.

In the second chapter, *Djemchid*, called in Zend *Jemo*, the son of *Vivenganm*, and fourth king of the first dynasty of the Parsees, is taken up into heaven, where he received from the hand of Ormusd, a poignard of gold, with which he cleft the earth, and produced the country called *Vermaneschne*, and the breed of men and animals. This delightful country, over which death had no dominion, was at length desolated by winter. The plains and tops of the mountains were covered with a burning snow, which rendered them totally desolate and barren. Djemchid, said Ormusd, speaking to Zoroaster, was the first who beheld the Supreme Being face to face, and he produced all these marvellous effects by virtue of my word, which was put into his mouth*.

At the end of this chapter, Ormusd relates to Zoroaster the origin of the world: It is I, says he, who have created all that is; I produced the first light that shines with its own radiance, from which the light of the sun, the moon, and the stars is originally derived; the year was

* The poignard of gold given by Ormusd to Djemchid, was no other than the divine word, called in the Persian language *dschter-tez*; i. e. a two-edged sword, and it is well known to be represented in scripture by the same emblem.

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one uninterrupted day, and there was a winter of forty†; and of a ſtrong man were born twins, a male and a female, who united as man and wife: the different ſpecies of animals alſo appeared which inhabit the earth.

The third chapter ſpeaks of works that are agreeable to the earth, or rather to the angel who governs it; as agriculture, breeding cattle, removing out of the way the bodies of the dead, and ſuccouring the poor. "A good huſbandman, ſaid Ormuſd, is as great in my ſight, as he who ſhould produce a thouſand men, or recite a thouſand Jzechnes."

The fourth chapter commands, to render to the rich what has been borrowed: It treats alſo of different ſpecies of the crimes called *Meherderoudjs*, becauſe they come from *Deroudj* the devil, oppoſed to *Meher*, the angel who gives fertility to cultivated ground. They commit Meherderoudj, when they break their word, and when they violate contracts; when they refuſe to pay couriers their hire, to reward the animals that aſſiſt in cultivating the ground, to pay the preceptors of youth, and the labouring peaſants, and neglect to water a piece of ground when they have promiſed to do it.

The fifth chapter treats of dead bodies, and of the place to which they are to be carried, and the ceremonies to be uſed on that occaſion; of legal purifications, and of women delivered before their time. In this chapter, Ormuſd extols the purity of the *Vendidad*, and touches on the three rivers Pherat, Ponti, and Varkaſs.

The ſixth chapter treats of the impurity which death communicates to the earth, the water, and veſſels of every kind.

The ſeventh chapter is a continuation of the ſame ſubject; it treats alſo more particularly of the impurity of women after miſcarriages, of the dignity of the medical profeſſion, of the merit of him who has cured many ſick, promiſing, that he ſhall be rewarded with a long and happy life: he is enjoined to try the efficacy of his remedies, firſt upon thoſe who worſhip the *Dews*, which are ſpirits or genii, created by Ahriman, before he gives them to the Parſſes; and, it is declared, that if he neglects this precaution, and his remedies prove fatal, or hurtful to the patient, he is worthy of death. Zoroaſter then fixes the fees which the different claſſes among the Parſſes are to give to the phyſician.

He begins with the *Athorne* or Prieſt; and a phyſician who has cured one of theſe miniſters of the law, muſt content himſelf with the prayers which he ſhall offer for him to the angel *Dahman*, who is appointed to receive the ſouls of the ſaints from the angel *Sſeroſch*, and conduct them to heaven.

The ſubject of the eighth chapter, is the manner of carrying the dead to Dakme, the burying place; the ceremony of the preſenting a dog to the dead, to drive away the devil; the prayers which are to be made for the deceaſed; the guilt which is contracted by thoſe who defile themſelves, by approaching or touching a dead body, and the purifications which they muſt undergo.

The Parſſes diſtinguiſh fire by different names, drawn from the va-

† It does not appear from the original, whether this forty is days or years.

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rious uſes to which it is applied; as the culinary fire, the bagnio fire, and the founder's fire: In this chapter, Zoroaſter recommends the carrying ſome of all theſe fires, and of every other kind, to Dadgah, the place of juſtice; and aſſigns the place which contains the ſacred fire, and that which is to be appropriated to prayer. This chapter alſo contains the *Jeta Ahou Verio*, which, like the *Eſchem Vohou*, is a prayer that the Parſſes have almoſt continually in their mouths: this prayer takes its name from the three firſt words:

"God commands the chiefs of the law to perform pure and holy works. The angel *Bahman* watches over thoſe who have a pure heart, who do good, and apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the law; he gives dominion to princes, that they may ſuccour and comfort the poor."

Ormuſd declares, that to pleaſe him it is neceſſary to be pure in thought, word and deed; and, that it is a ſin worthy of death, for a man to ſeduce the daughter or wife of his neighbour, or to commit pederaſty: Separate, ſays Zoroaſter, from your communion, and cut to pieces him, who having ſinned refuſes to ſubmit to puniſhment; the robber, him who torments the innocent, the magician*, and him who refuſes to pay his debts.

The ninth chapter relates to the *Deſtour-Mobed*, who gives the *Baraſchnom*, that is, who purifies thoſe who are defiled; it ſpecifies the qualities requiſite to this miniſter, and treats of the place, the inſtruments, and the ceremonies proper for theſe purifications: Zoroaſter ſpeaks alſo, in this chapter, of moral and natural evil: Theſe evils, ſays he, owe their origin, and their progreſs, to the crimes committed by mankind, and the little care they take to purify themſelves; and, in conſequence of this general propoſition, he declares, in the 18th chapter, that fornication and adultery dry up rivers, and render the earth ſterile.

The tenth chapter treats of the prayers which drive away devils: theſe impure ſpirits preſide over the particular crimes and evils to which their names have relation; he that excites men to *Khaſchm*, rage, is called *Khaſchem*; he that raiſes violent ſtorms of *Vad*, wind, is called *Vato*; and ſo of others.

The eleventh chapter contains a particular account of the methods to be uſed in purifications; with reſpect to which, the *Honover*, or word of god, is of the greateſt efficacy.

The twelfth chapter treats of the prayers which the children, or kindred of the dead are obliged to ſay, or cauſe to be ſaid on their account.

The thirteenth ſpeaks of the different dogs whoſe approach drives away the devil, who prowles about upon the earth after midnight; of the manner in which they are to be fed, and of the crime committed by ſtriking them.

The fourteenth chapter is upon the ſame ſubject. He who has killed a dog, muſt, in order to expiate his crime, give to the three claſſes of the Parſſes, the prieſts, the ſoldiers, and the labourers, the inſtruments of their profeſſions; if he is not able to be at this expence, he

* By a magician, the Parſſes mean one who has commerce directly or indirectly with the evil principle.

muſt dig canals to conduct the water of rivers through the neighbouring paſtures, and encloſe the paſtures themſelves with a good fence; or, he muſt marry his daughter, or his ſiſter, to a man of exemplary ſanctity.

The fifteenth chapter ſpeaks of five ſins which merit the puniſhment of hell; the 1ſt, is railing againſt, or contradicting a good man, who is inſtructing or admoniſhing ſinners; the 2d, is making the teeth of a dog, who drives away the devil, drop out, by giving him ſomething to eat burning hot; the 3d, is ſtriking or terrifying a bitch that is with puppy, ſo as to cauſe abortion; the 4th and 5th are, to have commerce with a woman during the catamenia, or while ſhe gives ſuck.

The ſixteenth chapter relates to the purification of women.

The ſeventeenth preſcribes what is to be done to the hair and the nails when they are cut. The party is directed to dig a hole in the ground, about half a foot deep, and place a ſtone at the bottom of it, and to put the clippings of the hair, and the parings of the nails upon that ſtone, repeating the prayers directed by the law.

In the eighteenth chapter, Zoroaſter warns the Parſſes not to believe the *Deſtour* who carries the Penom, a piece of linen, which the Parſſes place upon their noſes when they pray, and who performs the functions of prieſts without having the *Koſti*, which is the girdle of the Parſſes; ſuch *Deſtour*, ſays Zoroaſter, is an impoſtor, who teaches the law of the devil, though he aſſumes the character of a miniſter of God.

This chapter relates, that, in the beginning, Ahriman reſiſted Ormuſd, and refuſed to receive his law. Zoroaſter then celebrates the cock, who, next to the angel *Sſeroſch*, is the guardian of the world, and ſecures mankind againſt the ſnares of the devil.

The nineteenth chapter contains an account of the war between Ormuſd and Ahriman, and of the defeat of Ahriman by the *Honover*, or word of God. Ormuſd declares, that, at the end of the world, the works of Ahriman will be deſtroyed by the three prophets Oſchederhami, Oſchedermah, and Sſoſſioſch, who ſhall ariſe from a ſeed preſerved in the ſource of the river Kanſſe, a ſmall ſtream, which the Pehlvic Coſmogony places in Sſiſtam, and which is ſuppoſed to water Raghanm, the 12th city, which was in the beginning created by Ormuſd.

In this chapter, ſomething is alſo ſaid of endleſs duration, of the ſoul of God, which is always employed with the word, of ſeveral neceſſary purifications, particularly one with the urine of an ox, and of ſome implements which are neceſſary in reading the *Aveſta*, particularly the *Barſſo*, a bundle of ſmall twigs tied together, the bell and the ſalvers. Zoroaſter then expatiates on what ſhall happen at the reſurrection; after this great event, the righteous and the wicked will paſs over a bridge that ſeparates earth from heaven, under protection of the dog, who was created as the common guardian of cattle. This chapter concludes with the names of the devils.

The twentieth chapter ſpeaks of the third *Poeriodekeſch*, that is the third prince of the firſt dynaſty, a righteous and holy prince, who abo-

abolished the evil produced by the devil: to this prince* Ormusd gave the tree of health, and the *Hom.*

In the twenty-first chapter, *Ormusd* directs Zoroaster to render the worship of prayer and praise to the supreme ox, and to the rain of which the angel Taschter is the distributer, who subsists under the form of an ox.

The rain is drawn from the rivers Pherat and Varkas; and, in conjunction with the sun, "who, like a proud courser, springs from the summit of the mountain Albordj," renders the earth fruitful.

The twenty-second chapter contains the mission of Zoroaster. Ormusd sends him with the angel Neriossengul into Irman, which, in Zend, is called *Eriemenae* †. "Go, says he, to Irman, that place which I created pure and splendid, and which the infernal serpent has spoiled and infected, that serpent which is absorbed in guilt, and pregnant with death. Do thou, who hast approached me on the lofty mountain, where I have answered the questions which thou hast propounded to me, carry to Irman my law. I will give thee a thousand oxen, as fat as the ox of the mountain Sokand, upon which men passed over the Euphrates in the beginning of time: thou shalt possess every good thing in abundance, exterminate devils and magicians, and put an end to the evils which they have produced. This is the reward which I decree to recompense the holy dispositions of the inhabitants of Irman."

The second work contained in the *Vendidad Sade*, is the *Jzechne*, which the Parsses in general consider as a compleat treatise. The word *Jzechne* signifies Blessing, accompanied with praise, which is the general form of the prayers used by the Parsses. The *Neaesch* expresses the humility of the person who recites it; the *Jesht* contains a pompous eulogium of the being to whom it is addressed; the *Jescht* is offered up with more solemnity, and is thought to be more efficacious; water which is consecrated to certain ceremonies is also called *Jeschtee*-water, and it is supposed to have a particular virtue which gives it an influence even over the soul. If the prayer includes a petition, it is called an *Afergan.*

The *Jzechne* consists of seventy-two chapters, which are called *Ha. Ha* is a contraction of *Hatam*, the second word of the expression *Jenjube Hatam, so let it be.* A form of words, equivalent to our Amen, with which every chapter of the *Jzechne* is concluded.

This work is divided into two parts; the first, which contains 27 chapters, relates to the Supreme Being, his word, and his creatures: the other part, which contains 47 chapters, consists of prayers, addressed to Ormusd and his angels;

* This prince is Djemchid, mentioned above, who is sometimes called the third king of the first dynasty, because Kaiomorts is not always reckoned one.

† Probably Armenia; and the high mountain where Zoroaster pretended to have conversed with the Supreme Being, seems to be Caucasus, called in that country Albordj. It is probable, that he composed his works upon this mountain; and the language, called *Avesta*, might be the ancient Armenian, to which the ignorance and superstition of the Parsses gave a divine origin.

and in these the necessities of mankind are particularly mentioned.

This work is in general more a liturgy than any other, and mention is frequently made in it of the apparatus necessary for the minister of the law, when he reads the *Avesta*. This minister is called the *Djouti*, a name signifying one who reads with rapidity; his assistant is called the *Raspi*, (i. e.) one who prepares the fire: the principal particulars of the apparatus are these:

The *Ateschdan*, or chasing dish, which contains the sacred fire; the *Barsom*, a bundle of small twigs bound together; the *Avan*, or bell; the hammer of the bell; the *Mabrou*, or andirons, which support the chasing dish; the cups, the salvers, a ring surrounded with hair, all these are of metal; some pieces of the tree; called *Hom*, and of a pomgrenate tree little round loaves called *Darouns*, some milk, some dressed meats, some common, and some consecrated water, and some juice of the Hom. Some pieces of the Hom are piled upon the Avan, which, in figure, somewhat resembles a chalice, and the juice that exudes they call the water of life; the virtues of this apparatus, and the ceremonies practised in the use of it, are particularized in the *Jzechne*; but Zoroaster always took care to add, that he who read the *Avesta*, ought to be pure in thought, word, and deed.

Zoroaster also recommended the *Keschi*, which are marriages between cousin germans; he bestows great encomiums upon subordination, and declares, that every state or class ought to have a chief; these states are priests, soldiers, labourers, and handicraftsmen. He adds, that the women would do well to place at their head, a person of their own sex, comely and fruitful. He often repeats his injunctions to take care of brute animals, and says a word or two of the *pure Ass*.

This animal the Phelvic Cosmogony calls, the *three-footed Ass*, and places him in the middle of the Euphrates: he has, says the author of this work, six eyes, nine mouths, two ears, and a horn of gold; his body is white, he is fed with celestial food, and thousands of men and animals may pass between his legs; it is he who purifies the water of the Euphrates, and waters the seven divisions of the earth; when he makes his voice to be heard, the fishes created by Ormusd conceive, and the productions of Ahriman cast their young.

Much is also said in the *Jzechne* of the Honover, or word of God, which is said to have existed before all creatures.

The 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters relates wholly to a man called *Hom Ised*: this celebrated Destour is represented as a holy king, with eyes of gold very piercing; his dwelling is on the mountain Albordj: it is he who blesses the waters and the cattle, and who teaches the right way to those who do good; the palace in which he resides on mount Albordj, is supported on a hundred columns, his bed and his apparel shine with the splendor of holiness; he promulgated the law upon the mountains; he brought the *Kosti*, the girdle of the Parsses, and the *Sadera*, a kind of shirt worn by that sect, from heaven. His employment upon the mountains is to read the *Avesta*; he destroyed the two-footed serpent, and created the bird which gathers up the seeds that fall from the tree Hom, and then scatters

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ters them upon the earth; when five pious and holy perſons are in one place, I am there, ſays Hom, in the midſt of them.

This Hom bound Afraſſiah, king of Touran, to a wall of braſs; when Vivenganm prayed for a child, he gave him Djemchid, he gave alſo Feridoun, the conqueror of Zoak, to Atvian. The hero Guerſchaſſp, who ſlew the ſerpent, was the fruit of prayers, which Saman his father addreſſed to Hom, and Poroſchaſſp, the father of Zoroaſter, owed that illuſtrious offspring to his protection.

Such is the portrait which the *Jzechne* has drawn of Hom: his ſurname in Zend is *Zacreguoe*, *Zereguone*, *Zerietche*, *Zerrin*, each of which words ſignifies of a golden colour: this property which characterizes the tree *Hom*, that is planted in the middle of the Euphrates, agrees alſo with the man *Hom Iſed*, who preſides over that tree; and the names by which it is above expreſſed, have probably given occaſion to ſome authors to ſuppoſe, that there was another Zoroaſter before the legiſlator; for the name *Zoroaſter* being more recent and familiar, may have been ſubſtituted for that of *Zereguone*, or *Zerrin*, with which it has as much affinity as with *Zeretoſchtre*, *Zertoſcht*, and *Zerduſt*, which are the Zend and Pelvic names of Zoroaſter.

This Hom Iſed, or Zereguone, has left no writings. He was, however, a celebrated ſage king of the mountains, and his throne was upon Albordj: Zoroaſter, indeed, attributes to him many actions, which have rendered it doubtful at what time he lived. Theſe facts happened, ſome under Djemchid, ſome under Feridoun, and others under Guerchaſſp, Kekoſſro, and even Guſtaſſp. By the Zend text however, it appears, that Hom Zereguone gave laws to the people of the mountains in the time of Djemchid, with whom, therefore, he muſt have been contemporary: the other actions which have been attributed to him, were performed by other princes, who invoked him by virtue of his power delegated to them, and, in that ſenſe, may be ſaid to be performed by him; and the hiſtorian frequently repreſents Hom, as performing himſelf the miracles which were wrought by his influence.

The *Jzechne* alſo contains the eulogy of the ſun, of fire, and of water; of the moon, and the five Gahs; the Gahs are the five days which the Parſſes add to the 360 days of the year, becauſe their year conſiſts of 12 months, each of which has 30 days.

The *Jzechne* concludes with the eulogy of Seroſch the angel of the terreſtrial world, who watches over it for its preſervation, and with a ſummary of the law, to this effect. "Read the *Honover*, which is pure and victorious, which ſhall burn like ſtubble and dry wood all who are impure in thought, word, or deed; and regard with religious veneration, all that Ormuſd has done, all that he does, and all that he ſhall do." This ſummary is agreeable to the precept of Ormuſd, "Adore all that I have created, for it is the ſame as if ye adored me." To fulfil this command of the ſupreme Being, Zoroaſter, in the beginning of the *Jzechne*, ſings the praiſe of the Pœriodekeſchans, and Keanians, the firſt and ſecond dy-

naſties of the kings of the Parſſes, of the places which afford paſture and ſhelter to cattle, of light from the firſt created ox, from which mankind proceeded, and of the ſoul of Kaiomorts, the firſt king of the firſt dynaſty.

On this occaſion, it may be remarked, that, in the works of Zoroaſter, he never ſpeaks of any but the two firſt dynaſties of the Parſſes, that of the Peſchdadians, and the Kearians, which proves that they were compoſed under the latter of the two.

The third work, contained in the *Vendidad Sade*, is the *Viſſpered*; if this treatiſe ſhould be thought incompleat, it may be taken as part of the *Bagantaſſt*, the fifteenth work of Zoroaſter, which contains an eulogium on the creatures created by God.

Viſſpered ſignifies *knowledge of all*: This work conſiſts of 27 ſmall chapters, which are called *Carde*, portions.

Tchangregatcha, a celebrated Bramin of the Indies, hearing the fame of Zoroaſter, went to ſee him, and Zoroaſter pronounced before him the *Viſſpered*, which begins by the eulogy of that Bramin. The Parſſes ſuppoſe every claſs of animals to have a particular chief, to whom the *Pehlvic* Coſmogony gives the title of *Deſtour*, or Doctor; and Zoroaſter as a teſtimony of Tchangregatcha's merit, ſet him over the Deſtours of the animals of the earth and waters.

The *Viſſpered* afterwards ſpeaks of ſix feaſts of five days each, called *Gahanbars*, which were eſtabliſhed to commemorate the ſix periods of time in which the world was created: it contains alſo ſeveral offices of praiſe, addreſſed to all that has been created or exiſts, whether animate or inanimate; among the inanimate things, which are thus addreſſed, is the *Sſetout Jeſcht*, the firſt work of Zoroaſter, which treats of the nature of God, and of the angels, and the *Jzeſchne*; praiſe is alſo offered to angels, to animals, to *Hadokht*, the twenty-firſt treatiſe of Zoroaſter, to the ox from which the firſt man proceeded, to the river Varkaſs, to the *Honover* or word, and to the *Eſchemvohou*; this prayer pronounced in the hearing of thoſe who are ſo near death as to be ſpeechleſs, is ſaid to afford them great advantages: the tree called Hom, is alſo celebrated in the *Viſſpered*, in which the Djouti, and the Raſſpi, are repreſented as performing religious ceremonies round the fire; and Zoroaſter addreſſes himſelf to the ſword of the Lord, to the club or mace with which the angel Meher ſtrikes the devil, who would deſolate the world, and to the bridge which ſeparates heaven from earth.

Holineſs is particularly recommended to prieſts, and marriages between couſin germans to the reſt of the faithful.

Laſtly, the *Viſſpered* gives the names of the ſeven empires, or parts of the world, Erezebio, Sſeouebio, Frededafschebio, Videdafschebio, Voroberestebio, Vorodjereſbio and Kenerетche. The *Pehlvic* Coſmogony places Erezebio to the W. Sſeouebio to the E. Frededafschebio and Videdafschebio to the S Vorodjereſbio to the N. and Kenerетche, which includes Iram, in the centre of the earth.*

* The ſituation of Voroberestebio we are not told.

Several ſmall fragments taken from the Zend pieces, which will be particularly mentioned in the ſequel, are alſo ſometimes found in the *Vendidad Sade*, beſides the three works already mentioned; the copy here referred to, was made in the year of Jeſdedjerd, 1083, and in the year of our Lord 1713 †. At the end of the volume appears the following paragraph, written in modern Perſic, with Zend characters.

At Gah Avan, on the happy day Zamiad, of the bleſſed month Meher, in the year 1083, of Jeſdedjerd, king of kings, a prince mighty in power, the copy of this book called Djedjewdad, was compleated, with a ſatisfaction that aſcended in praiſe to the Supreme Being, by the ſlave of the law Darab Erbed, an inhabitant of Naucary, and the ſon of Rouſtoun, who was the ſon of Daval; let him who ſhall read or recite this book, offer up a prayer for me in this world, that in the next my ſoul may be happy: according to this word, the pure ſpirits of paradiſe have eternal joy.

II. The *Vendidad* in *Zend*, and *Pehlvic* mixed with *Pahzend*, collated with the copies of Bikh, the *Deſtour Mobed* of Surat, and that of Darab his adverſary, and correſponding exactly with all the *Vendidads* of Surat. This work is a folio of 488 pages.

When the Parſſes fled from the perſecution of the deſcendents of Omar into India, they carried the books of the law with them, but the diſtreſſes and confuſions of war, and the connections which they formed with the Indians, produced inſenſibly ſuch a neglect of the Pehlvic, that the tranſlations of it into that language being loſt 450 years ago, nothing remained of the *Vendidad* but the ſix firſt chapters, tranſlated from the Pelvic into Samſkretam; but, at this time, one and twenty chapters of the *Vendidad Zend*, with a Pehlvic tranſlation, were brought from Sfiſtan to India, by the Deſtour Ardeſchir, from which two copies were immediately made, and from theſe all the copies now in uſe at Guzarate have been tranſcribed: the copy now brought into France was made in 1757.

III. The *Jzeſchne Zend* and *Samſkretam*, and *Jeſchts Sades*; a folio of 616 pages.

The *Samſkretam* tranſlation of the *Jzeſchne* from the *Pehlvic*, contains only the firſt 66 chapters, and for theſe, the world is indebted to the care of the Mobeds, Nerioſſengue the ſon of Daval, and Ormuſdiar the ſon of Ramyar, who about 300 years ago, tranſlated from the *Pelvic* into *Samſkretam*, all that is now to be found in that language.

The *Jeſchts Sade* is a volume which contains 18 *Jeſchts*, and many Perſic and Zend works in Zend characters.

The *Jeſchts* are pompous praiſes of Ormuſd, and the 15 angels, whoſe names are Ardiheſcht, Khordad, Avan, Khorchid, Mah, Tir, Goſch, Meher, Sſeroſch, Raſchneraſt, Farvardin, Behram, Aſchtad, Hom, and Venant.

† There is a copy in the Bodleian library at Oxford, which was made anno Dom. 1680, and brought over in 1723, by Richard Cobbe.

Zoroaſter, in the Ormuſd *Jeſcht*, demands of Ormuſd, "What is that ſublime and delectable word which gives victory and diffuſes light; which to man is the guide of life, which diſappoints the efforts of the malignant ſpirit, and which gives health at once to the body and the ſoul." "That word, anſwers Ormuſd, is my name; I am called the god who loves to be conſulted, the father of men and flocks, the powerful, the pure, the cœleſtial, the ſeed of all that is good, the author and preſerver of all that is pure, the ſovereign intelligence, and he who communicates it; knowledge, and he who gives it; excellence, and he from whom it flows: the prince of holineſs, the fountain of felicity, he in whom there is no evil, the ſtrong who is not wearied, he who numbers and weighs all things, the giver of health, the righteous judge, the being who neither is deceived, nor deceives, finally the god who recompenſes. This is my name, have it continually in thy mouth, and thou ſhalt have nothing to fear, either from the bow or the *Tchakar*, neither from the javelin nor the poignard, from the ſword or the mace.' At this anſwer of Ormuſd, Zoroaſter proſtrated himſelf before him, and ſaid; "I adore the intelligence of God which contains the word, his underſtanding which meditates it, and his tongue which pronounces it without ceaſing."

The *Farvardin Jeſcht*, is a work of 31 chapters; the angel Farvardin, to whom it is addreſſed, preſides over the Ferouers, or firſt principles of all that exiſts, whether ſpiritual or corporal; and Zoroaſter, in this *Jeſcht*, renders homage to all the Ferouers: he ſpeaks, on this occaſion, of the kings and great men who lived at Guſtaſſp, and characterizes them by ſome ſtriking particular; and many of the facts which appear moſt extraordinary in the *Pehlvic* Coſmogony, are confirmed by ſome words ſcattered here and there in the *Farvardin Jeſcht*.

Of the other works contained in the *Jeſcht Sades*, the following are the chief.

1. The five *Neaeſch*, which are devotional pieces, in the form of praiſe addreſſed to the angel of the ſun, to Meher, to the moon, to the water, and to the fire; the *Neaeſch*, which is in Zend, is only an extract of the *Jeſcht* to the ſame angel.

Zoroaſter, in the *Neaeſch* to the ſun, pays to that planet only the worſhip of praiſe. He firſt humbles himſelf before Ormuſd, and renounces all the ſins he may have committed in thought, word, and deed; he then addreſſes himſelf to ſeveral angels; to Meher, the companion of the angel who preſides over the ſun, whoſe ſplendor is ſuperior to that of all other cœleſtial ſpirits; to heaven the work of the almighty, to endleſs duration and to time; he then proceeds to the eulogy of the ſun. "I adore the ſun, ſays Zoroaſter, who never dies, who comes on ſhining with light like a vigorous horſe. When he cauſes his influence to be felt, when he waxes hot, when he appears with an hundred, with a thouſand cœleſtial ſpirits who accompany him. He diffuſes light through all nature; he ſcatters it like rain, and deals it with profuſion to the earth which God has created; he is a fountain of abundance to the world of purity; when

when he ariſes he purifies the earth and the waters, the mountains and the vallies, the rivers and the lakes."

Zoroaſter then proceeds to the praiſe of Meher, who preſides over farms and villages: he ſtrikes the devil with his eternal mace; he has a thouſand eyes and a thouſand ears; he is continually buſied about the law and the good of mankind; and he never ſleeps.

The name of *Meher* in Zend is *Methrem*, of which is formed *Mithra*, ſuppoſed by the ancients to be the ſun, becauſe he is often mentioned in praiſes addreſſed to that planet, but at moſt, he only ſeconds the ſun in his functions; and the importance of his miniſtry to mankind has produced that particular regard which the Parſſes have always expreſſed for him.

In the *Neaeſch* of fire, Zoroaſter, after having invoked Ormuſd, addreſſes himſelf to fire as the object of worſhip, by the name of the ſon of God, or the created of God.

2. The four *Patets*. The firſt is called *Mahreſſpand*, and the ſecond *Patet Moktat*, which are read on behalf of the dead; the third is recited by the living for themſelves; the fourth is called *Patet irani*, becauſe it is moſt uſed *.

A Patet is a confeſſion of ſin, accompanied with repentance and ſhame for having committed it. The ſinner in the preſence of fire, or of the Deſtour, pronounces five times the prayer called *Jetha ahou verio*; then addreſſing himſelf to god and the angels, he ſays, "I repent with confuſion of all the crimes I have committed in thought, word, and deed; I renounce them, I promiſe to be pure in thought, word, and deed. May God have mercy upon me, and receive my body and ſoul in this world, and that which is to come!" The penitent then proceeds to a particular mention of his ſins, which are of twenty-five different ſpecies.

Theſe confeſſions are modern Perſic, mixed with Pelvic. They are thought to have been compoſed in Pehlvic by Aderhad Mahreſſpand, the thirtieth deſcendent from Zoroaſter, a celebrated Deſtour, and reſtorer of the law under the reign of Sapour, the ſucceſſor of Ardeſhir Babekan, who lived in the third century of the chriſtian æra.

3. The *Afergans*. Theſe are prayers in Zend, conſiſting of ſeveral paſſages of the *Aveſta* brought together, and are ſuppoſed to be of a later time than that of Zoroaſter. Theſe prayers which are mixed with thankſgiving, are addreſſed to the *Gahanbars*, to the *Gahthas*, names of the laſt five days of the year, to the angel Dahman, and to the angel Rapitan, who preſides over the ſecond part of the day, called *Gah Rapitan*.

The *Gahanbars* are feſtivals of five days each, which were inſtituted in memory of the creation of the world, or at leaſt of its being reduced into order, which, according to the Parſſes, was a work that continued three hundred and ſixty-five days. Of theſe *Gahanbars* there are ſix in every year.

Mediozerem the firſt *Gahambar*,

* The name of the third is not mentioned.

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is celebrated in honour of the creation of the heavens, which laſted five and forty days.

Medioſchem, the ſecond *Gahanbar*, was appointed in commemoration of the waters, which were created in ſixty days.

Peteſchem, the third, refers to the creation of the earth in 75 days.

Eiatremeche, the fourth, to the creation of the trees in 30 days.

Mediareie, the fifth, to the creation of animals in 80 days; and *Hameſpetemede*, the ſixth, to the creation of man in 75 days.

4. The *Afrans*, which are free tranſlations of the Afergans into modern Perſic.

5. The prayers which are addreſſed to the five *Gahs*, over which five different angels preſide. The Parſſes divide the day into five parts, which they call *Gahs*, times; the firſt is *Gah Avan*, which begins at ſun-riſing, and ends at noon; the ſecond *Gah Rapitan*, laſts from noon to three o'clock; *Gah Oſiren* the the third, laſts from three o'clock; to ſun-ſet: *Gah Eveſſeroutren* the 4th, laſts from ſun-ſet to midnight; and *Gah Oſchen* the 5th, from midnight to ſun-riſing. Theſe prayers to the *Gahs* are in Zend.

6. The *Neka*. The *Neka* is the benediction given by the Mobed to the faithful, and is written in Pehlvic, mixed with modern Perſian. Doctor Hyde had a copy of this work, which he calls *Zend Aveſta*, though the paſſage which he cites from it is in modern Perſic.

7. The *Nerengs*. Theſe are little forms of prayer which the Parſſes are obliged to recite on the moſt common occaſions, when they begin a piece of work, or when they ſet out on a journey. They may be compared to our collects, and are in modern Perſic.

The MS of which I have now given an account, is very ancient, and without a date. I ſaw a copy of it at Dr. Hunt's, profeſſor of Arabic at Oxford, which was brought into England by Mr. Fraſer, who obtained it of B kh, the Deſtour Mobed of Surat. Dr. Hunt had alſo copies of the *Zend Neaeſchs*, and the *Neka* in Zend characters, which were made in the year 1672, and had been in the collection of Dr. Hyde.

IV. *Sſirouſe* in Zend and Pehlvic; *Neaeſchs*, *Ormuſd Jeſcht*, and ſome other pieces Zend and Pehlvic; *Ahouhenim*, Zend, and Perſic; and *Ravaet*, tranſlated out of Perſic into Indou: this is a folio of 394 pages.

The firſt of theſe pieces is in praiſe of the angels who preſide over the 30 days of the month. *Sſirouſe* ſignifies 30 days. There are two tracts of this name, the great and the little *Sſirouſe*; but the little one is only an abridgment of the other.

In the *Sſirouſe*, fire is called the light of the Keanians: this element, according to the pure theology of the Parſſes, contained in the writings of Zoroaſter himſelf, is nothing more than a ſenſible emanation of that fountain of uncreated light, which, in the beginning, contained the prototype of all beings.

With reſpect to the *Neaeſchs*, the reader may conſult the article of the *Jeſchts Sades*; and, on the *Ahouhenim*, he may conſult the account of the *Jzeſche*. The 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters of which are diſtinguiſhed by

by the name of *Ahouhenim*, becauſe the 9th chapter begins with that Zend word, which ſignifies a *little bell*.

The *Ravaet*, is a collection of anſwers from the Deſtours of Kirman, to the letters of Tchengatcha, a celebrated Parſſe, who lived in India about 300 years ago, and who conſulted them upon many points of the law, which time had rendered doubtful and obſcure. In imitation of Tchengatcha, the Deſtours of India have ever ſince written to thoſe of Iran, when any doubt has ariſen concerning the law, and the anſwers have been collected into what they call *Ravaets*. *Ravaet* ſignifies *cuſtom*.

V. The *Vendidad Zend* and *Pehlvic* mixed with *Pahzend*, reviſed and corrected by the Deſtour Darab; the *Viſſpered Zend* and *Pehlvic*; the *Sſeroſch Jeſcht*, *Hadokht Zend*, *Pehlvic* and *Samſkretam*, and the *Sſirouſe Zend* and *Perſic*. This is a quarto of 628 pages.

This copy of the *Vendidad* is not incumbered with the ridiculous commentaries of ignorant tranſcribers. The Deſtour Djamaſſp, a man much celebrated for his learning, coming into India about five and thirty years ago, to put an end to the factions and diviſions which have been already mentioned, Darab ſtudied the Zend and Pehlvic under him; and to Darab the world is indebted for this book, which is the moſt correct copy of the moſt conſiderable work of the Parſic legiſlator.

An account of the *Viſſpered* and the *Sſirouſe* has been already given; the *Sſeroſch Jeſcht Hadokht* is extracted from the twenty-firſt work of Zoroaſter, which is called *Hadokht*, and is a prayer to the angel Sſeroſch, who, according to the Parſſes, is king of the terreſtrial world, and preſides over all the living. A ſecond *Sſeroſcht Jeſcht* occurs at the end of the *Jzeſchne*.

VI. *Jzeſchne Sade*, a quarto of 390 pages. This volume contains the *Jzeſchne* without the *Vendidad*, and the ceremonies uſed in this part of the liturgy are explained in Indian, written with modern Samſkretam characters. Of this MS, which is very ancient, and without date, Dr. Hunt had two copies, in both which the ceremonies were wanting.

VII. A collection of tracts and extracts in Zend and Pehlvic, containing 322 pages in quarto. This MS is valuable, as well for the pieces it contains, as for its ſcarcity. The Deſtour Djamaſſp declared, he had not ſeen one in Aſia for 30 years; and this copy was thought to be the only one in India. It contains five and twenty pieces, ſome in Zend, and others in Pehlvic, the names of which occur in many modern compoſitions. The principal are ſome parts of the *Jzeſchne* tranſlated into Pehlvic, a ſmall Zend and Pehlvic vocabulary, the *Bahman Jeſcht*, the *Virafnama*, and the *Boundcheſch*.

The *Bahman Jeſcht* exhibits, in the form of a prophecy, a brief hiſtory of the empire and religion of the Parſſes, from the time of Guſtaſſp to the end of the world. Zoroaſter ſees in a dream a tree ſpring out of the ground, and put forth four branches, one of gold, another of ſilver, a third of braſs, and a fourth of iron; he ſees theſe branches alſo interwoven with others. He alſo drinks ſome drops of a water which he received from Ormuſd,

Ormuſd, and is filled with divine intelligence during ſeven days and ſeven nights, and ſees a tree which bears ſeven fruits, each of a different metal. Of theſe viſions there are particular explanations, which ſeem to me to have been made in the fourth dynaſty of the Perſian kings, or perhaps later; nor does the work itſelf appear to be genuine.

The *Virafnama* is the hiſtory of the miſſion of Viraf. The law of Zoroaſter being obſcured by doubt and uncertainty under Ardeſcher Babekan, chief of the fourth dynaſty, Viraf, the only one out of 40,000 Mobeds, who was found ſufficiently pure to conſult the Supreme Being, was appointed to execute that important commiſſion. This new prophet, after having ſeven times emptied the cup of Guſtaſſp, which had been ſeven times filled with wine, went to ſleep, and while he ſlept he ſaw viſions, of which he gave an account when he awaked, with an exactneſs that is not the characteriſtic of inſpiration.

This book is divided into two parts; the firſt contains a deſcription of the different places which ſhall be inhabited by the bleſſed, and the pleaſures with which they ſhall be ſurrounded; the ſecond repreſents the horrors of hell, and the puniſhment of the damned.

Boundcheſch is the name of the Coſmogony of the Parſſes: the word ſignifies *to give the root*, or *exiſtence*. The original of this work was in Zend, and is attributed to Zoroaſter. As to the Pehlvic verſion, it has been altered by the tranſcribers, as appears by its wanting the two laſt dynaſties of the Perſian kings: and it is common for the Parſſes, whether tranſcribers or tranſlators, to inſert in Pehlvic tranſlations, modern names which are not in the Zend, in order to give a prophetic air to their legiſlator. The criticiſm of a Deſtour does not examine with the moſt ſevere penetration, what is favourable to his religion.

In the *Boundcheſch*, endleſs duration or eternity is made the firſt principle of Ormuſd, who inhabits the firſt light, and of Ahriman, who dwells in primæval darkneſs. The ſubſequent part of the work, gives an account of the mixed operations of theſe two beings as ſecondary principles; of the creation of the pure world by Ormuſd, and of the impure world by Ahriman. Ahriman immediately interrupted the order of the univerſe, raiſed an army againſt Ormuſd; and having maintained a fight againſt him during fourſcore and ten days, was at length vanquiſhed by Honover the divine word: then Ormuſd created the Ox that was killed by Ahriman, and from this Ox proceeded the firſt man, called *Gaiomard*, or *Kaiomorts*. Before the creation of the firſt Ox, Ormuſd produced a drop called *the water of health*. He alſo produced another drop called *the water of life*, before he formed the firſt man; he put this drop upon the body of Kaimorts, which was beautiful and white, and which, by virtue of this drop, appeared like the body of a youth of 15 years old.

After the death of Kaiomorts, there ſprung up from his ſeed, which was ſhed upon the ground, a tree,

tree, the fruit of which contained the natural parts of both ſexes united: from this fruit proceeded a couple, male and female; the man was called *Meſchia*, and the woman *Meſchine* *. Ahriman, who had got upon the earth in the form of a ſerpent, ſeduced this couple from their allegiance to Ormuſd, by perſuading them that he was himſelf the ſole author of all that exiſted: the man and woman both believing him, became criminal, and this ſin will perpetuate itſelf till the reſurrection. Then Meſchia and Meſchine covered themſelves with black veſtments, and at length eat of a fruit which the devil preſented them.

Some time after, there were born of Meſchia and Meſchine, two couple, male and female, from which proceeded ſeven other couple, alſo male and female: they became parents in about fifty years, and in about one hundred years died.

One of theſe ſeven couples was Siamack and his wife Veſchak, who had twins, a male named Frevak, and a female named Frevakei: from this couple proceeded fifteen others, which produced fifteen nations, and multiplied conſiderably. Nine of theſe colonies paſſed the Euphrates upon the back of the ox Stareſſcok, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in the ſix *Keſchwars*, (*i. e.*) *the ſix parts of the world:* the remaining ſix colonies continued in the *Kounnerets*.

Among the chiefs of theſe ſix colonies, are reckoned:

1ſt. Taze, and his wife Taza, from whom the deſart of the *Tazians*, now Arabia, derived its name.

2d. Oſching and Gondje his wife, from whom proceeded the *Iranians*, (*i. e.*) the Perſians.

3d. Mazendran ‡, whoſe deſcendents have inhabited Sſour, Avir, Tour, Tchineſſtan, Dai, and Statad: thus the poſterity of Frevak peopled the ſeven parts of the world.

The reſt of this Coſmogony is very much extended, and treats of many ſubjects. It contains many particulars concerning rivers, mountains, trees, and animals, which, as well as the trees, proceeded from the firſt ox: it treats alſo of the ſeveral ſpecies of fire. There is one fire which is always in the preſence of Ormuſd, and another which reſides in animated beings: by which it appears, that the Parſſes conſider fire as an emanation of the principle of life and action which reſides in the Supreme Being.

In the beginning of the *Boundcheſch*, mention is made of a rain of forty days. This work alſo contains an account of the events which ſhall precede and follow the reſurrection. At this great cataſtrophe, "the mother ſhall be ſeparated from the father, the ſiſter from the brother, and the friend from the friend; the juſt ſhall weep over the damned, and the damned ſhall weep over themſelves; for a righteous father may have a ſon worthy of hell: of two ſiſters, one ſhall be pure, and the other corrupt; and each ſhall receive according to their

* This account of the origin of mankind, ſeems to contradict the account given above, where the creation of man is repreſented as the laſt work of the creation, and as taking up ſeventy-five days.

‡ His wife is not mentioned.

works. When *Goultcher* (*the comet*) finding itself in its revolution below the moon, shall fall upon the earth, the earth shall be disordered, and tremble as the lamb trembles before the wolf; the heat shall then cause the mountains to flow like a river; all men shall pass through that burning lake, and be purified; the righteous shall feel but a gentle warmth; the wicked shall suffer by the heat, but shall at length be purified and happy."

The *Boundchesch* concludes with the genealogy of Zoroaster, and the succession of the kings of Iran.

VIII. Four *Neaeschs*, several Afergans, and some other prayers in Zend and Indian, mixed with Samskretam, 4to. 518 pages.

IX. *Neaeschs*, in Zend and Indian, with an interlineary version in modern Persic, 8vo. 424 pages.

X. *Minokbered*, Persian and Samskretam, 8vo. 434 pages. The *Minokbered*, a word that signifies the Divine Spirit, is a kind of dialogue, the persons of which are not certainly known. Some think that they are the Divine Being and Zoroaster: its purport is to shew the utility of the law, and the necessity of fulfilling it, notwithstanding the objections of unbelievers. It is thought to have been originally written in Pehlvic; but no copy of it in that language is now extant: besides this translation of it into Samskretam, there is a perfect version both in prose and verse; the prose translation is in the old *Ravaet*, of which I shall give an account in a subsequent article: the poetical version was made about an hundred years since by Ormusdor, Destour of Naucary, and is to be found in the *Ravaet* that was brought into England by Mr. Fraser.

There are two *Minokbereds*: the larger, which contains sixty-four questions; and the smaller, which contains only four. This volume ends with a *Patet*, Persian and Samskretam, in which there is a Samskretam version of the *Jetha Ahouverio*, and the *Eschemvohou*.

XI. *Darounsade*, 12mo. 238 pages. This work is part of the Persic Liturgy, and consists of several chapters of the *Jzechne*.

XII. The *Ravaet*, in Persic, a folio of 834 pages. This volume is a collection of several *Ravaets*, made at Bombay by seven Parsic Destours. The first contains several determinations relating to ceremonies; the names of one-and-twenty treaties of Zoroaster; the plans of the places where the Parsees perform their purifications, and of their burying-place: it contains also the *Kolasedin*, or Essentials of the Law; a treatise in verse and prose, of ceremonies, morals, the shape of the consecrated bread, and the nature of oaths. To these are added the *Sogand nama*, a treatise on oaths, in which the Parsees are forbidden to swear, even in favour of the truth. The second part contains the conclusion of the *Minokbered* in verse; a poem which speaks of *Guerschasp*, the first of the Pehlvans; of *Themourets*, the king of the dynasty of the Peschdadians; and of Djemchid, his successor; the Zend and Pehlvic characters; an explication of the *Jetha Ahouverio*, and the *Eschemvohou*, with verses upon the *Kosti*, which is the girdle of the Parsees; the repentance of Djemchid in hell; the *Patets*; extracts from the *Sadder* and *Nezengs*. *Sadder* signifies *hundred doors*, and this tract is an abridgment of Persic divinity, speculative, practical, and ceremonial:

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it is called *hundred doors*, becauſe the hundred chapters, of which it conſiſts, are ſo many doors into heaven: it is only part of the *Zendaveſta*, and is thought to have been originally in Pehlvic; ſome pieces of *Zerduſt Behram*, and, among others, ſome queſtions put to Zoroaſter by Djamaſſp, miniſter of king Guſtaſſp; the *Neaeſchs* of Fire, Water, and the Moon; and the *Ormuſd Jeſcht*, in Zend and Perſic; the *Afergans*, the *Sadder*; the *Nirazname-nazam*, or hiſtory of *Viraf*, in verſe. There are three copies of this in Dr. Hunt's collection: the *Sadder Bonadeheſch*; it is called *Sadder*, becauſe it contains one hundred chapters; and *Bomideheſch*, becauſe it treats of the origin of things: *Djamaſſp-nazam*; this is the reſult of a conference between king Guſtaſſp and Djamaſſp, his miniſter, concerning events prior and ſubſequent to the law: it is not the work of Djamaſſp, tho' it bears his name.

XIII. A collection of Perſian works, 4to. 446 pages. It contains the *Zerduſt-nama Nazem*, or hiſtory of Zoroaſter in verſe, his birth, his miſſion, his miracles, and predictions; Dr. Hunt had a copy of this; the *Virap-nama Nazem*; the *Tchengregratch-nama Nazem*, or hiſtory of Tchengregratch in verſe, the Bramin, to whom the *Viſſpered* is addreſſed: this Bramin having learnt in India, that Zoroaſter was propagating a new doctrine in Perſia, which was adopted by Guſtaſſp, Djamaſſp his miniſter, and his court, wrote to the king, the miniſter, and Zoroaſter, and this work contains the letters that paſſed between them: the *Neaeſch* of the Sun, in Zend and Perſic, with Perſic characters; the *Eulma eſſam*, a theological conference between a celebrated Deſtour and the Mahometan Mullahs: this contains all the ſecrets of the Perſic religion, and makes eternity the firſt principle of Ormuſd, of fire, water, and the devil; anſwers of the Deſtours of Kirman to the Deſtours Darab and Kaouſs, concerning the firſt day of the year; *Sadder Nazem*, (*i. e.*) the *Sadder* in verſe; the hiſtory of the flight of the Parſſes into India in verſe; and the *Djamaſſpi Nazem*.

XIV. *Virafnama*, in Indian.

XV. The old *Raveat*: this includes part of No. XII. and all the the Parſſic liturgy.

XVI. *Vadjerguerd*; this word ſignifies "that which is explained." It conſiſts of prayers that accompany certain ceremonies, particularly the cutting of twigs for the Barſſom.

XVII. A ſmall Pehlvic Perſic dictionary.

XVIII. *Chekand Goumani*; this word ſignifies "doubt broken and deſtroyed." The author aſſerts, that evil comes not from God; but that the ſource of the devil's malignity is in himſelf.

M. Perron has brought many books, beſides thoſe above enumerated, from India; and he hopes, that the knowledge of the ancient Perſic, being facilitated by ſo great a collection, will open a ſpacious field of new diſcoveries to the learned, and clear the way to a perfect acquaintance with the Vedes, and the antiquities of India. M. Perron, as a proof of his acquaintance with the ancient Perſic, has explained a paſſage in that language that occurs in Ariſtophanes, and has hitherto puzzled commentators.

Some

Some account of a controverſy, now ſubſiſting among the Learned, concerning a ſuppoſed-antique Buſt at Turin.

LAST year there appeared at Rome a ſmall piece entitled, *De inſcriptione quâdam Ægyptiacâ Taurini inventâ, & characteribus, Ægyptiis olim et Sinibus communibus, exaratâ, idolo cuidam antiquo in regiâ univerſitate ſervato, epiſtola.— Per Turbervillum Needham.* In this letter, Mr. Needham, an Engliſhman, informs the reader, that in the king's muſeum at Turin is a buſt of black marble, commonly ſuppoſed to be an antique of the goddeſs Iſis; the face and breaſt of which are covered with uncommon characters. It came into his head that each of theſe characters, like thoſe of the Chineſe, had a particular ſignification. He owns he took this idea from the memoir of M. de Guignes*. Upon this he had an exact copy taken both of the buſt and the inſcription; and had ſome thoughts of ſending it to China; but meeting with a native of Peking, who belonged to the Vatican library, he ſhewed it to him. The Chineſe at firſt knew nothing of it (*nihil prorſus ſpectu primo intellexit*) becauſe he was acquainted only with the modern Chineſe characters. But in a Chineſe dictionary, in twenty-ſix volumes, printed in the time of Kang-hi, he found the ancient Chineſe characters ſet down; and of the conformity of theſe characters with thoſe on the buſt, Mr. Needham ſays, that father Jacquier and Mr. Wilcocks were witneſſes as well as himſelf. At firſt they made out 12 of the characters, and ſome days after, all the reſt. The inſcription, as they interpret it, is as follows: *Frons tam lata eſt, oculi ſunt cærulei, alba eſt facies, unum (ſive primum) perſona magna hæc eſt figura ejus longitudine palmas magnas marmoreas cum dimidiâ habebat novem ejuſdem generis, coloris nigri, nimis (aut valde) pulchra prius erat præſenti tempore tanquam dea veneratur* SHISOU-CHI.

Mr. Needham thinks, that the authenticity of this Egyptian monument cannot be queſtioned, becauſe, 1. The marble is Egyptian; 2. The form of it and the characters are Egyptian; 3. It has been 30 years at Turin.

In the concluſion, Mr. Needham triumphs in his having overturned the high antiquity of the Chineſe, by proving that they received hieroglyphics from the Egyptians.

This letter of Mr. Needham's has been followed by two others, written on the ſame ſubject to the earl of Macclesfield, preſident of the Royal Society, by Edward Wortley Montague, Eſq; F. R. S.

In the firſt of theſe letters, dated Turin, April 17, 1762, this gentleman acquaints lord Macclesfield, that he went with ſeveral learned men to take off the inſcription of the buſt, called an antique of Iſis; that on comparing the buſt with Mr. Needham's plate, none of them could find the leaſt reſemblance; and that the characters, of which he himſelf took the impreſſion from the buſt, alſo differ very much from thoſe in Mr. Needham's plate. With regard to the marble, two eminent lapidaries, after a narrow examination, affirmed it was from a quarry in the neighbourhood of Turin. It is ſo bituminous, that when heated, it yielded a ſtrong ſmell of ſulphur.

* See Annual Regiſter, Vol. III. p. 150.

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ſo that it cannot fairly be reckoned marble.

Mr. Needham, who was at Turin when this letter was wrote, mentioned his ſuſpicion, that the characters on the buſt had been changed or altered, ſince they had been copied by his order. Mr. Montague, therefore, had them carefully examined, the day before he wrote this letter, by two of the beſt ſtatuaries at Turin, in preſence of ſeveral perſons of learning and diſtinction; and the artiſts declared poſitively, that they never had been altered or changed in the leaſt ſince they were firſt made; nor could any of the gentlemen preſent diſcover any ground for Mr. Needham's ſuſpicion.

Mr. Needham alſo threw out, that this ſtatue might not be the ſame which the perſon he employed copied, but another ſubſtituted in the room of it. But, Mr. Montague ſays, none of the gentlemen who were preſent at either of theſe examinations of it, and who muſt have known it for many years, hinted any thing like it.

To excuſe the diſſimilitude of the buſt to his drawing, Mr. Needham came and told Mr. Montague, that he ordered the perſon, who copied it for him, not to be anxious about the likeneſs of the buſt, it being ſufficient for him that it was the buſt of a woman. This is the ſubſtance of the firſt letter.

From Mr. Montague's ſecond letter, dated Rome, October 2, 1762, it appears that the abbé Bartoli, one of the profeſſors of the univerſity of Turin, and antiquarian to the king, who took a deſign, about eight or nine years ago, of the buſt and inſcription in queſtion, had publiſhed a letter, or letters, againſt Mr. Needham, to which the latter replied, and in his reply every where joined Mr. Montague with M. Bartoli, though he knew that Mr. Montague had never entered into M. Bartoli's arguments. Mr. Needham, in anſwer to what Mr. M. had objected of the bituminous nature of the ſtone, ſays, that all ſtones, if hard enough, when rubbed with iron, will yield an odour of ſulphur: this he had ſaid at the time of the experiment; upon which Mr. M. in Mr. Needham's preſence, rubbed the ſtone with a piece of wood, which had nearly the ſame effect: but this circumſtance Mr. Needham ſuppreſſes.

Mr. Needham further alledged, that the ſtone would be found to be as much Egyptian as the two lions at the Dioclesian baths, and the two ſphinxes, and ſeveral other undoubted Egyptian ſtatues of the villa Borgheſa. But cardinal Albani (who is particularly eminent for that kind of learning) being ſhewn a ſmall piece of the buſt; gave his opinion in writing, to the following effect;

"I proteſt that I cannot find in the plate of the buſt at Turin, either the conformation of the features proper to Egyptian heads, or the ſtyle of their ſculptors, both the one and the other being abſolutely different in the above-mentioned, from many undoubted monuments and ſtatues of that nation; and, according to a deſign ſent me of it, I cannot find out the buſt in queſtion to be Egyptian. I leave the characters as they are, which appear to me to be magical, and of that figure which one finds on ſome gems, and which are known by the name of Abraxas; but the ſtone of the buſt, of which the gentleman

(Mr. Montague) shewed me a small piece, is a sort of Bigio, which is soft, and of a nature different from the stone of which the lions of the Fontana Felice, and the sphinx of the villa Borghesa, are made, brought without foundation by Mr. Needham as monuments made of a stone similar to that of the bust; the stone of these Egyptian monuments is extremely hard, and it is with difficulty it yields to the best tempered tools."

With regard to the figure, abbé Winkleman, than whom no one has greater skill in antique statues, particularly Egyptian, gives his opinion as follows:

"There are two epochas in the Egyptian art, and two different styles. The first will come down probably to the conquest of the Greeks, and the statues made to that time do not differ in their style one from the other; and, according to what Plato says of them, those which were made in his time were in every thing like those, which were supposed to have been made thousands of years before. The second epocha of the Egyptian art, is the style, when the sculptors of that nation (freed from the rigorous laws of the ancient government, which obliged them in their statues to follow exactly the forms anciently established) began to adopt the manner of the Greeks under the Grecian government in Egypt. And that is plainly seen in many figures, as well in the features, as principally in the drapery; that is to say, the Grecian manner mixed with the ancient Egyptian.

There is a third sort of figures, generally called Egyptian, which are nothing but imitations of the ancient Egyptian manner. These were made by order of Adrian, and were all found in his city Tivoli; these are distinguished from the rest by the stone, which is a Bigio Morato. The bust of Turin cannot be placed in any one of these three classes of figures. For my part, I esteem it a modern imposture."

Mr. Needham further insinuates, that the variation between his plate and the characters on the bust, doth not effect their essence. In answer to this, Mr. Montague, acknowledging his ignorance, as well of the Chinese, as of the ancient Egyptian language, for his own part only remarks, that as both the Chinese and the ancient Egyptian are from the east, the *length* and *position* of lines may possibly be equally essential to constitute and determine the characters of both these languages, as to form the letters in the other Orientals; and in that case, the variation between Mr. Needham's plate and the characters on the bust, however small it may appear in some, would be of the utmost consequence, and essential to the determination of the character. But Mr. Montague doth not rest the point here: having shewn both Bartoli's letter and Needham's answer, to Monsignore Assemani, who is allowed far the greatest man we have in Oriental learning, that gentleman gave his opinion in these words:

"Having compared the characters engraved upon the known bust, which is in the Royal Museum at Turin, as well the copy printed by Mr. Needham, as that by M. Bartoli, antiquarian to his majesty the king of Sardinia, and not confining myself to give testimony touching the difference between the copy and the original which appears to the eye,

eye, I ſhall ſpeak only as to the force and value of the characters. I ſay, then, in the firſt place, that they do not correſpond in the leaſt with the hieroglyphicks or Egyptian writing which is engraved on obeliſks, ſphinxes, or Egyptian ſtatues. And, ſecondly, I do affirm, they cannot be ſaid to be the ſame with the Chineſe characters; and that not only becauſe one diſcovers plainly the difference between the ancient Egyptian and the Chineſe, as any one may comprehend by comparing the Egyptian inſcriptions of the obeliſks and ſtatues with the characters which the Chineſe have printed in lexicons and other volumes, a great quantity of which are preſerved in the Vatican library and that of the *Propaganda*; but becauſe the affirmative of the ancient and modern Chineſe characters is purely ideal, and becauſe that conformity is equally without foundation, and purely ideal, which is ſuppoſed between Mr. Needham's printed copy of the modern Chineſe characters taken from the Chineſe lexicon in the Vatican, and thoſe engraved upon the above-mentioned buſt at Turin. Beſides that, allowing, for a moment, though not granting, that the characters on the buſt are in ſome meaſure like thoſe in the Chineſe lexicon; one cannot, however, prove that they have the ſame value which the Chineſe put upon them in the lexicon. It remains then, that the above-mentioned characters of the buſt of Turin are modern aſtronomical ſigns, repreſenting generally either the ſeven planets, or the twelve ſigns of the Zodiac; the which ſigns, as alſo the aſtrological, magical, chemical, and medicinal, are deſigned from various MSS. by Monſ. Du Cange, in the end of his *Gloſſ. med. et infim. græcitatis*, and by Montfaucon, in his *Palæographia Græca*, p. 286, 289, 376, where he treats of the *Chryptographia Græca*, and of magical ſigns, the which are equally found, but differently formed, by the Africans, Egyptians, and modern Orientals, as well on medals and ſtones as in manuſcripts."

Thus far Mr. Montague's letters. We ſhall only add, that the antiquarians in France, unwilling to ſuppoſe that Mr. Needham intended to impoſe on the learned world, imagine that his Chineſe at Rome affixed a ſenſe of his own to the characters, and that his tranſlation is a mere invention. M. de Guignes carefully examined two Chineſe dictionaries, without finding any reſemblance in them to Mr. Needham's plate. Theſe dictionaries are in ſix volumes. The firſt is entitled *Choue-wen*; the ſecond *Tchouen tou loui*, both in the higheſt eſteem in China; and intended only to explain the ſound and ſignification of the ancient characters. The firſt, which was compiled in the firſt century of the chriſtian æra, is conſidered in China as a book of the higheſt authenticity. It was compoſed by a celebrated philoſopher called *Hiu-chi*, who lived about the time of the revival of learning in China, and applied himſelf to the decyphering of the ancient characters, which were at that time eagerly ſought for. The French antiquarians rightly obſerve, that Mr. Needham, in order to make out his point, ought to have proved firſt, that the characters on the buſt were undoubted Egyptian; and, next, to have ſhewn in his plate, that they were conformable to thoſe of the ancient Chineſe.

We muſt deſire our readers to ſuſpend their judgment in regard to this controverſy, till further evidence ſhall appear. We are informed, that ſeveral material papers have been publiſhed abroad on the ſubject, which have not yet come to our hands.

The riſe of Chivalry, and the origin of Juſts and Tournaments.—Extracted from Letters on Chivalry and Romance.

CHivalry, properly ſo called, and under the idea of a diſtinct military order, conferred in the way of inveſtiture, and accompanied with the ſolemnity of an oath and other ceremonies, as deſcribed in the old hiſtorians and romancers, ſeems to have ſprung immediately out of the *Feudal Conſtitution*.

The firſt and moſt ſenſible effect of this conſtitution, was the erection of a great number of petty tyrannies. For the power given by it to the barons over their numerous vaſſals was ſo great, that they all affected an independency; and were, in truth, a ſort of abſolute ſovereigns, at leaſt with regard to one another. Hence, their mutual aims and intereſts often interfering, the feudal ſtate was, in a good degree, a ſtate of war; and their caſtles were ſo many fortreſſes, as well as palaces.

In this ſtate of things all imaginable encouragement was to be given to the uſe of arms. And this condition of the times gave riſe to that military inſtitution, which we know by the name of *Chivalry*.

Further, military diſcipline was not to be relaxed even in the intervals of peace. Hence the origin of *Juſts* and *Tournaments*, thoſe images of war. Chivalry was the natural and even ſober effect of the feudal policy.

The characteriſtics and genius of Chivalry.

This conjecture of the riſe of chivalry, from the circumſtances of the feudal government, accounts for the ſeveral characteriſtics of this ſingular profeſſion.

1. The paſſion for arms; the ſpirit of enterprize; the honour of knighthood; the rewards of valour. Ambition, intereſt, glory, all concurred, under ſuch circumſtances, to produce theſe effects. When this turn was given to the thoughts and paſſions of men, uſe and faſhion would do the reſt; and carry them to all the exceſſes of military fanaticiſm.

One of the ſtrangeſt circumſtances in the old romances, and which looks moſt like a mere extravagance of the imagination, is that of the *woman-warriors*; yet in this repreſentation they did but copy from the manners of the times.

2. Their romantic ideas of juſtice; their paſſion for adventures; their eagerneſs to run to the ſuccour of the diſtreſſed; and the pride they took in redreſſing wrongs, and removing grievances. The feudal ſtate being a ſtate of almoſt perpetual violence, rapine, and plunder, it was unavoidable that numbers of the tenants or followers of one baron ſhould be carried away by the followers of another: and the intereſt each had to protect his own, would of courſe introduce the point of honour in attempting, by all means, not only to retaliate on the enemy, but to reſcue

rescue the captive sufferers out of the hands of their oppressors.

It would be meritorious, in the highest degree, to fly to their assistance, when they knew where they were to be come at: or to seek them out with diligence, when they did not. This last service they called, *Going in quest of adventures*. Which at first, no doubt, was confined to those of their own party, but afterwards, by the habit of acting on this principle, would be extended much farther. So that, in process of time, we find the knights-errant, as they were now properly stiled, wandering the world over in search of occasions on which to exercise their generous and disinterested valour.

3. The courtesy, affability, and gallantry, for which these adventurers were so famous, are but the natural effects and consequences of their situation.

For the castles of the barons were, as I said, the courts of these little sovereigns, as well as their fortresses; the resort of their vassals thither, in honour of their chiefs, and for their own proper security, would make that civility and politeness, which is seen in courts and insensibly prevail there, a predominant part in the character of these assemblies.

Further, the free commerce of the ladies, in those knots and circles of the Great, would operate so far on the sturdiest knights as to give birth to the attentions of gallantry.

4. It only remains to account for that character of religion, which was so deeply imprinted on the minds of all knights, and was essential to their institution.

Two reasons are assigned for this singularity.

First, the superstition of the times, which was so great, that no institution of a public nature could have found credit, that was not consecrated by churchmen, and closely interwoven with religion.

Secondly, the condition of the christian world; which had but just recovered a breathing time from the brutal ravages of the Saracen armies. The remembrance of what they had lately suffered from these enemies of the faith, made it natural and even necessary to engage a new military order on the side of religion.

And here, by the way, the reason appears why the Spaniards, of all the Europeans, were furthest gone in every characteristic madness of true chivalry. Their fanaticism in every way was especially instigated and kept alive by the memory and neighbourhood of their old infidel invaders.

Such was the state of things in the western world, when the crusades to the holy land were set on foot. Whence we see how well prepared the minds of men were for engaging in that enterprize.

The resemblance between the heroic and Gothic manners.

There is a remarkable correspondency between the manners of the old heroic times, as painted by their great romancer, Homer, and those which are represented to us in the books of modern knight-errantry. A fact, of which no good account can be given but by the assistance of another, not less certain, That the political state of Greece, in the earlier periods of its story, was simi-

lar in many reſpects to that of Europe, as broken by the feudal ſyſtem into an infinite number of petty independent governments.

Some obvious circumſtances of agreement between the heroic and Gothic manners, may be worth putting down.

1. The military enthuſiaſm of the barons is but of a piece with the fanaticiſm of the heroes. Hence the ſame particularity of deſcription in the account of battles, wounds, deaths, in the Greek poet, as in the Gothic romancers. Hence that minute curioſity in the diſplay of their dreſſes, arms, accoutrements. The minds of all men, being occupied with warlike images and ideas, were much gratified by theſe details, which appear cold and unaffecting to modern readers.

We hear much of knights-errant encountering giants, and quelling ſavages, in books of chivalry.

Theſe giants were oppreſſive feudal lords, and every lord was to be met with, like the giant, in his ſtrong hold, or caſtle. Their dependents of a lower form, who imitated the violence of their ſuperiors, and had not their caſtles, but their lurking places, were the ſavages of romance. The greater lord was called a giant, for his power; the leſs, a ſavage, for his brutality.

Another terror of the Gothic ages was, monſters, dragons, and ſerpents. Theſe ſtories were received in thoſe days for ſeveral reaſons: 1. From the vulgar belief of enchantments: 2. From their being reported on the faith of eaſtern tradition, by the adventurers into the holy land: 3. In ſtill later times, from the ſtrange things told and believed, on the diſcovery of the new world.

In all theſe reſpects, Greek antiquity reſembles the Gothic. For what are Homer's Læſtrigons, and Cyclops, but bands of lawleſs ſavages, with each of them a giant of enormous ſize at their head? And what are the Grecian Bacchus, Hercules, and Theſeus, but knights-errant, the exact counterparts of Sir Launcelot and Amadis de Gaule?

3. The oppreſſions, which it was the glory of the knights to avenge, were frequently carried on, as we are told, *by the charms and enchantments of women.*

Theſe *charms*, we may ſuppoſe, are often metaphorical; as expreſſing only the blandiſhments of the ſex. Sometimes they are taken to be real; the ignorance of thoſe ages acquieſcing in ſuch conceits.

And are not theſe ſtories matched by thoſe of Calypſo and Circe, the enchantreſſes of the Greek poet?

4. Robbery and piracy were honourable in both; ſo far were they from reflecting any diſcredit on the ancient or modern *redreſſers of wrongs.*

What account can be given of this, but that, in the feudal times, and in the early days of Greece, when government was weak and unable to redreſs the frequent injuries of petty ſovereigns, it would be glorious for private adventurers to undertake this work; and if they could accompliſh it in no other way, to pay them in kind by downright plunder and rapine?

Baſtardy was in credit with both. They were extremely watchful over the chaſtity of their own women; but ſuch as they could ſeize upon in the enemy's quarter, were lawful prize. Or, if at any time they tranſgreſſed in this ſort at home, the fault was covered by an ingenious

nious fiction. The offspring was reputed divine. Their greateſt heroes were the fruit of goddeſſes approached by mortals; juſt as we hear of the doughtieſt knights being born of fairies.

6. With the greateſt fierceneſs and ſavageneſs of character, the utmoſt generoſity, hoſpitality, and courteſy, was imputed to the heroic ages. Achilles was at once the moſt relentleſs, vindictive, implacable, and the friendlieſt of men.

We have the very ſame repreſentation in the Gothic romances. As in thoſe lawleſs times, dangers and diſtreſſes of all ſorts abounded, there would be the ſame demand for compaſſion, gentleneſs, and generous attachments to the unfortunate, thoſe eſpecially of their own clan, as of reſentment, rage, and animoſity, againſt their enemies?

7. Again: The martial games, celebrated in ancient Greece, on great and ſolemn occaſions, had the ſame origin, and the ſame purpoſe, as the tournaments of the Gothic warriors.

8. Laſtly, the paſſions for adventures, ſo natural in their ſituation, would be as naturally attended with the love of praiſe and glory.

Hence the ſame encouragement, in the old Greek and Gothic times, to panegyriſts and poets.

I am aware, that in the affair of religion and gallantry, the reſemblance between the hero and the knight is not ſo ſtriking.

But the religious character of the knight was an accident of the times, and no proper effect of his civil condition.

And that his devotion for the ſex ſhould ſo far ſurpaſs that of the hero, is a freſh confirmation of my ſyſtem.

For the conſideration had of the females in the feudal conſtitution will, of itſelf, account for this difference. It made them capable of ſucceeding to fiefs as well as the men. And does not one ſee, on the inſtant, what reſpect and dependence this privilege would draw upon them?

It was of mighty conſequence who ſhould obtain the grace of a rich heireſs. And though, in the ſtrict feudal times, ſhe was ſuppoſed to be in the power and diſpoſal of her ſuperior lord, yet this rigid ſtate of things did not laſt long. Hence we find ſome diſtreſſed damſel was the ſpring and mover of every knight's adventure. She was to be reſcued by his arms, or won by the fame and admiration of his proweſs. The plain meaning of all which was this: that, as in thoſe turbulent feudal times a protector was neceſſary to the weakneſs of the ſex, ſo the courteous and valorous knight was to approve himſelf fully qualified for that office.

It may be obſerved, that the two poems of Homer were intended to expoſe the miſchiefs and inconveniences ariſing from the political ſtate of old Greece: the *Iliad*, the diſſenſions that naturally ſpring up among independent chiefs; and the *Odyſſey*, the inſolence of their greater ſubjects, more eſpecially when unreſtrained by the preſence of their ſovereign.

And can any thing more exactly reſemble the condition of the feudal times, when, on occaſion of any great enterprize, as that of the cruſades, the deſigns of the confederate chriſtian ſtates were perpetually fruſtrated, or interrupted at leaſt, by the diſſenſions of their leaders; and their affairs at home

as perpetually distressed and disordered by the rebellious usurpations of their greater vassals?

Jerusalem was to the European, what Troy had been to the Grecian princes.

Description of an ancient Grecian Bas-relief, representing the Grotto of Eleusis. By J. Bartoli, Antiquary to his Sardinian Majesty.

THIS bas-relief represents a grotto, over the entrance of which is an old man with a long beard between two rams, that have each a lion by them. Underneath the lion, on the right hand, is the face of another old man, with a longer beard than the former. In the inner part of the grotto, upon a little elevation, is the figure of a woman, cloathed in a long robe that reaches to her feet, and over that is a shorter vest girded with a belt. She holds in each hand a sort of staff, the length of which is equal to the height of the figure. The ground of the grotto, on the left hand, presents the figure of another woman, habited in the same manner; but with a bushel on her head, from which a veil seems to flow, that, spreading over her back, reaches down to the middle of her leg. On her right hand a dog sits at her feet; and on the same side is a young man, whose head, legs, and feet are bare. He carries a little vase or cruet in his right hand, and with his left holds up the skirts of his garment, which is short. He seems to be just entering the grotto, followed by a dog.

Many learned men have supposed this antique to represent the cave of Trephonius; but M. Bartoli, who has long made the works of Virgil his particular study, thinks, with Atterbury, and many others, that in his *Æneid* the poet has copied living originals, which he has shadowed under fictitious names; and indeed Servius, in the 752d verse of the sixth book, says, "We find in antiquity, that this poem was not called the *Æneid*, but the *Actions of the Roman people*." Nothing then can be more useful or more interesting, than to trace in this poem those passages that are applicable to *Rome* and *Augustus*. According to the opinion of Warburton, the poet, in the 6th book of his *Æneid*, had no other design than to give a description of the initiation of his hero into the Eleusinian mysteries; and that, in the person of Æneas, he proposed to give the pattern of a perfect law-giver. M. Bartoli is still more particular, and endeavours to prove, that the initiation of Augustus himself into those great mysteries, was the action celebrated in that book. Dion Cassius, *lib.* 51, declares, that this prince, after the battle of Actium, passing through Athens in his return to Rome, was initiated in the mysteries of the two goddesses, Ceres and Proserpine. On this head, the testimony of Suetonius (in the Life of Augustus, *chap.* 9,) is plain and express.

In the description of the Eleusinian mysteries, under the emblem of a descent to hell, M. Bartoli observes, that the poet speaks of three different caves: that of the Sibyl in the hollow of a rock, that which led to hell, and that which served for the habitation of Cerberus.—This, according to M. Bartoli, is a proof that the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine were celebrated in a cave; or, at least, agreeable to the

remark

remark of Servius, in a place that had the reſemblance of one: and, indeed, nothing is more frequent in authors, than the mention of caves or grottoes of Ceres; and nothing was more common in ancient temples than ſubterraneous places. But, it may be aſked, what is the meaning of the three caves, of which Virgil ſpeaks? Doubtleſs they are deſigned to illuſtrate the three different parts of the initiation. The firſt only regards the little myſteries, the greater were reſerved for the ſecond and third. The firſt cave was deſtined to ablutions and preparatory ceremonies. In the ſecond, thoſe who were initiated acquired the title of *Myſtes*. In the third, that of *Epoptes*. For a long time there was an interval required between the different parts, and many years were neceſſary to complete the initiation. But afterwards it was found neceſſary to abate the ſeverity of theſe rules: many princes were admitted immediately from the little to the great myſteries, and doubtleſs Auguſtus was one of that number. If Æneas is accompanied when he goes to the firſt cavern, if he parts from his companions at the ſecond, in order to paſs into the third, this is to ſhew that the firſt part of the initiation was leſs ſacred than the two others; in regard to which, ſecrecy was enjoined on pain of death.

It is well known that Ceres, Proſerpine, and Triptolemus, had a great ſhare in the Eleuſinian myſteries: conſequently a ſculptor, who deſigned to repreſent theſe in marble, could not have imagined any thing better than a cave, with theſe three perſonages. The figure in the further part of the cavern is Proſerpine, repreſented at the point of time when ſhe is leaving hell, and returning to her mother, to be ſix months with her: this point of time is indicated by Virgil in the words, *adventante Dea*, and by Claudian in theſe, *Ecce procul Hecate exoritur.* Proſerpine comes from hell, from a place of darkneſs, *ſtygiis emiſſa tenebris.* She has occaſion for light, and Bartoli aſſures us, that what ſhe bears in her hands are two torches. Perhaps, the ſculptor deſigned likewiſe to allude to the torches which Ceres made uſe of to ſeek her daughter with; a circumſtance always preſerved in the Eleuſinian rites, the fifth day of the feſtival being conſecrated to the torches. Here Bartoli proves, that the ancients gave torches to Ceres and Proſerpine.

The ſecond figure that appears in the grotto is Ceres. The poets relate, that this goddeſs, having found her daughter in hell, was determined to remain with her.

There had ſhe ſtay'd; but pitying Jove prepares
A mild degree to mitigate her cares.
Six moons muſt Proſerpine in hell remain,
Six moons in heav'n relieve a mother's pain.
Then Ceres chears her looks, diſpels her woes,
Again with golden ears ſhe wreaths her brows,
Again glad harveſt gilds the country o'er,
And ſcarce the barns receive the welcome ſtore.

Ovid. Faſt. b. 4.

Theſe gifts of Ceres are repreſented by the buſhel on the head of the figure: her attitude, her habit, all the enſigns that the ſculptor has given her, according to M. Bartoli, ſtrongly

ſtrongly characteriſe this goddeſs; and he laments, that, her hands being broken, we are deprived of further proofs.

In his opinion, the young man on the right hand of Ceres is Triptolemus, whom that goddeſs inſtructed in agriculture; and the little vaſe he holds in his hand is the ſymbol of the Eleuſinian myſteries, which he had received from Ceres, and of which he was the inſtitutor.

Athenæus (*lib.* 2.) deſcribes this vaſe to be of baked earth, and in the form of a top with which children play: he ſays, that it was uſed the laſt day of the myſteries, to which it gave its name.

M. Bartoli believes the face of the old man, with a long beard, on the right hand of the grotto, to be only a maſque. It is certain, that maſques were made uſe of in the celebration of theſe myſteries, and perhaps Virgil alludes to this, in thoſe words that relate to the Sibyl:

She warn'd him that thoſe fleeting figures were
Forms without bodies——

It is needleſs to ſay, that maſques were appropriated to Bacchus, and that one day of theſe myſteries was ſet apart to that god. The ſculptor would indicate by this figure, that, under the veil of theſe rites, the perſons initiated were inſtructed in phyſics, theology, politics, and particularly morality. They were taught the falſhood of polytheiſm, the unity of a God, the doctrine of rewards and puniſhments after this life, the origin of civil ſociety, and of the laws: and St. Auguſtine (*lib.* 8. *de civit. Dei*) reproached the pagans, that, while they taught the truth only to a few, and to thoſe in ſecret, they gave public leſſons of impiety. It remains now to know, what perſonage the ſculptor deſigned to repreſent by the maſque, whether Silenus, Celeus the father of Triptolemus, or Æſculapius. M. Bartoli conjectures it to be Muſæus, who was particularly zealous in theſe myſteries; and, indeed, he is the firſt perſon to whom the Sibyl in Virgil addreſſes her diſcourſe.

In the laſt place, the old man, ſeated above the grotto, appears to M. Bartoli to be Orpheus, the maſter of Muſæus. We may eaſily imagine, that this perſon, who was ſaid to be the firſt that inſtructed mankind in religious ceremonies, muſt have a great part in the Eleuſinian myſteries. He is ſeated, the attitude in which he is commonly repreſented; but he appears intirely inactive, and without his lyre, among ſeveral animals; and this, according to M. Bartoli, ſhews the underſtanding of the artiſt. The two rams by him ſeem, with earneſt looks, to implore his aſſiſtance, as if they were apprehenſive that the lions would reſume their natural ferocity, unleſs he continued to ſoften them by the harmony of his muſic. Claudian gives us the ſame idea in the preface to his ſecond book:

When Orpheus ſtrikes no more the ſounding wire,
But ſtops the ſong, and lays aſide the lyre, [appears;
Each ſavage beaſt with wonted rage
The lion's jaws the tim'rous heifer fears;
She views his riſing wrath with looks diſmay'd,
And begs, with plaintive cries, the lyriſt's aid.

The ſculptor, by this emblem, ſhews the neceſſity of a frequent re-

collection

collection of the wiſe inſtructions received in the feaſts of Eleuſis; and teaches us, that the beſt regulated ſociety ſhould always guard againſt idleneſs and vices capable of introducing corruption, and eſpecially againſt the doctrine of thoſe falſe ſophiſts, who, by overturning eſtabliſhed maxims, would only revive barbarity. M. Bartoli concludes his diſſertation with ſome obſervations upon the two dogs, of which we have ſpoken.

A Diſſertation on the Antiquity of Glaſs in Windows. In a Letter to the Rev. Tho. Birch, D. D. Secret. R. S By the Rev. John Nixon, M. A. F. R. S. From the Philoſophical Tranſactions *for the Year* 1758, Vol. L. Part II. *Read before the Royal Society, March* 2, 1758.

I Had the honour laſt winter to lay before the Royal Society a few obſervations upon ſome of the curioſities found at Herculaneum, &c. [a]. Among other articles, I juſt mentioned a piece of a plate of white glaſs; and now beg leave to inquire into the uſes, to which ſuch plates might be applied in the early age, to which this fragment undoubtedly belongs.

And here a perſon, who forms his ideas of ancient cuſtoms by what he ſees practiſed in later times, may be ready to offer ſeveral conjectures; in ſome of which he will, probably, be miſtaken; as in others he may be juſtified by the genuine evidences of antiquity.

And, firſt, it is obvious to imagine, that ſuch plates might ſerve for *ſpecula*, or looking-glaſſes. And, indeed, that *ſpecula* were anciently made, not only of metals, and ſome ſtones, as the [b] phengites, &c. but alſo of glaſs, may, I think, be collected from Pliny, who, having mentioned the city of Sidon as formerly famous for glaſs-houſes, adds immediately afterwards, *Siquidem etiam ſpecula excogitaverat* [c]. But then it is to be obſerved, that before the application of quickſilver in the conſtructing of theſe glaſſes (which, I preſume, is of no great antiquity), the reflection of images by ſuch *ſpecula* muſt have been effected by their being beſmeared behind, or tinged thro' with ſome dark colour, eſpecially black, which would obſtruct the refraction of the rays of light [d]. Upon theſe hypotheſes (ſuppoſing the tincture to be given after fuſion) the *lamina* before us may be allowed to be capable of anſwering the purpoſe here aſſigned.

It may further be ſuggeſted, that plates of this kind might be in-

[a] In a paper read Feb. 24, 1757. See Art. xiii. p. 88.

[b] Porticuum, in quibus ſpatiari conſueverat (Domitianus) parietes phengite lapide diſtinxit, e cujus ſplendore per imagines quicquid a tergo fieret, provideret. *Sueton. Domit.* c. 14.

[c] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxvi. c. 26. §. 66.

[d] Pliny mentions a kind of glaſs or jet called *obſidianum*:—*nigerrimi coloris, aliquando et tranſlucidi, craſſiore viſu, atque in ſpeculis parietum pro imagine umbras reddente.* Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxvi. c. 26. §. 67.

And that the practice of ſtaining glaſs was known in his time, appears from what he ſays concerning the *obſidianum* mentioned above:——*Fit et genere tincturæ---totum rubens vitrum, atque non tranſlucidum.* Ibid.

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tended to be wrought into lens's, or convex glaſſes, either for burning, or magnifying objects placed in their focus. But this deſignation cannot be ſupported by proper vouchers from antiquity. On the contrary, we are informed, that the ancients uſed either *ſpecula* [e] of metal, or balls [f] of glaſs for the former of theſe purpoſes; as it is well known, that glaſs was not applied to the latter, in optical uſes, till the beginning of the XIIIth century [g].

However, we may with greater probability propoſe another uſe, for which the ancients might employ ſuch plates of glaſs, as are now under conſideration, *viz.* the adorning the walls of their apartments by way of wainſcot. This I take to be the meaning of the *vitreæ cameræ* mentioned by Pliny [h]; who intimates, that this faſhion took its riſe from glaſs being uſed by M. Scaurus [i] for embelliſhing the ſcene of that magnificent theatre, which he erected for exhibiting ſhows to the Roman people in his ædileſhip [k]. And we may collect from the ſame author [l] (what is further confirmed by his contemporary [m] Seneca) that this kind of ornament had been admitted, in his time, into chambers in houſes, baths, &c. Whether the plates uſed for this purpoſe were ſtained with various colours (as mentioned above), or had tints of divers kinds applied to the back part of them, I ſhall not pretend to determine: but in either way they would have a very agreeable effect.

The laſt deſtination, which the obvious congruity of the thing itſelf, countenanced by the practice of many ages paſt, as well as of the preſent time, would induce one to aſcribe to ſuch plates of glaſs, is that of windows for houſes, baths, portico's, &c. But I am ſenſible, that whoever ſhould be hardy enough to advance ſuch an hypotheſis, would be cenſured as an innovator, in oppoſing the general opinion of the connoiſſeurs in antiquity. Theſe gentlemen are almoſt unanimous in aſſerting, that whenever we meet with mention made of *ſpecularia* in ancient writers (eſpe-

[e] Panciroll. Rer. Mem. p. 288.

[f] Theſe glaſs balls had ſometimes water within them: *Cum additâ aquâ vitreæ pilæ ſole adverſo in tantum excandeſcant, ut veſtes exurant.* Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 22. §. 45.

Invenio medicos, quæ ſunt urenda corporem, non alitèr utilis id ſieri putare, quam cryſtallinâ pilâ adverſis poſitâ ſolis radiis. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxvii. c. 6. §. 10.

[g] Vid. Mon. Renaudot Memoires de l'Acad. des Inſcript. tom. I.

[h] Vid. infra, not. [l].

[i] *Theatrum Scauri———ſcena ei triplex in altitudinem* CCCLX *columnarum.—Ima pars ſcenæ e marmore fuit:* media e vitro: *ſumma e tabulis inauratis.* Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxvi. c. 15.

[k] A. V. 678. Hard. not. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 8.

[l] *Agrippa in thermis, quas Romæ fecit, ſigſinum opus incauſto pinxit, in reliquis albaria adornavit: non dubiè* vitreas facturus cameras, ſi prius inventum id fuiſſet, *aut a parietibus ſcenæ———Scauri perveniſſet in cameras.* Lib. xxxvi. c. 25. §. 64.

[m] Seneca, expoſing the luxury of the Romans with regard to their baths, ſays, *Pauper ſibi videtur ac ſordidus, niſi parietes magnis ac pretioſis orbibus reſulſerint—niſi* vitro abſconditur camera.—Ep. 86.

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cially thoſe of, or near to, the age, to which we muſt refer this fragment), we are to underſtand by that term nothing but fences made of *laminæ*, either of a certain ſtone called from its tranſparent quality *lapis ſpecularis* [n], brought firſt from Hiſpania Citerior, and afterwards found in Cyprus, Cappadocia, Sicily, and Africa; or of another ſtone of the ſame name, *viz.* the phengites. Theſe, tho' expreſly diſtinguiſhed from each other by Pliny [o], are yet reckoned by ſome moderns [p] as one and the ſame thing; and thought to have been nothing but a kind of white tranſparent talc, of which (according to Monſ. [q] Valois) there is found a great quantity in Moſcovy at this day.

Now that this *lapis ſpecularis*, or phengites, was really uſed for windows by the ancient Romans in their houſes, *&c.* cannot be denied; ſince (according to the opinion of the learned [r] in antiquity) this uſage is mentioned by Seneca [s] among other improvements in luxury introduced in his time. But whether it was ſo uſed excluſive of other materials (particularly glaſs), may, I think, admit a doubt. Salmaſius is of opinion [t], that nothing can be determined upon this point from the word *ſpecular* itſelf, which ſeems to be a generical term, equally applicable to windows of all kinds, whether conſiſting of the *lapis ſpecularis*, or any other tranſparent ſubſtance.

And as (according to this learned writer) there is nothing in the term *ſpecular* itſelf, which hinders it from being extended to windows made of other materials beſides thoſe abovementioned; ſo others imagine, that there are ſome intimations in ancient authors, which require, that it ſhould actually be ſo extended. Thus Mr. Caſtells, the ingenious illuſtrator of the villa's of the ancients, thinks [v], that "if this had not been the caſe, Palladius would not have given directions to his huſbandman to make *ſpecularia* in the *olearium* [w], or ſtore-room where the olives were preſerved. For it appears (ſays this author) from Pliny's deſcribing a temple [x] built of the *lapis ſpecularis*, or phengites, as the greateſt rarity in his time, and the mention Plutarch makes of a room in Domitian's palace lined

[n] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxvi. c. 22. §. 45.

[o] Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxvi. c. 22. §. 45.

[p] Vid. Salmaſius, in a paſſage to be produced hereafter.

[q] Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcrip. tom. I.

[r] Montfauc. Antiq. vol. III. part i. lib. iii. c. 4. Lipſius in loc. *&c.*

[s] *Quædam noſtrâ demum prodiiſſe memoriâ ſcimus; ut ſpecularium uſum, perlucente teſtâ, clarum tranſmittentium lumen.* Sen. ep. 90.

[t] *Quod feneſtris obducebatur ad tranſlucendum, ac lucem admittendam* ſpecular *veteres Latini vocârunt. Idque ex ſpeculari lapide, qui eſt φεγγιτης, aut* ex vitro *fiebat, aut aliâ tranſlucidâ materiâ. Nam* ſpecular dictum, non quod ex ſpeculari lapide *factum eſſet, ſed quod viſum tranſmitteret, ac per id* ſpeculari *liceret.* Salm. Exerc. Plin. in Solin. tom. II. p. 771.

[v] Villa's of the Anc. illuſtrated, p. iv.

[w] One of Pliny's cautions for preſerving apples is—*Auſtros ſpecularibus arcere.* Nat. Hiſt. lib. xv. c. 16.

Martial further informs us, that the Romans uſed to ſcreen their orchards of choice fruit-trees with *ſpecularia*. Lib. viii. epig. 14.

[x] I ſuppoſe he means that of Fortuna Seia. Lib. xxxvi. c. 22.

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with it, that it was not common enough for husbandmen to purchase;" *viz.* in such quantities, as were required for the purposes mentioned above.

I shall not take upon me to decide upon the weight of this argument of Mr. Castells; but only observe, that if any one should be induced by it to think, that the use of glass for windows may be of much greater antiquity than is commonly allowed, or even as old as the fragment, which occasions these remarks, he may find other probable reasons to corroborate his opinion. As, first, that there seems to have been a natural and obvious transition from the practice of using glass plates for the ornamenting the walls of apartments, to that of introducing light into those apartments, (as we find the *lapis specularis* was in fact employed at the same time for both those purposes) and consequently it seems reasonable to suppose, that the latter of these applications could not be long in point of time after the former. But it appears from the authorities produced above, that the former of these usages did actually subsist in the age [y] of Pliny; and therefore before the destruction of Herculaneum, where he lost his life [z]. From whence we may draw no improbable conclusion, that the latter destination of plates of glass, (*viz.* for window-fences) did likewise precede the same event.

Give me leave to add further, that this presumptive argument in favour of the antiquity of windows made of plates of glass, receives an additional force from the close relation, which must be allowed to subsist between them, and those composed of the *lapis specularis*. The former must be looked upon as an improvement upon the other, as they answered all the purposes of convenience, and at the same time were more beautiful; and being the manufacture [a] of Italy, might probably be purchased at a less expence. Upon all which accounts it seems reasonable to conclude, that one of these inventions would naturally be introductory to the other: and consequently, that as window-lights of the *lapis specularis* began to be used within the memory of Seneca, who died [b] under Nero, about *anno Christi* 68. (*Helvic.*), the original of those of glass may have fair pretensions to a place within the period assigned in the foregoing paragraph, *viz.* some years before the destruc-

[y] Salmasius, speaking of the custom of adorning chambers with glass, says—*Quod proximè ætatem suam incepisse fieri narrat Plinius. Quum M. Scaurus*—Ex. Plin. tom. II. p. 854.

I do not find this expressly asserted by Pliny: but it might have been so in fact. This fashion indeed was not begun till after Agrippa had built his *thermæ*: but if we suppose that to have been even as late as his third consulship, *viz. ante Christ.* 27. (*Helvicus*), when he erected the Pantheon (or at least its portico), near adjoining to those *thermæ*, there would have been sufficient room, from that period to the birth of Pliny (*viz. anno Christi* 24), for the introduction of this usage.

[z] Plin. Ep. V. l. 111.

[a] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 26. §. 66.

[b] Vid. supra.

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tion [c] of Herculaneum, in whose ruins the plate before us was buried.

To conclude: I need not observe to you, that all the evidence here produced to prove the usage of glass-windows to have been coæval with the fragment we are now considering, is of the conjectural kind only: for, I must confess, I have not been able to trace it up by any positive authority higher than about 200 years short of the epocha last mentioned, *viz.* to the latter end of the third century [d], when it is expressly mentioned by Lactantius in these words:—*Manifestius est, nemzem esse, quæ per oculos ea, quæ sunt oppositа, transpiciat, quasi per fenestras lucente vitro aut speculari lapide obductas.*—De opificio Dei, cap. v.

To the foregoing observations, Mr. Nixon has since added the following, extracted from the same useful and entertaining collection. Vol. LII. part I. for the year 1761.

IN a paper, which I had the honour to present to this learned Society about [a] two years ago, I offered my thoughts upon some plates of white glass found in the ruins of Herculaneum. I now beg leave to add some more observations, with a view partly to explain and support what I then delivered, and partly to communicate such new informations, as I have since received, relating to the same subject.

I observed [b], upon the authorities produced by Monsr. Renaudot [c], that glass plates were not applied for magnifying objects in optical experiments, till the beginning of the thirteenth century: but, upon reviewing his dissertation, I find he sinks the antiquity of that usage a century lower that this. That learned writer adds further, "That with regard to the question, whether the ancients made their astronomical observations without telescopes, the affirmative is looked upon as certain; because if this invention had ever been known before, there is all imaginable reason to believe, that the utility, which would result from it, not only in astronomy, but for several other purposes, would have prevented its being afterwards lost." Monsr. Renaudot declines entering into this controversy; but observes, that Mabillon mentions a manuscript he saw in an abbey in the diocese of Freisingen, wherein Ptolomy was represented observ-

[c] Anno Christi 80[illegible]

[d] In order to justify my placing the testimony of this father so high, I would observe, that St. Jerome (*De Scriptor. Eccles.*) says, that Lactantius—*Extremâ senectute magister Cæsaris Crispi filii Constantini in Galliâ fuit.* He must probably have exercised this charge between *anno Christi* 309, when Constantine began to reign, and 320. If he was then of a great age, he might have composed the treatise, out of which this authority is produced, and which was one of the earliest of his works, that are extant (*Vid. Sparkii præf. ad Lactant.*), 40 years before, *viz.* about *anno Christi* 280; which brings us up to 200 years after the overthrow of Herculaneum, as above.

[a] See the foregoing paper.

[b] Ibid.

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ing the ſtars with a [d] tube, like our modern perſpective-glaſſes. This manuſcript is ſaid to have been written in the beginning of the thirteenth century; which date (ſays Monſ. Renaudot) is the more remarkable, becauſe plain ſpectacles, which ſhould ſeem likely, in the nature of things, to have been invented firſt, do not appear to have been known till a hundred years after. Then, having produced the evidences, which prove, that this latter diſcovery was made about the time above-mentioned, he concludes with ſaying, "that we have nothing of this nature with regard to teleſcopes."

The reaſon of my enlarging upon this article is a paſſage I have lately met in that learned antiquary, Mr. Rowland, which may ſeem to contradict the obſervation produced above. This [e] author alledges the authority of Hecatæus *(apud Diod. Sic. tom. i. p.* 159. *Ed. Weſſel.)* for ſaying, that the Hyperborei, who inhabited an iſland in the northern ocean, oppoſite to the Celtæ, "could (as if they had the uſe of teleſcopes) ſhow the moon very near them, and diſcover therein mountains, and heaps of rocks, which that inſtrument only can diſcover." That we may diſtinguiſh how far Hecatæus is concerned in this paſſage, it will be proper to give a literal tranſlation of it from the original; viz. "They ſay further, that the moon, viewed from this iſland, appears to be but at a very little diſtance from the earth, and to have certain protuberances, like land, viſible on her ſurface." [f] Now it may be obſerved, in the firſt place, that his phænomenon, if real, may perhaps be explained by the refraction of the moon's rays in paſſing through the atmoſphere of the earth, which, in an iſland ſituated very far north, might be continually charged with an extraordinary quantity of vapours. Or further, as Hecatæus mentions it upon hearſay only, and ſubjoins ſome other circumſtances in the ſame chapter relating to this iſland, which are entirely of a fabulous caſt, we may juſtly queſtion the [g] truth of the fact; and conſequently, ſhall not be obliged to maintain the neceſſary exiſtence of teleſcopes in thoſe times, in order to account for it.

As it appears [h], that neither the lapis ſpecularis, nor glaſs, was uſed for windows before Seneca's time; and it cannot be ſuppoſed, that the Romans, a people of ſo refined a taſte in other inſtances, would ſuffer their apartments to be expoſed to the free entrance of winds, &c.

[d] Mabillon does not mention, that the tube had glaſſes; neither indeed was that circumſtance eaſily diſcoverable. Perhaps ſuch tubes were then uſed only to preſerve and direct the ſight, or to render it more diſtinct, by ſingling out the particular object looked at, and ſhutting out all the rays reflected from others, whoſe proximity might have rendered the image leſs preciſe.

[e] Mona Antiqua. p. 76.

[f] Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Σελήνην ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Νήσου φαίνεσθαι παντελῶς ὀλίγον ἀνέχουσαν τῆς γῆς, καὶ τινας Ἐξοφὰς γεώδεις ἔχουσαν φανερὰς.

[g] Vide Weſſelium, not. in loc.

[h] See the foregoing paper.

it may be reaſonably aſked, What ſupplied the place of thoſe materials before? To ſatisfy this enquiry, it is to be obſerved, that ſeveral other materials are mentioned by ancient writers, as ſerving the purpoſe before us; ſuch as thin hides, or [i] ſkins, like our parchment, mentioned by Philopenus. Pliny likewiſe informs us, that the horns of the urus being cut into thin laminæ were [k] tranſparent, and ſupplied, in ſome meaſure, the uſe of our lanthorns; and we may probably conclude, from the analogy of things, that they ſerved for window-lights alſo; eſpecially, as we meet with windows made of horn *(corneum ſpecular)* in Tertullian, who wrote within leſs than two hundred years after Pliny.

To theſe, we may add the vela, made of [l] hair-cloth, or pieces of hides [m], which Pitiſcus (upon the authority of Ulpian) ſays, were in uſe before the invention of windows of the lapis ſpecularis, or [n] glaſs. Ulpian indeed, in the paſſage Pitiſcus refers to, only mentions them as ſubſiſting together with the [o] latter: but it ſeems obvious to conclude, that the vela, being an invention leſs perfect and commodious, were prior in time to the ſpecularia, which are to be regarded as a ſubſequent improvement of the former. Notwithſtanding this, the vela ſtill continued in uſe, even after the introduction of window-fences of ſtone or glaſs, and ſerved as canopies, or [p] umbrellas, to keep the ſun from places expoſed to the open air; as the others ſecured the inner parts of the houſe from cold, &c.

I took notice [q] of the natural connection there ſeemed to ſubſiſt between the uſing of plates of glaſs for adorning the inſide of apartments in ancient times, and the employing them for introducing light into thoſe apartments. This obſervation has been ſupported by a letter I received from my learned correſpondent, abbate Venuti, at Rome, dated December 30, 1759, wherein he informs me, that he had lately read, in ſome anecdotes of Cardinal Maximi, "That as they were digging among the ruins on mount Cælius, in the laſt century, they found a room belonging to an antique dwelling houſe, that had all its ſides within ornamented with plates of glaſs, ſome of them tinged with various colours, others of their own natural hue, which was duſky, occaſioned by the thickneſs of the maſs, of which they conſiſted [r]. There were likewiſe in the ſame apartment, window-frames com-

[i] Apud Salm. Exerc. Plin. T. ii. p. 1095. Ed. Par.

[k] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. L. xi. c. 37. In laminas facta tranſlucent atque etiam lumen incluſum latius fundunt. Apud Salmaſ. Plin. Ex. T. i. p. 260.

[l] Vela cilicia. Ulpian apud Le Antichita di Ercolano eſpoſte, p. 268.

[m] Fabretti. Ibid. p. 256. The makers of theſe vela, Σκηνοποιοὶ. Act. 18. 3. ibid.

[n] Pitiſcus, Tit. Specular.

[o] Specularia et vela, quæ frigoris cauſâ et imbrium in domo ſunt. Ibid.

[p] Specularia vela, quæ frigoris, vel umbræ cauſâ, in domo ſunt. Ulpian apud Le Antich. See theſe vela exhibited. Tavol. vi. & 49. ibid.

[q] See the foregoing paper.

[r] Nam cum laminæ craſſioris eſſent molis, colorem opacum nigrantemque redderent.

compoſed of marble, and glazed with laminæ of glaſs." But as the abbate did not take upon himſelf to aſcertain the real age of this building, I ſhall not pretend to lay any greater ſtreſs upon this diſcovery, than I did upon the obſervation, for the ſake of which I produced it, for proving the point I had then in view, viz. that the uſage of glaſs for windows was (probably) nearly of the ſame antiquity with that of adorning houſes with it.

I informed the Society [s], that I had not been able to trace up the conſtruction of windows with plates of glaſs, ſuch as theſe found at Herculaneum, higher than two hundred years ſhort of the overthrow of that city: but, ſome time after, a paſſage in Baronius was ſuggeſted to me, which ſeemed to carry the antiquity of this practice much higher, even to the 42d year of the Chriſtian æra. It was a quotation [t] from Philo Judæus, wherein he gives an account of C. Caligula's reception of the Jewiſh deputies. "When (ſays he) we had entered upon our harangue, the emperor perceiving, that ſome things of no ſmall weight were urged, and that others no leſs ſtrong were likely to be alledged, he broke off the audience, and hurried away, with great precipitation, into a ſpacious hall: there walking [v] about, he commanded the windows to be ſhut on every ſide, conſiſting of white glaſs, reſembling plates of the lapis ſpecularis, which admit the light, but exclude the wind and the ſun."

This authority indeed, if genuine, would have fully anſwered my purpoſe; but, upon conſulting the text of Philo, I was fully convinced that the cardinal's tranſlation of the latter part of this paſſage, which alone affects the preſent inquiry, was directly contrary to the original; which imports, that the windows in the imperial apartment conſiſted of laminæ of ſtone, almoſt as tranſparent as glaſs [x].

I cannot leave this paſſage, without taking notice of that concluſion of it, viz. "That the windows of the lapis ſpecularis admitted the light, but excluded the violent heat of the ſun." This ſeems to prove, that the ſpecularia in Martial were made of the ſame materials, if this

debant. Venuti. This would be the effect of the ancient glaſs, if it was of a coarſer compoſition than ours: and that it was ſo in fact, a very eminent critic, both in ſacred and profane literature, thinks, may be collected from St. Paul's words, 1 Cor. xiii. 12. "Now we ſee, but through a glaſs darkly."

[s] See foregoing paper.

[t] Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. T. i. A. C. 42. p. 335. Col. Agrip. 1621.

[v] Obambulanſque juſſit claudi feneſtras vitro candido ſimili lapidibus ſpecularibus, quibus lux admittitur, ventus et ſol excluditur. This verſion of Baronius is the ſame verbatim with that in the editions of Geneva 1613. Lut. Par. 1640. and Francf. 1691.

[x] Περσάτ]ει τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ θυείδας ἀναληφθῆναι τοῖς ὑάλῳ λευκῇ διαφανέσι παραπλησίως λίθοις, οἱ τὸ μὲν φῶς ἔκ ἐμπιδίζουσιν, ἄνεμον δὲ εἴργουσι καὶ τὸν ἀπ' ἠλίου φλογμόν. Ed. Lut. 1640. & Franc. 1691. Since the writing of this, Dr. Birch has informed me, that Dr. Mangey has tranſlated this paſſage agreeably to my idea, viz. Lapidibus haud minus pellucidis quam vitro candido.

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reading, adopted by Salmaſius, &c. is to be followed; viz.

Specularia puras
Admittunt luces, et ſine ſole diem.
L. viii. Epig. 14.

But other copies have it

Specularia puros
Admittunt ſoles, et ſine fæce diem[y].

This reading is eſpouſed by Colleſſus, the Dauphin editor, who further explains *(puros)* by *(nitidos)*; and yet, in his notes, tells us, that theſe ſpecularia were of ſtone or talc; which they could not have been, conſiſtently with Philo's account, but muſt have been of glaſs; and conſequently, we ſhould have an evidence in Martial for the uſage of glaſs in windows, as early as the firſt century: for that poet lived in Rome from A. C. 71 to 100.

But perhaps theſe (ſeemingly) contradictory readings of the paſſage may be reconciled, as to their ſenſe, by interpreting *(puras luces)* in the one, and *(puros ſoles)* in the other, to mean the mild light and warmth of the ſun, which remained after the greater part of its rays had been either reflected by the exterior ſurface, or abſorbed within the interior pores of the ſtone; or, as Milton expreſſes it,

The ſun ſhorn of his beams.

Upon this hypotheſis, *ſine fæce* will ſignify the excluſion, not of the rain, duſt, &c. as it is explained by the commentators, who follow this reading; but that of the groſs body of the ſun's rays; and ſo will coincide with *ſine ſole diem*, in the other copies.

As I quoted [z] Lactantius *(De Officio Dei*, c. viii.) to prove the uſe of glaſs in windows in his time, viz. the third century, I hold myſelf obliged to take notice of the cenſure, which Cortius and Longolius paſs upon this father, and which is as far from being candid, as the authorities they appeal to are from proving it true. Theſe gentlemen, in their notes on Pliny (L. ii. Ep. 17.), boldly pronounce the father miſtaken *(peccavit Lactantius)* with regard to the paſſage I produced from him: and they ſupport this charge, by referring to Lipſius on Seneca de Prov. C. iv. & Epiſt. 90. and to Pliny, Hiſt. Nat. L. xxxvi. c. 26. Now, whoever conſults Lipſius on the places here referred to by theſe editors, will find nothing therein but obſervations relating to the lapis ſpecularis, viz. the reaſon of its name; the countries where it was found; its uſe in window-fences, for dining-rooms, bed-chambers, baths, porticos, and even in orchards and gardens. This is what nobody ever denied, and what even Lactantius himſelf intimates, in the [a] paſſage before us. How, therefore, this can affect that father's teſtimony, relating to the uſe of glaſs in windows, exceeds my imagination to conceive. And as for Pliny, I ſuppoſe it will readily be allowed me, that no writer, how reſpectable ſoever his authority may be, can poſſibly prove another, who lived two hundred years after him, miſtaken, when he alludes to the practice of his own times.

As I hope the evidence is now undeniable, which I produced in

[y] Ed. Ingolſt 1602. Pitiſcus Specular. &c.

[z] See foregoing paper.

[a] Manifeſtius eſt, mentem eſſe, quæ ea, quæ ſunt oppoſita, tranſpiciat, quaſi per feneſtras lucente vitro, aut lapide ſpeculari obductas.

my diſſertation, to prove the uſe of glaſs in windows to have been as early as the third century (not to mention the probable reaſons there offered to ſhew, that it might have ſubſiſted ſome ages before), it may not be unacceptable to the curious in antiquity, to obſerve the ſlow progreſs this very commodious invention made in travelling towards the weſt; ſince it appears, by our hiſtorians [b], that it did not reach our iſland till the ſeventh century; when it was brought hither from France, either by Benedict abbot of Winal, or Wilfrid archbiſhop of York; as [c] lanthorns of horn were introduced by king Alfred, about the ſame time, viz. 680.

Having now propoſed all I had to offer relating to the ſeveral uſes of plates of glaſs, already mentioned in my eſſay, I beg the Society's indulgence to permit me to ſubjoin two others, which I have met with ſince that communication.

The firſt of theſe was ſuggeſted to to me by my (late) worthy friend Smart Lethieullier, Eſq; who, laſt winter at Bath, informed me, that he had in his collection an urn, of a quadrangular figure, which had been divided into two equal parts by a plate of glaſs, the veſtiges of which were ſtill remaining. He was of opinion, that the cells made by this partition contained the remains of ſome pair, eminent either for their conjugal affection, or ſome of the other connections of ſocial life. This conjecture, highly probable in itſelf, is farther confirmed by ſimilar examples in antiquity. Thus we find in Montfaucon [d] the figure of a ſquare urn, wherein were contained the aſhes of a man and his wife, as appears by the inſcription upon it. Another urn is repreſented (plate lvii.), which held the aſhes of a mother and her daughter. To which we may add a third (plate lv.), covered with a ſquare flat table of ſtone, on which were three inſcriptions, ſignifying, that the remains of three perſons, whoſe relation to each other is not ſpecified, were incloſed therein.

The other inſtance was tranſmitted to me by the abbate Venuti, in a letter from Rome, dated September 27, 1759, viz. "That, in digging up ſome ruins in that city a few years ago, there was found an ancient picture painted on marble, and covered with a plate of white glaſs, like thoſe uſed in our times for that purpoſe, only ſomewhat thicker. The picture expreſſed a lady's head, and was of a very elegant compoſition." From this laſt circumſtance, the abbate infers, "that it could not be the production of any later age;" meaning (I preſume) any period between the decay of good painting among the ancients, and the revival of it among the moderns. He further aſſures me, that he ſaw this picture, which (together with its cover) was depoſited in the cabinet of the marquis Capponi at Rome.

The circumſtance of this piece being painted on marble, naturally leads our thoughts up to the age of the fragments of glaſs, which

[b] Simon Dunelm. Hiſt. Ang. Script. p. 92. Stubbs Act. Pont. Ebor. Hiſt. Ang. Script.

[c] Staveſley's Hiſt. of Churches, p. 103.

[d] Antiq. Expliq. Vol. V. p. 1. Pl. 34. Ed. Par.

occa-

occaſioned my diſſertation, viz. to the overthrow of Herculaneum, in whoſe ruins four pictures (among many others) have been found painted on the ſame materials. There is a paſſage in Pliny [e], which has been thought to carry up this manner of painting as high as the times of Claudius, who began to reign A. C. 41. But I am humbly of opinion, that *lapidem pingere*, in this place, does not mean painting on ſtone or marble, but only the ſtaining them with artificial colours; as the remaining part of the ſentence relates to the inlaying of pieces of marble of various tints, where the original veins were defective, either in variety or beauty: not that I think it at all improbable, at the ſame time, that this ſpecies of painting might be as ancient as the epocha mentioned above, viz. the reign of Claudius; becauſe it actually ſubſiſted in the time of Pliny, which muſt reach up to that æra; for the four paintings referred to in the beginning of this paragraph, as done in the ſame manner, were found in the ruins of a city (viz. Herculaneum), in whoſe cataſtrophe that writer loſt his life.

London, Feb. 3, 1761.

The art of painting on Glaſs, not loſt. From Mr. Walpole's anecdotes of painting in England. After giving his readers the life of Peter Oliver, Mr. Walpole proceeds thus.

THE long life of this perſon, eſtimable for his own merit, and that of his family, ſerved almoſt alone to preſerve the ſecret of painting on glaſs—a ſecret which however has never been loſt, as I ſhall ſhew in a moment, by a regular ſeries of the profeſſors. The firſt interruption given to it was by the reformation, which baniſhed the art out of churches; yet it was in ſome meaſure kept up in the eſcutcheons of the nobility and gentry, in the windows of their ſeats. Towards the end of queen Elizabeth it was omitted even there, yet the practice did not entirely ceaſe. The chapel of our lady, at Warwick, was ornamented a-new, by Robert Dudley, earl of Leiceſter, and his counteſs, and the cypher of the glaſs-painter's name yet remains, with the date 1574: and in ſome of the chapels at Oxford, the art again appears, dating itſelf in 1622, by the hand of no contemptible maſter. I could ſupply even this gap of forty-eight years by many dates on Flemiſh glaſs; but nobody ever ſuppoſed that the ſecret was loſt ſo early as the reign of James I. and that it has not periſhed ſince will be evident from the following ſeries reaching to the preſent hour.

The portraits in the windows of the library at All Souls, Oxford.

In the chapel at Queen's-college there are twelve windows, dated 1518.

PC a cypher on the painted glaſs in the chapel at Warwick, 1574.

The windows at Wadham-college; the drawing pretty good, and the colours fine, by Bernard Van Linge, 1622.

[e] Cæpimus et lapidem pingere. Hoc Claudii principatu inventum. Neronis vero, maculas, quæ non eſſent, in cruſtis inierendo unitatem variare, ut ovatus eſſet Numidicus, ut purpurâ diſtingueretur Sinnadicus, qualiter illos, naſci optarent deliciæ. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. xxxv. c. 1.

In the chapel at Lincoln's-inn, a window with the name of Bernard, 1623. This was probably the preceding Van Linge.

In the church of St. Leonard Shoreditch, two windows by Baptiſta Sutton, 1634.

The windows in the chapel at Univerſity-college. Hen. Giles * pinxit, 1687.

At Chriſt-church, Iſaac Oliver, aged 84, 1700.

Window in Merton-chapel, William Price, 1700.

Windows at Queen's, New-college, and Maudlin, by William Price, the ſon, now living, whoſe colours are fine, whoſe drawing good, and whoſe taſte in ornaments and moſaick is far ſuperior to any of his predeceſſors, is equal to the antique, to the good Italian maſters, and only ſurpaſſed by his own ſingular modeſty †.

* In Mr. Thoreſby's muſeum was "the picture of Mr. Henry Gyles (called there the famous glaſs-painter at York, wrought in mezzotinto by the celebrated Mr. Francis Place, when that art was known to few others. Bought with other curioſities of Mr. Gyles's executors." See Thoreſby's *Ducatus Leodienſis*, page 492.

† It may not be unwelcome to the curious reader to ſee ſome anecdotes of the revival of taſte for painted glaſs in England. Price, as I have ſaid, was the only painter in that ſtyle for many years in England. Afterwards, one Rowell, a plumber at Reading, did ſome things, particularly for the late Henry, earl of Pembroke, but Rowell's colours ſoon vaniſhed. At laſt he found out a very durable and beautiful red, but he died in a year or two, and the ſecret with him. A man at Birmingham began the ſame art in 1756, or 57, and fitted up a window for lord Littelton, in the church of Hagley, but ſoon broke. A little after him, one Peckitt at York, began the ſame buſineſs, and has made good proficience. A few lovers of that art collected ſome diſperſed panes from ancient buildings, particularly the late lord Cobham, who erected a Gothic temple at Stowe, and filled it with arms of the old nobility, &c. About the year 1753, one Aſciotti, an Italian, who had married a Flemiſh woman, brought a parcel of painted glaſs from Flanders, and ſold it for a few guineas to the honourable Mr. Bateman, of old Windſor. Upon that I ſent Aſciotti again to Flanders, who brought me 450 pieces, for which, including the expence of his journey, I paid him thirty-ſix guineas. His wife made more journies for the ſame purpoſe, and ſold her cargoes to one Palmer, a glazier in St. Martin's-lane, who immediately raiſed the price to one, two, or five guineas for a ſingle piece, and fitted up entire windows with them, and with moſaicks of plain glaſs of different colours. In 1761, Paterſon, an auctioneer, at Eſſex-houſe in the Strand, exhibited the two firſt auctions of painted glaſs, imported in like manner from Flanders. All this manufacture conſiſted in rounds of ſcripture-ſtories, ſtained in black and yellow, or in ſmall figures of black and white, birds and flowers in colours, and Flemiſh coats of arms.

Literary

Literary and Miſcellaneous Eſſays.

Cauſes of the changes in national manners. From the Abbé de St. Pierre.

1. THE manners of a nation change by the more or leſs wealth both of private perſons and the ſtate.

2. By great improvements in arts and trades relative to the eaſe and convenience of life.

3. By the increaſe of certain branches of trade.

4. By a greater attachment to glory than pleaſure, or by a greater attachment to pleaſure than glory.

5. By opinions on the ſupreme excellency of different kinds of glory.

6. Sometimes this change of manners may proceed from a genius of a powerful elocution, though fanatical; fanaticks have an overbearing eloquence, and among the ignorant fanaticiſm ſpreads, as it were, by contact.

7. Long wars, either inteſtine or foreign, may produce theſe changes of manners.

8. The manners of a nation may be influenced by thoſe of a nation, which, by ſucceſs in war, has acquired the dominion over it.

9. New manners and new uſages particularly ſpring up from new inſtitutions, for the recompence of ſuch virtues and talents as are moſt uſeful to ſociety. Man naturally ſeeks after diſtinction, and this is never more effectually obtained than in poſts and employments: now if this ſubſtantial diſtinction be attainable without having any greater ſhare of uſeful abilities or virtues than the bulk of mankind, and money will do the buſineſs, by purchaſing thoſe poſts and employments, (as they are all made a market of) it is not at all ſtrange that in our kingdom [France] riches ſhould be much more valued than any virtues or the moſt uſeful talents. But ſhould ſome miniſter, the tender father of the people, warmed with a magnanimous goodneſs, break through the obſtructions of combined incapacity and vice, and ſuppreſs among us that execrable venality of poſts and employments; if, in order to fill them with worthy ſubjects, he ſhould in each principal profeſſion erect different claſſes of different ages; and that they who diſtinguiſh themſelves by their abilities and virtues might be preciſely known, if a commiſſion of well-conducted enquiry and examination were eſtabliſhed, ſoon ſhould we ſee a very great change in our opinions, of what is more or leſs eſteemable, and conſequently in the nation's manners.

10. Military men, about the year 1600, were more acquainted with fatigue than in 1740; beſides the weight of their defenſive arms,

their offenſive were heavier; if they eat with the ſame pleaſure, ſtill it was with fewer preparatives, and leſs daintineſs.

11. When it came to be obſerved, that the loſs of a battle did not draw after it the loſs of a province, if any fortified places remained, every prince fell to fortifying, that he might not be ſtripped of his territories all in one day, and the horſe being of little uſe in taking towns, that corps has been retrenched, and the foot increaſed.

12. For courage our military men are little inferior to what they were in 1600; that quality has been pretty well kept in uſe by our continual foreign wars; it may even be ſaid, that there is now a greater emulation among the officers than in 1600, there being more poſts, more commiſſions, more governments, and more penſions to beſtow.

13. But as yet no commiſſion is eſtabliſhed for the proper diſtribution of theſe rewards, and the miniſter regards only the recommendations of his favourites of both ſexes, or the attachment of the competitors to him; worthleſs men are preferred over officers of unexceptionable merit, which is a vile diſcouragement, and very much damps the uſeful ſpirit of emulation; accordingly, diſtinction in the diſcharge of duty has little ſhare of their thoughts; to wriggle into favour with the miniſters, their minions, the women, and even with the miniſters clerks, is the main buſineſs.

14. As there is no European court, which has ſuch a multitude of favours to beſtow, ſo in ours, above all others, it is neceſſary to endeavour, by every fetch of adulation and compliance, to pleaſe; that it may be ſaid no courtiers come up to ours for external politeneſs, and courtiers living more at Paris than at Verſailles, the inhabitants of Paris are ſeen inſenſibly to imbibe every part of their polite deportment.

15. But do not be miſtaken, this politeneſs is mere outſide; for thoſe very men who embrace, who praiſe a courtier in favour, and proteſt an inviolable devotedneſs to him, ſhall, the next moment, do him an ill turn; and indeed it is only your unexperienced country gentlemen, who take a courtier's compliments for ſterling.

16. Yet muſt it be owned, that however light this coin of external politeneſs may be, it is of no ſmall uſe in converſation; for of the neceſſity of mutually ſaying every day things diſagreeable to one another, were we to declare our real thoughts, and the neceſſity of a few polite reciprocations of polite deceit, the latter is much preferable, with an allowance to the knowing of large deductions from the eſteem expreſſed by ſuch politeneſs.

17. Further, it is not at all ſtrange, that courtiers ſhould be hackneyed in diſſimulation and deceit, otherwiſe how could they live eaſy one with another, being always in a competition for poſts, employments, governments, eſteem, favours, and every one conceiting himſelf to have more merit than any of the other candidates? Frankneſs would be productive of continual brawls and quarrels.

18. Our court ladies, like low thoughted women, delight in ornament and ſplendor: and they being a rule to other ladies, and likewiſe

to

to the courtiers, elegance and richneſs of dreſs are become a merit at court. This futile taſte, Lewis XIV. had imbibed in his childhood, and to be the firſt in ſome ſtriking faſhion was the ſtudy of every one; not a few carried theſe expences to a moſt culpable exceſs, wronging the induſtrious tradeſman; if they ingratiated themſelves with thoſe whoſe notice they aimed at in ſuch magnificence, they were very eaſy about the contempt of the honeſt part of mankind, the diſtreſſes and imprecations of their creditors.

19. The expence of furniture and the table runs much higher than threeſcore years ago, and from the continual improvements in the arts adminiſtering to eaſe and luxury, they will continue to increaſe. The bulk of the rich, in the want of diſtinguiſhing talents, ſtick at nothing to diſtinguiſh themſelves by monſtrous expences; a man of wealth is very often ſtupid enough to ſet himſelf above the man of virtue and abilities, with a ſlender fortune; living in a ſtately palace, amidſt ſilk and velvet, paintings, ſculptures, gold and ſilver, and gems, he of courſe muſt be a great deal ſuperior to a virtuous man, who has nothing of all this finery: this is the uſual judgment of the vulgar, and it is ſurprizing, what numbers of quality are vulgar in this point.

20. At the beginning of the laſt century, coaches came into faſhion, and for ſome time, in all Paris, they ſcarce amounted to a hundred, and were uſed only by ladies of the higheſt diſtinction. As Paris in 1658 was not properly paved, and the dirt carts not ſufficient for clearing the ſtreets, there was no going abroad but on horſeback and booted, and the half boots and gilded ſpurs were a long time uſed in common viſits; even they who had neither coach nor ſaddle horſe, viſited in white half boots. The firſt coach with glaſs windows, and a glaſs in the front, was brought from Bruſſels in the year 1660, by the prince of Condé; ſince which, many improvemenrs have been made in them for eaſe and ornament; now theſe vehicles have heightened luxury and ſoftneſs, beſides the unhappy effects of them on the health and vigour, as diminiſhing the exerciſe of the body; it is this diminution of exerciſe, and the increaſe of feaſting, which have introduced thoſe complaints of vapours, weak nerves, vertigoes, and other kinds of indiſpoſitions ſo common among the rich and indolent.

21. In the civil wars every one wore a ſword, eſpecially officers and gentry; many citizens likewiſe, in order to paſs for officers or gentlemen, or at leaſt for perſons above the commonalty, alſo ſtuck a ſword by their ſide, and have ſince kept it as an ornament; and now in a profound peace wear it in viſits, and even at a church, which is both inconvenient and ridiculous; for where is the great difference between carrying a blunderbuſs to church, or a viſiting, and to go to thoſe places with a ſword dangling at their heels; beſides, the ſword, at preſent, is become ſo common, as not to be the diſtinction of a real gentleman; theſe are the remains of our civil wars: the cuſtom of wearing ſwords may ſee its period, as that of the half boots and gilded ſpurs; but it would

would be proper, that the gentleman ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from the commoner by ſome mark, as a white ſilk flower embroidered on his coat.

22. The year 1648 was the æra of card-playing at court. Cardinal Mazarin played deep, and with fineſſe, and eaſily drew in the king and queen to countenance this new entertainment, that every one who had any expectation at court, learned to play at cards. Soon after the humour changed, and games of chance came into vogue, to the ruin of many conſiderable families; this was likewiſe very deſtructive to health, for beſides the various violent paſſions it excited, whole nights were ſpent at this execrable amuſement; the worſt of all was, that card-playing, which the court had taken from the army, ſoon ſpread from the court into the city, and from the city pervaded the country towns. Before this, there was ſomething of improving converſation, every one was ambitious of qualifying himſelf for it, by reading of ancient and modern books; memory and reflection were much more exerciſed. On the introduction of gaming, men likewiſe left off tennis, mall, billiards, and other gymnaſtic ſports, and they are become what we ſee them, weaker and more ſickly, more ignorant, leſs poliſhed, and more diſſipated.

23. The women, who till then had commanded reſpect, accuſtomed men to treat them familiarly by ſpending the whole night with them at play; they are often under a neceſſity of borrowing either to play, or to pay their loſings; and how very ductile and complying they are to thoſe of whom they muſt borrow is well known.

24. This gaming is one of the greateſt banes of the ſtate; ſeveral trials have been made for ſuppreſſing games of chance, but I do not know whether, to bring this about, all card-playing, all gaming, and playing of any kind, ſhould not be totally proſcribed; a continual obſervance of moderation being more difficult than at once abſolutely to break with all kind of play.

25 The ſelling of poſts has extinguiſhed the greateſt part of our emulation to acquire the talents requiſite for them; as money makes a counſellor, a preſident, or maſter of requeſts, without regard to birth or ability, the worthleſs ſons of financiers and merchants are preferred even to worthy noblemen, but who have not wherewith to purchaſe; hence two evils, the number of financiers increaſes, to the multiplication of uſury and oppreſſion, and the ſons of wealthy merchants, inſtead of continuing the commerce of their fathers, which was a national advantage, are proud of inveſting themſelves with the gown. Thus infamous and detrimental is the preſent path to the employments and dignities of the law.

26. This ſame venom of corruption in 1650 crept into the military employments: age, experience, ſervices, or tried courage, were not required in a colonel; money ſtood inſtead of every thing; the eccleſiaſtical employments about the houſhold were likewiſe ſold; and this has likewiſe been extended to the navy and ordnance, that one day it muſt inevitably prove a principal cauſe of the nation's overthrow, unleſs it be our happineſs

ſoon to have a prince who will generouſly annul that peſtiferous ſale of poſts and employments.

27. Every thinking perſon muſt know, that the chief way to avoid hell and obtain paradiſe, is to do no wrong, no hurt to huſband, wife, ſervants, maſters, or ſtranger, as diſpleaſing to God: that the ſecond way is, to procure them all the comforts and good things in our power, as acceptable to him; yet in conformity to the uſages of our fore-fathers, which alſo owe their riſe to an ancient ignorance, thoſe two eſſential ways above-mentioned are neglected, and we have recourſe to ways incomparably leſs efficacious; a multitude of ceremonies, long recitations of prayers, faſtings, pilgrimages, for which neither the poor, nor the ignorant, nor our neighbours, or they whom we have wrongled or hurt, are a whit the better.

28. Tavern exceſſes, which had been carried very far, thank God, are much abated, by a ſenſible cuſtom which has taken place among reputable people, of ſupping at each other's houſes; to ingurgitate a pail of wine, elephant like, is no longer matter of boaſt; this reformation is a little owing to the ſudden deaths of many ſots, who, when in the flower of their age, could reliſh only ſtrong liquors.

29. The infinite variety of enjoyments and diverſions in Paris has lamentably corrupted our youth, that moſt of them, whoſe condition will allow of indolence, ſoon grow out of conceit with ſtudy and application, and throw themſelves into the arms of intoxicating voluptuouſneſs. For this we may thank the deficiency of our laws, in not recompenſing thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves among their equals by ſuch labours as are uſeful to ſociety; and this is the particular view with which I wrote for erecting a commiſſion of enquiry, that when employments of the ſuperior claſſes are vacant, they may be filled by the moſt capable of the inferior claſs, or that honours or penſions may be conferred on the moſt deſerving of each claſs.

30. Our men of erudition for fourſcore years paſt have buſied themſelves more in the curious than the uſeful part of ſciences, and our wits have exhauſted themſelves only in tinſel decorations of their works, adapting them to the vitiated mode of the general taſte. We are but juſt beginning to ſee, that to pleaſe is not ſufficient, but that writers muſt likewiſe be of greater benefit to their readers than all preceding authors, modern or ancient. They have, indeed, given their cotemporaries a tranſitory delight, and I wiſh thoſe of our times would ſee, that the ſubſtance of their conteſt for preference and excellency does not lie in the brilliancy of wit or energy of diction, or fertility of invention, but in producing works of ſolid and laſting advantage to the ſtate, not only increaſing the happineſs of the preſent age, but conducing likewiſe to that of poſterity. Here our reaſon, as yet, is very weak.

On the propereſt objects of a traveller's attention.

I Have frequently been amazed at the ignorance of almoſt all the European travellers, who have penetrated any conſiderable way eaſtward into Aſia. They have all been

been influenced either by motives of commerce or piety, and their accounts are such as might reasonably be expected from men of a very narrow or very prejudiced education, the dictates of superstition, or the result of ignorance. Is it not surprising, that of such a variety of adventures not one single philosopher should be found among the number; for as to the travels of Gemelli, the learned are long agreed that the whole is but an imposture.

There is scarce any country, how rude or uncultivated soever, where the inhabitants are not possessed of some peculiar secrets, either in nature or art, which might be transplanted with success: thus, for instance, in Siberian Tartary, the natives extract a strong spirit from milk, which is a secret probably unknown to the chymists of Europe. In the most savage parts of India they are possessed of the secret of dying vegetable substances scarlet, and of refining lead into a metal, which, for hardness and colour, is little inferior to silver; not one of which secrets but would in Europe make a man's fortune. The power of the Asiatics in producing winds, or bringing down rain, the Europeans are apt to treat as fabulous, because they have no instances of the like nature among themselves; but they would have treated the secrets of gunpowder, and the mariner's compass, in the same manner, had they been told the Chinese used such arts before the invention was common with themselves at home.

Of all the English philosophers, I most reverence Bacon, that great and hardy genius: he it is who, undaunted by the seeming difficulties that oppose, prompts human curiosity to examine every part of nature; and even exhorts man to try whether he cannot subject the tempest, the thunder, and even earthquakes, to human controul. O had a man of his daring spirit, of his genius, penetration, and learning, travelled to those countries which have been visited only by the superstitious and mercenary, what might not mankind expect! How would he enlighten the regions to which he travelled! And what a variety of knowledge and useful improvement would he not bring back in exchange!

There is probably no country so barbarous, that would not disclose all it knew, if it received equivalent information; and I am apt to think, that a person, who was ready to give more knowledge than he received, would be welcome whereever he came. All his care in travelling should only be to suit his intellectual banquet to the people with whom he conversed: he should not attempt to teach the unlettered Tartar astronomy, nor yet instruct the polite Chinese in the arts of subsistence: he should endeavour to improve the Barbarian in the secrets of living comfortably; and the inhabitant of a more refined country in the speculative pleasures of science. How much more nobly would a philosopher, thus employed, spend his time, than by sitting at home, earnestly intent upon adding one star more to his catalogue, or one monster more to his collection; or still, if possible, more triflingly sedulous in the incatenation of fleas, or the sculpture of cherry stones?

I never consider this subject, without being surprised that none of those societies, so laudably established in England for the promotion

tion of arts and learning, have ever thought of ſending one of their members into the moſt eaſtern parts of Aſia, to make what diſcoveries he was able. To be convinced of the utility of ſuch an undertaking, let them but read the relations of their own travellers. It will there be found, that they are as often deceived themſelves, as they attempt to deceive others. The merchants tell us perhaps the price of different commodities, the methods of baling them up, and the propereſt manner for an European to preſerve his health in the country. The miſſioner, on the other hand, informs us, with what pleaſure the country to which he was ſent embraced Chriſtianity, and the numbers he converted; what methods he took to keep Lent in a region where there was no fiſh, or the ſhifts he made to celebrate the rites of his religion, in places where there was neither bread nor wine: ſuch accounts, with the uſual appendage of marriages and funerals, inſcriptions, rivers, and mountains, make up the whole of an European traveller's diary; but as to all the ſecrets of which the inhabitants are poſſeſſed, thoſe are univerſally attributed to magic; and when the traveller can give no other account of the wonders he ſees performed, he very contentedly aſcribes them to the devil.

It was an uſual obſervation of Boyle, the Engliſh chymiſt, that if every artiſt would but diſcover what new obſervations occurred to him in the exerciſe of his trade, philoſophy would thence gain innumerable improvements. It may be obſerved, with ſtill greater juſtice, that if the uſeful knowledge of every country, howſoever barbarous, was gleaned by a judicious obſerver, the advantages would be ineſtimable. Are there not, even in Europe, many uſeful inventions, known or practiſed but in one place? Their inſtrument, as an example, for cutting down corn in Germany, is much more handy and expeditious, in my opinion, than the ſickle uſed in England. The cheap and expeditious manner of making vinegar, without previous fermentation, is known only in a part of France. If ſuch diſcoveries, therefore, remain ſtill to be known at home, what funds of knowledge might not be collected in countries yet unexplored, or only paſſed thro' by ignorant travellers in haſty caravans.

The caution with which foreigners are received in Aſia, may be alledged as an objection to ſuch a deſign. But how readily have ſeveral European merchants found admiſſion into regions the moſt ſuſpicious, under the character of Sanjapins, or northern pilgrims; to ſuch not even China itſelf denies acceſs.

To ſend out a traveller, properly qualified for theſe purpoſes, might be an object of national concern: it would in ſome meaſure repair the breaches made by ambition; and might ſhew that there were ſtill ſome who boaſted a greater name than that of patriots, who profeſſed themſelves lovers of men. The only difficulty would remain in chuſing a proper perſon for ſo arduous an enterprize. He ſhould be a man of a philoſophical turn, one apt to deduce conſequences of general utility from particular occurrences, neither ſwoln with pride, nor hardened by prejudice; neither wedded to one particular ſyſtem, nor inſtructed only in one particular ſcience; neither wholly

wholly a botaniſt, nor quite an antiquarian: his mind ſhould be tinctured with miſcellaneous knowledge, and his manners humanized by an intercourſe with men. He ſhould be, in ſome meaſure, an enthuſiaſt to the deſign; fond of travelling, from a rapid imagination, and an innate love of change; furniſhed with a body capable of ſuſtaining every fatigue, and a heart not eaſily terrified at danger.

Parallel between Jeſus Chriſt and Socrates. From Monſ. Rouſſeau's Treatiſe on Education, intitled Emilius.

"I Acknowledge (ſays Monſieur Rouſſeau, ſpeaking in the character of a ſceptic Savoyard vicar) at the ſame time, that the majeſty which reigns in the ſacred writings fills me with a ſolemn kind of aſtoniſhment, and that the ſanctity of the Goſpel ſpeaks in a powerful and commanding language to the feelings of my heart. Caſt your eye on the writings of the philoſophers; behold them in all their ſtudied pomp, and ſee how trifling, how inſignificant they appear, when compared with the holy records of the Goſpel? Is it poſſible that a book ſo ſublime, and yet ſo artleſs and ſimple, can be a production merely human? Is it poſſible that the perſon, whoſe hiſtory it unfolds, can be conſidered by any as a mere man? Hear him ſpeak; behold his actions! Is that the language of enthuſiaſm? Is that the lordly tone of an ambitious ring-leader? On the contrary, what gentleneſs and purity in his manners! What mildneſs and affecting grace in his inſtructions! What elevation and dignity in his maxims! What deep wiſdom in his diſcourſes! What preſence of mind, what delicacy, what preciſion in his anſwers to the demands of the ignorant, or the objections of the perverſe! What an amazing empire over his paſſions did his whole conduct and converſation diſcover! Where is the man, where is the ſage, that has ſo far attained the perfection of wiſdom and virtue as to live, act, ſuffer, and die without weakneſs on the one hand, or oſtentation on the other? That ſage was Chriſt. When Plato drew the ideal portrait of his *good man*, covered with the reproach that is due to iniquity, while he deſerved the immortal prize of virtue, he drew exactly the character of Jeſus. The reſemblance was ſo far ſtriking, that it was perceived by all the Chriſtian fathers; and, indeed, it is not poſſible to miſtake it. Who, but ſuch as the tyranny of prejudices and wilful blindneſs hinder from perceiving things in their true light, would dare to compare the ſon of Sophroniſcus with the ſon of Mary? What an immenſe diſtance is there between theſe two characters! Socrates, expiring without pain or diſgrace, acted his part, and ſuſtained it to the end without much effort; and if that eaſy death had not reflected a luſtre upon his life, it would be a queſtion whether Socrates, with all his wit and ſagacity, was any thing more than a ſophiſt. He was, ſay ſome, the inventor of morality: but what do ſuch mean? Morality was practiſed long before Socrates; and he had only the merit of ſaying what others had done, and of diſplaying in his inſtructions, what they exhibited in their examples.

ples. Ariſtides had been juſt, before Socrates had defined what juſtice was, Leonidas had laid down his life for his country, before Socrates had recommended the love of our country as a moral duty. Sparta was frugal, before Socrates had praiſed frugality; and Greece abounded with virtuous men before he had explained the nature of virtue. But was it from the morals and example of his countrymen that Jeſus derived the lines of that pure and ſublime morality, that was inculcated in his inſtructions, and ſhone forth in his example, and which he alone taught and practiſed with an equal degree of perfection? In the midſt of people, where the moſt furious fanaticiſm reigned, the moſt exalted wiſdom raiſed its voice, and the grand ſimplicity of the moſt heroic virtues caſt a luſtre upon the vileſt and moſt worthleſs of all the nations. The death of Socrates, who breathed his laſt in a philoſophical converſation with his friends, is the mildeſt death that nature or wiſdom could deſire; while the death of Jeſus, expiring in torment, injured, inhumanly treated, mocked, curſed by an aſſembled people, is the moſt horrible one that a mortal could apprehend. Socrates, while he takes the poiſoned cup, gives his bleſſing to the perſon, who preſents it to him with the tendereſt marks of ſorrow. Jeſus, in midſt of his dreadful agonies, prays,—for whom? for his executioners, who were foaming with rage againſt his perſon. Ah! if the life and death of Socrates carry the marks of a ſage, the life and death of Jeſus proclaim a God. Will any one ſay that the Goſpel-hiſtory is all mere fiction? Believe me, my friend, it is not ſo that impoſtors go to work; I ſee nothing here that has the air of fiction; and the facts relating to Socrates, of which no mortal entertains the leaſt doubt, are not ſo well atteſted as thoſe which are recorded in the Hiſtory of Chriſt. All your ſuppoſitions will be attended with the ſame difficulty, which they only remove ſome ſteps farther off, to return again in its full force; for it is much more inconceivable and abſurd to ſuppoſe that a number of perſons ſhould have laid their heads together to compoſe a book, than it is to grant that the ſubject of it may have been taken from the real life and actions of one man. Jewiſh writers, with all their efforts, could never have aroſe to that noble and elevated tone, to that pure and ſublime morality that reigns in the Goſpel; and the Hiſtory of Jeſus is cloathed with ſuch characters of truth, with lines of credibility, that have ſomething in them ſo grand, ſo ſtriking, ſo abſolutely inimitable, that the inventor of ſuch things would be ſtill a greater object of aſtoniſhment, than the hero of whom they are reported. After all, this ſame Goſpel is full of things which are incredible, of things which are repugnant to reaſon, and which no man of ſenſe can either conceive or admit. What then is to be done, what conduct ſhall we obſerve amidſt ſuch contradictions? Let us be modeſt and cautious, my child; let us reſpect in ſilence what we can neither reject nor comprehend, and humble ourſelves before the Great Being, who alone knows the truth."

Such is the ſtrange and uncomfortable ſituation of mind, with reſpect to religion, into which Mr. Rouſſeau, ſpeaking in the perſon of a coun-

a country vicar, casts the young Emilius, after having drawn such a picture of the morality of that religion, and of the divine excellence and sanctity of its author, as is impossible for a Christian to read without finding his conviction of Christ's celestial mission fortified and confirmed, and which I am fully persuaded an honest Deist cannot read without anxiety and compunction of heart.

Dr. Swift's defence of the church of England, as by law established.—Extracted from a posthumous tract written in 1708, *but left unfinished, under the title of* Remarks upon a book intitled, The Rights of the Christian Church, &c. [by Tindal.]

IT will be easy to prove, that the opinion of *imperium in imperio*, in the sense he [Tindal] chargeth it upon the clergy of England, is what no one divine of any reputation, and very few at all, did ever maintain: and, that their universal sentiment in this matter is such as few protestants did ever dispute. But if the author of the *Regale*, or two or three more obscure writers, have carried any points further than scripture and reason will allow (which is more than I know, or shall trouble myself to enquire) the clergy of England is no more answerable for those, than the laity is for all the folly and impertinence of this treatise, [*The Rights, &c.*] And, therefore, that people may not be amused, or think this man is somewhat, that he hath advanced or defended some oppressed truths, or overthrown any growing dangerous errors, I will set in as clear a light as I can, what I conceive to be held by the established clergy, and all reasonable protestants in this matter.

Every body knoweth and allows, that in all government there is an absolute, unlimited, legislative power, which is originally in the body of the people; although by custom, conquest, usurpation, or other accidents, sometimes fallen into the hands of one or a few. This in England is placed in the three estates, (otherwise called the two houses of parliament) in conjunction with the king. And whatever they please to enact or to repeal in the settled forms, whether it be ecclesiastical or civil, immediately becometh law or nullity. Their decrees may be against equity, truth, reason, and religion, but they are not against law; because law is the will of the supreme legislature, and that is themselves. And there is no manner of doubt, but the same authority, whenever it pleaseth, may abolish Christianity, and set up the Jewish, Mahometan, or Heathen religion. In short, they may do any thing within the compass of human power. And, therefore, who will dispute that the same law, which deprived the church not only of lands misapplied to superstitious uses, but even the tythes and glebes (the ancient and necessary support of parish priests) may take away all the rest, whenever the law-givers please, and make the priesthood as primitive, as this writer, or others of his stamp, can desire.

But as the supreme power can certainly do ten thousand things more than it ought, so there are several things which some people think it may do, although it really cannot. For it unfortunately happens,

pens, that edicts which cannot be executed, will not alter the nature of things. So if a king and parliament ſhould pleaſe to enact, that a woman who hath been a month married, is *virgo intacta*, would that actually reſtore her to her primitive ſtate? If the ſupreme power ſhould reſolve a corporal of dragoons to be a doctor of divinity, law, or phyſic, few, I believe, would truſt their ſouls, fortunes, or bodies to his direction; becauſe that power is not fit to judge or teach thoſe qualifications which are abſolutely neceſſary to the ſeveral profeſſions. Put the caſe, that walking on the ſlack rope were the only talent required by act of parliament for making a man a biſhop; no doubt, when a man had done his feat of activity in form, he might ſit in the houſe of lords, put on his robes and his rochet, go down to his palace, receive and ſpend his rents; but it requireth very little chriſtianity to believe this tumbler to be not one whit more a biſhop than he was before; becauſe the law of God hath otherwiſe decreed; which law, although a nation may refuſe to receive, it cannot alter in its own nature.

And here lies the miſtake of this ſuperficial man, who is not able to diſtinguiſh between what the civil power can hinder, and what it can do. "If the parliament can annul eccleſiaſtical laws, they muſt be able to make them, ſince no greater power is required for one than the other." This conſequence he repeateth above twenty times, and always in the wrong. He affecteth to form a few words into the ſhape and ſize of a maxim, then trieth it by his ear, and according as he likes the ſound or cadence, pronounceth it true. Cannot I ſtand over a man with a great pole, and hinder him from making a watch, although I am not able to make one myſelf? If I have ſtrength enough to knock a man on the head, doth it follow I can raiſe him to life again? The parliament may condemn all the Greek and Roman authors; can it therefore create new ones in their ſtead? They may make laws, indeed, and call them canon and eccleſiaſtical laws, and oblige all men to obſerve them, under pain of high treaſon. And ſo may I, who love as well as any man to have in my own family the power in the laſt reſort, take a turnip, then tie a ſtring to it, and call it a watch, and turn away all my ſervants if they refuſe to call it ſo too.

For my own part, I muſt confeſs that this opinion of the independent power of the church, or *imperium in imperio*, wherewith this writer raiſeth ſuch a duſt, is what I never imagined to be of any conſequence, never once heard diſputed among divines, nor remember to have read, otherwiſe than as a ſcheme in one or two authors of middle rank, but with very little weight laid on it. And I dare believe, there is hardly one divine in ten that ever once thought of this matter. Yet to ſee a large ſwelling volume written only to encounter this doctrine, what could one think leſs, than that the whole body of the clergy were perpetually tiring the preſs and the pulpit with nothing elſe.

It will be neceſſary to ſet this matter in a clear light, by enquiring whether the clergy have any power independent of the civil, and of what nature it is.

Whenever the Chriſtian religion

was embraced by the civil power in any nation, there is no doubt but the magiſtrates and ſenates were fully inſtructed in the rudiments of it. Beſides, the Chriſtians were ſo numerous, and their worſhip ſo open before the converſion of princes, that their diſcipline, as well as doctrine, could not be a ſecret: they ſaw plainly a ſubordination of eccleſiaſtics, biſhops, prieſts, and deacons: that theſe had certain powers and employments different from the laity: that the biſhops were conſecrated, and ſet apart for that office by thoſe of their own order: that the preſbyters and deacons were differently ſet apart, always by the biſhops: that none but the eccleſiaſtics preſumed to pray or preach in places ſet apart for God's worſhip, or to adminiſter the Lord's Supper: that all queſtions relating either to diſcipline or doctrine, were determined in eccleſiaſtical conventions. Theſe and the like doctrines and practices, being moſt of them directly proved, and the reſt by very fair conſequences deduced from the words of our Saviour and his apoſtles, were certainly received as a divine law by every prince or ſtate which admitted the Chriſtian religion; and, conſequently, what they could not juſtly alter afterwards, any more than the common laws of nature. And, therefore, although the ſupreme power can hinder the clergy or church from making any new canons, or executing the old; from conſecrating biſhops, or refuſe thoſe that they do conſecrate; or, in ſhort, from performing any eccleſiaſtical office, as they may from eating, drinking, and ſleeping; yet they cannot themſelves perform thoſe offices, which are aſſigned to the clergy by our Saviour and his apoſtles; or, if they do, it is not according to the divine inſtitution, and conſequently null and void. Our Saviour telleth us, "His kingdom is not of this world;" and therefore, to be ſure, the world is not of his kingdom, nor can ever pleaſe him by interfering in the adminiſtration of it, ſince he hath appointed miniſters of his own, and hath impowered and inſtructed them for that purpoſe: ſo that, I believe, the clergy, who, as he [Tindal] ſayeth, "are good at diſtinguiſhing," would think it reaſonable to diſtinguiſh between their power, and the liberty of exerciſing this power. The former they claim immediately from Chriſt, and the latter from the permiſſion, connivance, or authority of the civil government; with which the clergy's power, according to the ſolution I have given, cannot poſſibly interfere.

The church of England is no creature of the civil power, either as to its polity or doctrines. The fundamentals of both were deduced from Chriſt and his apoſtles, and the inſtructions of the pureſt and earlieſt ages, and were received as ſuch by thoſe princes or ſtates who embraced Chriſtianity, whatever prudential additions have been made to the former by human laws, which alone can be juſtly altered or annulled by them.

"The parliament (ſays he) ſuſpected the love of power natural to churchmen." Truly, ſo is the love of pudding, and moſt other things deſirable in this life; and in that they are like the laity, as in all other things that are not good. And, therefore, they are held not in eſteem for what they are like in, but

but for their virtues. The true way to abuſe them with effect, is to tell us ſome fault of their's, that other men have not, or not ſo much as they, &c. Might not any man ſpeak full as bad of ſenates, dyets, and parliaments, as he can do about councils; and as bad of princes, as he doth of biſhops?

But his arguments and definitions are yet more ſupportable than the groſſneſs of hiſtorical remarks, which are ſcattered ſo plentifully in his book, that it would be tedious to enumerate, or to ſhew the fraud and ignorance of them. I beg the reader's leave to take notice of one here juſt in my way: and the rather, becauſe I deſign for the future to let hundreds of them paſs without further notice. "When (ſays he) by the aboliſhing of the pope's power, things were brought back to their ancient channel, the parliament's right in making eccleſiaſtical laws revived of courſe." What can poſſibly be meant by this ancient channel? Why, the channel that things ran in before the pope had any power in England: that is to ſay, before Auſtin the monk converted England, before which time it ſeems the parliament had a right to make eccleſiaſtical laws. And what parliament could this be? Why, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons met at Weſtminſter.

I cannot here forbear reproving the folly and pedantry of ſome lawyers, whoſe opinions this poor creature blindly followeth, and rendereth yet more abſurd by his comments. The knowledge of our conſtitution can be only attained by conſulting the earlieſt Engliſh hiſtories, of which thoſe gentlemen ſeem utterly ignorant, further than a quotation or an index. They would fain derive our government, as now conſtituted, from antiquity: and becauſe they have ſeen Tacitus quoted for his *majoribus omnes*, and have read of the Goths military inſtitution in their progreſſes and conqueſts, they preſently dream of a parliament. Had their reading reached ſo far, they might have deduced it much more fairly from Ariſtotle and Polybius, who both diſtinctly name the compoſition of *rex*, *ſeniores*, *et populus*; and the latter, as I remember particularly, with the higheſt approbation. The princes in the Saxon heptarchy did indeed call their nobles ſometimes together upon weighty affairs, as moſt other princes of the world have done in all ages. But they made war and peace, and raiſed money by their own authority: they gave or mended laws by their charters, and they raiſed armies by their tenures. Beſides, ſome of thoſe kingdoms fell in by conqueſt, before England was reduced under one head, and therefore could pretend to no rights but by the conceſſions of the conquerors.

Further, which is more material, upon the admiſſion of Chriſtianity, great quantities of land were acquired by the clergy, ſo that the great council of the nation was often entirely of churchmen, and ever a conſiderable part. But our preſent conſtitution is an artificial thing, not fairly to be traced, in my opinion, beyond Henry I. Since which time it hath in every age admitted ſeveral alterations; and differeth now as much, even from what it was then, as almoſt any two ſpecies of government deſcribed by Ariſtotle. And it would be much more reaſonable to affirm, that the go-

vernment of Rome continued the ſame under Juſtinian, as it was in the time of Scipio, becauſe the ſenate and conſuls ſtill remained, although the power of both had been ſeveral hundred years transferred to the emperors.

A treatiſe on Good-manners and Good-breeding.—From Swift's Works, vol. xiv.

GOod-manners is the art of making thoſe people eaſy with whom we converſe.

Whoever makes the feweſt perſons uneaſy, is the beſt bred in the company.

As the beſt law is founded upon reaſon, ſo are the beſt manners. And as ſome lawyers have introduced unreaſonable things into common law; ſo likewiſe many teachers have introduced abſurd things into common good-manners.

One principal point of this art is to ſuit our behaviour to the three ſeveral degrees of men; our ſuperiors, our equals, and thoſe below us.

For inſtance, to preſs either of the two former to eat or drink is a breach of manners; but a tradeſman or a farmer muſt be thus treated, or elſe it will be difficult to perſuade them that they are welcome.

Pride, ill-nature, and want of ſenſe, are the three great ſources of ill-manners; without ſome one of theſe defects, no man will behave himſelf ill for want of experience; or of what, in the language of fools, is called, knowing the world.

I defy any one to aſſign an incident wherein reaſon will not direct us what we are to ſay or do in company, if we are not miſled by pride or ill-nature.

Therefore I inſiſt that good-ſenſe is the principal foundation of good-manners; but becauſe the former is a gift which very few among mankind are poſſeſſed of, therefore all the civilized nations of the world have agreed upon fixing ſome rules for common behaviour, beſt ſuited to their general cuſtoms, or fancies, as a kind of artificial good-ſenſe to ſupply the defects of reaſon. Without which, the gentlemanly part of dunces would be perpetually at cuffs, as they ſeldom fail when they happen to be drunk, or engaged in ſquabbles about women or play. And, God be thanked, there hardly happeneth a duel in a year, which may not be imputed to one of thoſe three motives. Upon which account I ſhould be exceedingly ſorry to find the legiſlature make any new laws againſt the practice of dueling; becauſe the methods are eaſy, and many, for a wiſe man to avoid a quarrel with honour, or engage in it with innocence. And I can diſcover no political evil in ſuffering bullies, ſharpers, and rakes to rid the world of each other by a method of their own, where the law hath not been able to find an expedient.

As the common forms of good-manners were intended for regulating the conduct of thoſe who have weak underſtandings; ſo they have been corrupted by the perſons for whoſe uſe they were contrived. For theſe people have fallen into a needleſs and endleſs way of multiplying ceremonies, which have been extremely troubleſome to thoſe who practiſe them, and inſupportable to every body elſe: inſomuch, that wiſe men are often more uneaſy at the

the over-civility of these refiners, than they could possibly be in the conversations of peasants or mechanics.

The impertinencies of this ceremonial behaviour are no where better seen than at those tables where ladies preside; who value themselves upon account of their good-breeding; where a man must reckon upon passing an hour without doing any one thing he hath a mind to, unless he will be so hardy as to break through all the settled decorum of the family. She determineth what he loveth best, and how much he shall eat; and if the master of the house happeneth to be of the same disposition, he proceedeth in the same tyrannical manner to prescribe in the drinking part: at the same time you are under the necessity of answering a thousand apologies for your entertainment. And although a good deal of this humour is pretty well worn off among many people of the best fashion, yet too much of it still remaineth, especially in the country; where an honest gentleman assured me, that having been kept four days against his will at a friend's house, with all the circumstances of hiding his boots, locking up the stable, and other contrivances of the like nature, he could not remember, from the moment he came into the house, to the moment he left it, any one thing wherein his inclination was not directly contradicted; as if the whole family had entered into a combination to torment him.

But, besides all this, it would be endless to recount the many foolish and ridiculous accidents I have observed among these unfortunate proselytes to ceremony. I have seen a duchess fairly knocked down by the precipitancy of an officious coxcomb, running to save her the trouble of opening a door. I remember, upon a birth-day at court, a great lady was rendered utterly disconsolate, by a dish of sauce let fall by a page directly upon her head-dress and brocade, while she gave a sudden turn to her elbow upon some point of ceremony with the person who sat next to her. Monsieur Buys, the Dutch envoy, whose politics and manners were much of a size, brought a son with him, about thirteen years old, to a great table at court. The boy and his father, whatever they put on their plates, they first offered round in order, to every person in the company; so that we could not get a minute's quiet during the whole dinner. At last their two plates happened to encounter, and with so much violence, that being china, they broke in twenty pieces; and stained half the company with wet sweet-meats and cream.

There is a pedantry in manners, as in all arts and sciences; and sometimes in trades. Pedantry is properly the over-rating any kind of knowledge we pretend to. And if that kind of knowledge be a trifle in itself, the pedantry is the greater. For which reason I look upon fidlers, dancing-masters, heralds, masters of the ceremony, &c. to be greater pedants than Lipsius, or the elder Scaliger. With these kind of pedants, the court, while I knew it, was always plentifully stocked: I mean from the gentleman-usher (at least) inclusive, downward to the gentleman-porter; who are, generally speaking, the most insignificant race of people that this island can afford, and with the smallest tincture of good-manners;

which is the only trade they profeſs. For being wholly illiterate, converſing chiefly with each other, they reduce the whole ſyſtem of breeding within the forms and circles of their ſeveral offices: and as they are below the notice of miniſters, they live and die in court under all revolutions, with great obſequiouſneſs to thoſe who are in any degree of credit or favour, and with rudeneſs and inſolence to every body elſe. From whence I have long concluded, that good-manners are not a plant of the court growth; for if they were, thoſe people who have underſtandings directly of a level for ſuch acquirements, and who have ſerved ſuch long apprenticeſhips to nothing elſe, would certainly have picked them up. For as to the great officers who attend the prince's perſon or councils, or preſide in his family, they are a tranſient body, who have no better a title to good-manners than their neighbours, nor will probably have recourſe to gentlemen-uſhers for inſtruction. So that I know little to be learned at court upon this head, except in the material circumſtance of dreſs; wherein the authority of the maids of honour muſt indeed be allowed to be almoſt equal to that of a favourite actreſs.

I remember a paſſage my lord Bolingbroke told me; that going to receive prince Eugene of Savoy at his landing, in order to conduct him immediately to the queen, the prince ſaid he was much concerned that he could not ſee her majeſty that night; for Monſieur Hoffman (who was then by) had aſſured his highneſs, that he could not be admitted into her preſence with a tied-up periwig; that his equipage was not arrived; and that he had endeavoured in vain to borrow a long one among all his valets and pages. My lord turned the matter to a jeſt, and brought the prince to her majeſty; for which he was highly cenſured by the whole tribe of gentlemen-uſhers; among whom Monſieur Hoffman, an old dull reſident of the emperor's, had picked up this material point of ceremony; and which, I believe, was the beſt leſſon he had learned in five and twenty years reſidence.

I make a difference between good-manners and good-breeding; although, in order to vary my expreſſion, I am ſometimes forced to confound them. By the firſt, I only underſtand the art of remembering, and applying certain ſettled forms of general behaviour. But good-breeding is of a much larger extent; for beſides an uncommon degree of literature ſufficient to qualify a gentleman for reading a play, or a political pamphlet, it taketh in a great compaſs of knowledge; no leſs than that of dancing, fighting, gaming, making the circle of Italy, riding the great horſe, and ſpeaking French; not to mention ſome other ſecondary, or ſubaltern accompliſhments, which are more eaſily acquired. So that the difference between good-breeding and good-manners lieth in this; that the former cannot be attained to by the beſt underſtandings without ſtudy and labour: whereas a tolerable degree of reaſon will inſtruct us in every part of good-manners without other aſſiſtance.

I can think of nothing more uſeful upon this ſubject, than to point out ſome particulars wherein the very eſſentials of good-manners are concerned, the neglect or perverting of which doth very much diſturb

ſturb the good commerce of the world, by introducing a traffic of a mutual uneaſineſs in moſt companies.

Firſt, a neceſſary part of good-manners is a punctual obſervance of time at our own dwellings, or thoſe of others, or at third places; whether upon matters of civility, buſineſs, or diverſion: which rule, though it be a plain dictate of common reaſon, yet the greateſt * miniſter I ever knew, was the greateſt treſpaſſer againſt it, by which all his buſineſs doubled upon him, and placed him in a continual arrear. Upon which I often uſed to rally him as deficient in point of good-manners. I have known more than one ambaſſador, and ſecretary of ſtate, with a very moderate portion of intellectuals, execute their offices with great ſucceſs and applauſe, by the mere force of exactneſs and regularity. If you duly obſerve time for the ſervice of another, it doubles the obligation; if upon your own account, it would be manifeſt folly, as well as ingratitude, to neglect it; if both are concerned, to make your equal or inferior attend on you to his own diſadvantage, is pride and injuſtice.

Ignorance of forms cannot properly be ſtiled ill-manners; becauſe forms are ſubject to frequent changes; and conſequently being not founded upon reaſon, are beneath a wiſe man's regard. Beſides, they vary in every country; and after a ſhort period of time very frequently in the ſame: ſo that a man, who travelleth, muſt needs be at firſt a ſtranger to them in every court through which he paſſeth; and, perhaps, at his return as much a ſtranger in his own; and, after all, they are eaſier to be remembered or forgotten than faces or names.

Indeed, among the many impertinencies that ſuperficial young men bring with them from abroad, this bigotry of forms is one of the principal and more predominant than the reſt; who look upon them not only as if they were matters capable of admitting of choice, but even as points of importance; and therefore are zealous upon all occaſions to introduce and propagate the new forms and faſhions they have brought back with them: ſo that, uſually ſpeaking, the worſt bred perſon in the company, is a young traveller juſt arrived from abroad.

On the uſe of Fables for inſtructing children. — From Monſieur Rouſſeau's Treatiſe on Education, entitled Emilius.

EMILIUS ſhall never be ſet to learn any thing by heart, not even the fables of Fontaine, ſimple and beautiful as they are; for the words of a fable are no more the fable itſelf, than theſe of a hiſtory are the hiſtory. How is it poſſible men can be ſo blind as to call fables the moral lectures for children, without reflecting that apologue, in amuſing, only deceives them; and that, ſeduced by the charms of falſehood, the truth couched underneath it eſcapes their notice? Yet ſo it is; and the means which are thus taken to render inſtruction agreeable, prevents their profiting by it. Fable may inſtruct grown per-

* Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, lord high treaſurer to Q. Anne.

ſons, but the naked truth ſhould ever be preſented to children: for if we once ſpread over it a veil, they will not take the trouble to draw it aſide in order to look at it.

Children univerſally read the fables of Fontaine, and yet there is not one who underſtands them. It would be ſtill worſe, however, if they did underſtand them; for the moral is ſo complicated and diſproportionate to their capacities, that it would rather induce them to vice than virtue. Here, again, you will ſay, I am at my paradoxes; be it ſo; let us ſee whether what I affirm be not true.

I advance, that a child does not comprehend the fables which he gets by rote; becauſe, whatever pains we take to render them ſimple, the inſtruction we would deduce from them is attended with other ideas above his capacity; and becauſe that even the poetic turn given them, in order to make them the more eaſily remembered, makes them, at the ſame time, the leſs eaſily comprehended; ſo that they are rendered entertaining at the expence of perſpicuity. Not to mention many of theſe fables, that are totally unintelligible and uſeleſs to children, and which nevertheleſs are indiſcreetly taught them, becauſe they are found mixed with the reſt, we ſhall confine ourſelves to thoſe which the author appears to have written expreſly for children.

In the whole collection of Fontaine's fables, I know of but five or ſix that are eminently diſtinguiſhed for puerile ſimplicity: of theſe I ſhall, by way of example, take the firſt; the moral of which is the moſt adapted to children, being that which they underſtand beſt, and learn with the greateſt pleaſure; it is that alſo which the author has, for this reaſon, placed at the beginning of his book. On the ſuppoſition that the objects of this fable are intelligible to children, and capable of affording them inſtruction and amuſement, it is doubtleſs his maſter-piece; I will take the freedom therefore to give it a ſhort examination.

Le Corbeau et le Renard.

The Raven and the Fox.

Maitre Corbeau, ſur un arbre perché.

Maſter Raven, on a tree perched.

Maſter! What is the ſignification of the word Maſter itſelf? What is the uſe of it before a proper name? and what is the particular meaning of it on this occaſion?

We muſt next tell the child, what is a raven. But what is, *ſur un arbre perché?* We do not ſay, *on a tree perched*, but, *perched on a tree.* We muſt, therefore, talk to him of the tranſpoſition of words by poetical licence, and inſtruct him in the difference between verſe and proſe.

Tenoit dans ſon bec un fromage.

Held in his beak a cheeſe.

What kind of a cheeſe? Was it a Swiſs, or a Dutch cheeſe? If a child has never ſeen ravens, what can you get by talking to him about them? and if he has ſeen them, how will he conceive they could hold whole cheeſes in their beaks? Let our deſcriptions be ever agreeable to nature.

Maitre Renard, par l'odeur alléché.

Maſter Fox, by the ſmell allured.

Maſter again! But this may be thought a good title for a fox, who may be ſuppoſed to have taken up his degrees in the arts of his profeſſion. We muſt, however, deſcribe the

the nature of the fox, and diſtinguiſh between his natural character and that which is given him in fable. *Alléché* is an obſolete word, and uſed only in verſe: a child, being informed of this, will naturally aſk, why we talk otherwiſe in verſe than in proſe? What anſwer will you make to ſuch a queſtion? Again, *Allured by the ſmell of a cheeſe!* This cheeſe, held by a raven perched on a tree, muſt ſurely have a ſtrong ſmell to be ſcented by a fox lurking in a thicket, or earthed in a burrow. Is this the method you would take to exerciſe the genius of your pupil; to teach him not to ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed on, and to diſcern truth from falſhood in the relations of others?

Lui tint à-peu près ce langage.

Held with him nearly this diſcourſe.

This diſcourſe! Do foxes talk then? and do they ſpeak the ſame language as ravens? Take care, ſagacious preceptor; conſider well before you reply to theſe queſtions of your pupil. It is of more conſequence, perhaps, than you imagine.

Eh! bon jour, Monſieur le Corbeau!

Ha! good morrow, Mr. Raven!

Mr. So, *Mr.* is a title which the child hears turned into ridicule before he knows it is a mark of reſpect. Again, thoſe who may read this paſſage, *Monſieur* du *Corbeau*, will have enough to do, before they explain to a child the meaning of the particle *du*.

Que vous êtes charmant! que vous me ſemblez beau!

How charming you are! how beautiful you ſeem to me!

Wretchedly expletive and redundant! a child, hearing the ſame thing repeated in different words, will hence learn a looſe and inaccurate method of ſpeaking. If you ſay this redundancy is a piece of art in the writer, and agreeable to the deſign of the fox, who would ſeem to multiply his praiſes by making uſe of different terms, this excuſe is ſufficient with me; but is a very bad one to be given to my pupil.

Sans mentir, ſi votre ramage.

Without lying, if your ſinging.

Without lying! So, then it is uſual to lye ſometimes! But what would your pupil think, if you were to tell him the fox ſays this only becauſe he is actually telling the raven a lye?

Repondoit à votre plumage.

Be anſwerable to your feathers.

Anſwerable! What can that word mean? Endeavour to teach a child to compare two qualities ſo different as the plumage and the ſinging of a bird; and ſee how well he will underſtand you.

Vous ſeriez le phenix des hôtes de ces bois.

You are a phœnix among the lords of theſe woods.

A phœnix! what is a phœnix? Behold us already entering upon the fictions of the ancient mythology. *The lords of the woods!* How figurative! The flatterer raiſes his language, and gives it more dignity, in order to render it the more ſeductive. How is a child to underſtand this fineſſe? Does he know, is it poſſible that he ſhould know, the difference between an elevated and a mean ſtile?

A ces mots, le corbeau ne ſe ſent pas de joie.

At theſe words the raven is out of his wits with delight.

A child muſt have already experienced

rienced very lively and ſtrong paſſions, to be able to comprehend this proverbial expreſſion.

Et pour montrer ſa belle voix.

And to diſplay his fine ſinging.

It muſt not be forgotten, that, in order to underſtand this verſe and the whole fable, a child ought to be previouſly made acquainted with the fine ſinging of a raven.

Il ouvre un large bec, laiſſe tomber ſa proie.

He opens his large beak, and lets fall his prey.

Il ouvre, &c. This verſe is admirable; the ſound and the ſenſe go incomparably well together. Methinks I ſee his wide beak open, and hear the cheeſe rattle down the boughs: but this kind of beauty is loſt on children.

Le renard s'en ſaiſit; et dit, mon bon Monſieur.

The fox ſnapt it up; and then ſaid, my good Sir.

Good Sir! See already goodneſs made ſynonymous to folly: is it not indeed mere loſs of time thus to inſtruct children?

Apprenez que tout flateur

Learn that every flatterer.

A general maxim! children know nothing of general maxims.

Vit aux depens de celui qui l'écoute.

Lives at the coſt of thoſe who liſten to him.

No child of ten years of age can underſtand the meaning of this line.

Cette leçon vaut bien un fromage, ſans doute.

This leſſon is worth a cheeſe, without doubt.

This line is intelligible, and the thought is good. There are, nevertheleſs, but few children who are capable of comparing a moral leſſon to a cheeſe; and fewer who would not prefer the cheeſe to the leſſon. They muſt be taught, therefore, to look upon this as a piece of raillery. What a deal of ſubtilty is here required of children!

Le corbeau, honteux & confus.

The raven, aſhamed and confuſed.

Another pleonaſm; but this is inexcuſable.

Jura, mais un peu tard, qu'on ne l'y prendroit plus.

Swore, tho' ſomewhat too late, he would never be ſo deceived again.

Swore! Where is the preceptor weak enough to explain to a child the nature of an oath?

You may think, perhaps, I have been here too circumſtantial: I have been much leſs ſo, however, than would have been neceſſary to analyſe all the complex ideas of that fable, and to reſolve them into the ſimple and elementary ones of which they are compoſed. But who thinks ſuch analyſis neceſſary to make ourſelves underſtood? We are none of us philoſophers enough to put ourſelves in the place of children. But to proceed to the moral of the fable.

I would aſk, if there are any children of ſix years of age, whom it would be proper to teach, that mankind flatter and deceive each other through motives of ſelf-intereſt? One might teach them, indeed, that there are ſatiriſts who laugh at little boys, and privately ridicule their childiſh vanity: but the cheeſe ſpoils all; and they learn leſs to prevent its falling from their own mouths, than how to make it fall from the mouths of others. This is another paradox, and not the leaſt important.

Trace the progreſs of children in learning fables, and you will find, that, when they are in a capacity to make

make any application of them, they almoſt always do it in a manner contrary to the intention of the fabuliſt; and that, inſtead of remarking the error or fault you are deſirous of guarding them againſt, they fall in love with the vice of the party expoſed. In reading the fable above cited, for inſtance, children laugh at and deſpiſe the ſilly raven; but they are fond of the fox.

In the next fable of the ſame collection, you think alſo to ſet them an example in the graſhopper; you are miſtaken: they prefer that of the ant. None are fond of humiliation; all chuſe to act the ſhining part: it is the choice of ſelf-love; it is in every reſpect natural. But what a ſhocking leſſon is this fable for children? A covetous child would be the moſt deteſtable of all monſters: at leaſt, ſuch it would be, when ſenſible of what was asked of it, and what it refuſed. The ant in the fable does more than this; he not only refuſes to aſſiſt the ſuppliant in diſtreſs, but aggravates that refuſal with raillery and reproach.

In all fables where a lion is introduced, as it is generally the moſt ſhining character, a child never fails to take upon himſelf the part of the lion; and when he preſides at any diſtribution, he generally profits by his model, and ſweeps all to his own ſhare. But when the gnat ſtings the lion to the quick, it is another affair: the child is then no longer the lion, but the gnat; and learns thence in what manner he may ſome time or other kill thoſe with the prick of a pin, whom he durſt not attack openly.

In the fable of the lean wolf and the fat dog, inſtead of deducing from it the leſſon of moderation deſigned, he is encouraged to licentiouſneſs. I ſhall never forget the circumſtance of once ſeeing a little girl, quite diſtreſſed by being teized with this fable, in order to make her docile and tractable. It was ſome time before the cauſe of her tears came to be known; which, however, was at length diſcovered: the poor child was heartily tired of her chain; ſhe felt her neck galled, and was very ſorry ſhe was not in the condition of the wolf.

Thus the moral of the firſt fable is, to a child, a leſſon of the moſt ſervile flattery; that of the ſecond, a leſſon of inhumanity; that of the third, of injuſtice; that of the fourth, of ſatire; and that of the fifth, of independence. This laſt leſſon is ſuperfluous to my pupil, and not more expedient for yours; for when the precepts you inſtil are contradictory to each other, what good can you expect from them? But, perhaps, this defect in the moral of fables, which makes me object to them, may furniſh a reaſon for your preſerving their uſe. In the world, there is one kind of morality in diſcourſe, and another in actions; both which never agree together. The firſt is to be found in the catechiſm, where we ſhall leave it; the other we meet with in Fontaine; in his fables, as to what regards children; and in his tales, as to what relates to their *mamas*. The ſame author ſuffices for both.

But I am willing to compromiſe this matter with La Fontaine. I promiſe you, for my own part, my dear author, to read, and admire your fables, becauſe I am not afraid of being miſtaken in their deſign. But, as for my pupil, you muſt excuſe me, if I do not ſuffer him to read a line in your book, till you have

have convinced me that it is proper for him to get words by rote, of which he does not underſtand one fourth part; that the meaning which he may annex to ſome, cannot be falſe; and that, inſtead of profiting by the example of the dupe, he may not form himſelf on that of the knave.

Extract from the Caſe of Authors by Profeſſion or Trade. *By the late James Ralph, Eſq;*

WIT and money have been always at war, and always treated one another with reciprocal contempt. Perhaps for this only reaſon, That the man of money could acquire every thing but ideas; and the man of wit's ideas could never acquire him money. But whatever the cauſe may be, ſuch is the fact: and, as if the bulk of mankind derived ſome kind of gratification from the quarrel, they have each in his way contributed all they could to render it perpetual.

Thus a man may plead for money, preſcribe or quack for money, preach and pray for money, marry for money, fight for money, do any thing within the law for money, provided the expedient anſwers, without any the leaſt imputation.

But if he writes like one inſpired from heaven, and writes for money, the man of Touch, in the right of Midas, his great anceſtor, enters his caveat againſt him as a man of taſte; declares the two provinces to be incompatible; that he who aims at praiſe ought to be ſtarved; and that there ought to be ſo much draw-back upon character for every acquiſition in coin.

And yet the art of writing is as much an art as the art of painting, or the art of war. The pen, as a tool, is of as much importance, at leaſt, as the pencil; and as a weapon, offenſive or defenſive, has its power, and can do ſome ſort of execution as well as a ſword.

We call the ſciences liberal, 'tis true; but then, 'tis as true, there is not one liberal amongſt them: all are carried to market: and ſome not only fetch a very good price in ready money, but are farther rewarded with titles, dignities, employments, and revenues.

And the thing ſpeaks for itſelf: a poetical canto; a demonſtration worthy of Euclid;—an hiſtorical ſection—a tract on government—a diſcourſe on morals—a perſuaſive to holineſs, &c. till converted into money, will not furniſh any one accommodation: and in a country of riches and luxury like this, where both pleaſure and importance are meaſured by expence, money enough muſt be had to furniſh vanities as well as neceſſaries. The more we abound in vanities, the more conſiderable we are eſteemed: and where any neceſſary is wanting, apparently thro' neceſſity, all the douceurs of life ariſing from obſervance and reſpect, will be wanting too.

If, for illuſtration, we had a Shakeſpeare, a Milton, or a Newton now exiſting amongſt us, who ſhould come into what is called good company in dirty linen, for want of clean—And a Charters, a Laſcels, a Lowther, a Walters, or a Craſtein, out of ſordidneſs did the ſame, merely to ſave the charge of waſhing, the latter would be courted and careſſed, and the former would hardly be acknowledged.—The moſt notorious abuſe of wealth not being able to render the abuſer con-

contemptible, or talents the moſt ſublime to render poverty otherwiſe.

Even the poor lord, poor hero, poor ſaint, amongſt us (if we had any of the two latter claſſes amongſt us) could no more preſerve themſelves from contempt, than the poor poet, hiſtorian, philoſopher, or divine.

And this we ought in charity to ſuppoſe is the cauſe, that neither God or the King is ever ſerved in employments the moſt honourable and venerable, even by perſons of the firſt families, and moſt unblemiſhed ſanctity, for naught.

Politically ſpeaking, however, I am of opinion, that wealth ſhould be intitled to ſome degree of reſpect; and, on the contrary, that want ſhould be ſubject to ſome degree of diſgrace. The reaſon this: wealth is the object of commerce; commerce is one great ſource of our national efficiency; and when political and philoſophical maxims claſh, prudence requires the latter ſhould give way to the former.

But then wealth may be valued too high, as it is ſaid, gold may be bought too dear. Or, if there is no ſuch worth, indeed, as moneys worth, we ſhould be conſiſtent in our deciſions at leaſt; in which caſe it would follow, that, inſtead of cenſuring an author for taking money for his works, we ought to eſteem thoſe moſt who get moſt money by them. And then Pope, and Voltaire after his example, would deſerve to be conſidered more for what they made of their works, than for the works themſelves.

The writer has three provinces. To write for bookſellers. To write for the ſtage. To write for a faction in the name of the community.

To write for a faction in the name of the community is the moſt flattering of all theſe provinces, becauſe the writer who fills it, is expected to do that without doors, which his confederates in a ſuperior ſtation find impracticable to do within; becauſe he finds himſelf conſulted and careſſed by them on this account; and becauſe of the aſſurances given him, that in the diviſion of the promiſed land, a lot ſhall be reſerved for him.

While, therefore, theſe occaſional connections hold, while he is uſeful in collecting the materials of oppoſition, and in working up the whole maſs to a head, hope ſweetens all his labours, all his difficulties, all his diſcouragements, and he at leaſt enjoys the dream of growing ſerviceable to himſelf and his country together.

At laſt, the time of projection comes. The country is brought to groan for a change. The ſtrongeſt faction in the c——t takes advantage of the cry, to diſplace the weaker, and to grow themſelves ſtronger by ſlipping in a ſure man or two of their own. All-ſufficient patriots become inſignificant miniſters. Oppoſition is at an end. The pen is no longer of any uſe; and he that held it is left, in the language of Shakeſpeare, *Like an unregarded bulruſh on the ſtream to rot itſelf with motion.*

Poor * Amhurſt! after having

* Mr. M-----, his fellow labourer in another excellent paper called *Common Senſe*, by marrying a woman of fortune, was put into a condition of laughing at the ingratitude he alſo experienced on the ſame occaſion.

been

been the drudge of his party for the beſt part of twenty years together, was as much forgot in the famous compromiſe of 1742, as if he had never been born! And when he died, of what is called a broken heart, which happened within a few months afterwards, became indebted to the charity of his very bookſeller for a grave. A grave not to be traced now, becauſe then no otherwiſe to be diſtinguiſhed than by the freſhneſs of the turf, borrowed from the next common to cover it!

There is no need for me to infer. Every conſiderate reader, as well as every author, will do it for me.

I do not, however, deſire to carry this accuſation one ſtep higher than it ought to go: nor am I at all pleaſed with the opportunity thrown in my way of making any ſuch accuſation at all.

There have been times, when the talents of a good writer were eſteemed a ſufficient qualification for almoſt any employment whatſoever, and when room was left or made for their admiſſion.

I do not rank Burnet in the firſt claſs of authors, and yet it was not his divinity which made him biſhop of Saliſbury.

Somers, it is true, was lawyer, orator, and ſtateſman; and yet he was more obliged to his pen than his pleadings (with an exception to that on the abdication) for thoſe diſtinctions, which gradually led him to the higheſt in the power of the crown to beſtow on him.

Mr. Locke had tried his hand in the ſervice of the *Excluders* for the ſake of mankind, if not for his own: and though it muſt be allowed he was more a philoſopher than a politician, it was not in the former of thoſe capacities that he was honoured with a ſeat at the Board of Trade.

Davenant was not eminent in his own walk of civil law, at leaſt as a pleader; nor was he ever promoted in it: and yet, in acknowledgment of his powers as a political writer, we find the place of inſpector-general of the cuſtoms created purpoſely for his gratification; becauſe the eſtabliſhment, it ſeems, was, even in thoſe days, ſo full, that no room could be made for him elſewhere.

Prior not only found friends to applaud his abilities, but alſo to reward them: Sunderland was the Erle Robert he addreſſed his Mice to; ſo that we are not to wonder, that he had a ſeat in parliament (there was then no qualification-act.)—that he was ſecretary to the embaſſy at Ryſwick, and to that of lord Jerſey in France; that, even when lord Mancheſter was ambaſſador-reſident there, in the room of lord Jerſey, he was ſent thither with a ſpecial commiſſion, independent on him; and that he was a lord of trade, long before he was a miniſter-plenipotentiary from Great Britain to Lewis XIV.

Swift had a natural claim to all that Sir William Temple could do for him; had been perſonally known to King William; and was introduced to lord Godolphin by the elder Craggs, as a man worth any price or preferment, without deriving any material advantage from his ſurpaſſing genius: but having commenced advocate for lord Oxford, was rewarded with the deanery of St. Patrick's; and the times taking a new turn ſoon after, he preferred the free exerciſe of his wit

wit to every lucrative conſideration.

Addiſon and his advancement hardly need be mentioned, the inſtance is ſo notorious; but every body may not ſo readily recollect, that his party-ſervices contributed more to it than all his laudable efforts to refine our manners, and perfect our taſte.

Nor was Steel, his ſubordinate, abſolutely forgot: as his ſhare in the play-houſe patent ſerves to bear witneſs: and I believe, were we to inſpect the records of the treaſury, we ſhould find proofs of his being farther conſidered in a more ſilent way.

Even the great Walpole himſelf, like the great Montagu, lord Hallifax, whom he ſucceeded, did not diſdain to make his approaches to power by writing as well as ſpeaking; and ſeveral of his pieces are ſtill extant in the collections of perſons curious in theſe matters.

And I will not ſpecify the many, many dignified names, in all capacities, of perſons now living, who have either obtained thoſe dignities, or added ſignal emoluments to them, by the exerciſe of the pen; for fear of ſhocking that delicacy which renders them content with the fruits of their former labours, and deſirous the labours themſelves ſhould be forgot.

But Thomas Gordon is dead—And with his, as the † laſt of the lucky names on this roll, worth remembering, I ſhall cloſe my liſt.

Gordon then, I have reaſon to think, was not much richer, better recommended, or better ally'd, when fortune firſt led him from Scotland to London, than many of his cotemporaries: and what degree of conſideration he obtained from the public, till he had Trenchard and Collins for his ſupporters, is hardly worth aſcertaining—But from that happy period all went well with him: the parts and learning of the whole junto were placed to his account—As reputed author of the *Independent Whig*, a fortune not inconſiderable was left him, by a country phyſician; being the only retribution of the kind, perhaps, that ever any Britiſh author met with!——From *Cato*'s *Letters*, *London Journals*, *Anti-South-Sea* pamphlets, he derived the character of a writing politician. And what completed his importance, Trenchard dying, was not, faſhionably, aſhamed to own him in his will, but left him his books, together with a handſome legacy; on which recommendation, Sir Robert Walpole not only took him and his Tacitus at once into his protection, but alſo found means to put him on the eſtabliſhment as a commiſſioner of the wine-licences; in the poſſeſſion of which place he dy'd.

Did all merit center in or die with Gordon? It cannot be affirmed, or even ſuppoſed. Arnal, once his friend, though afterwards his enemy, was acknowledged to have quicker parts, and a more pliant pen.——And yet, tho' prodigally rewarded for critical ſervices, he could never obtain a ſtated proviſion.—So that, had he lived a few years longer, he might have lived

† Mr. Wood, ſo much to his honour diſtinguiſhed by Mr. ſecretary Pitt, is a writer by accident, not by profeſſion; and was already ſecured againſt any reverſe of fortune, by the gratitude and generoſity of former friends.

himſelf

himself into all the wretchedness, which Amhurst, his antagonist, sunk under.

What is stranger still, he had not only the minister but the M—ch too for his patron; who condescended, more than once, to express a gracious sense of his merits and services, and some impatience, to have him suitably and permanently rewarded. So that we are bound to believe, that neither M—ch nor minister, tho' seemingly all-sufficient, had any longer power, separately or conjunctively, to do what they wished to do for him.—The heat of opposition had, by this time, not only increased the price of service, but so enlarged the number of claimants, that all was too little to satisfy their cravings and demands.—*Hinc illæ Lachrymæ.*——

"Authors at large (says lord Shaftesbury) are in a manner professed masters of understanding to the age." And in *Churchill's Collection of Voyages*, an Italian traveller, one Gemelli, gives all Europe to understand, that he could find nothing amongst us but our writings, to distinguish us from the worst of Barbarians. Instead of reproaching authors, therefore, for living by their labours, we ought to reproach ourselves for allowing them no other means to live.

By the statute of modern uniformity, luxury is the idol that all worship——there is a luxury of the mind as well as the senses.——Of those who administer to the latter, authors stand the foremost—And ought we to reproach them for the exercise of those talents which we are so much obliged to, for enlarging the bounds of our happiness?

The times, as we have seen, were favourable to Prior, Addison, &c. (though all found occasion to complain before they were served) because the link of patronage which held the great and the learned together was then in full force: and yet they did not commence writers in virtue of any such foresight, but because it was the impulse of their genius; and all the good that befel them upon it, was as much the gift of fortune as the result of merit.

The next race of writers had their recent examples for authority; and, so far, could better justify themselves for taking to the pen and the press, on a principle of discretion, than, in this country, any other set of writers ever could.

We of the present day, indeed, having nothing but phantoms before our eyes, are only the dupes of our own delusions *.—But then alas! we *are* writers; consequently incapable of taking up any other trade; and consequently, instead of examples, can only bequeath our advices and warnings to others.

And, if advice had any power to convince, or warnings to deter, the glut of writing which has cloyed the present age, should be followed, like Pharaoh's years of abundance, with a dearth as durable.

Were only the *Journals*, *Chronicles*, *Magazines*, and other periodical, as well as occasional productions (which, at present, contribute so much to the amusement and

* This was in some measure the case when Mr. Ralph wrote. More encouragement has been given to letters in the present reign.

chief-

chit-chat of the day) to be discontinued all at once, how doubly loaded with all the horrors of vacancy would every hour limp off; And how little would the common run of society be worth?

Knowledge is the light of the world: authors have been the dispensers of it; and have been suffered to consume themselves in the operation.

Let those that now write, therefore, be the last! And those that delight in darkness have it!

A letter concerning the marquis Belloni's dissertation upon commerce. From the Journal Œconomique.

SIR,

IN your journal for March, 1751, you have inserted a dissertation upon trade, by the marquis Belloni, which I have read several times, as an excellent piece; the substance of all the best remarks which have been made by our modern politicians on that subject, containing advice to sovereigns touching the direction of commerce, manufactures and the circulation of money. But ought not he first to have considered whether it is more necessary to direct all those things with so much care and concern as he proposes, or to let them take their own way, under proper protection only? How many general and particular manufactures have been established and brought to perfection by liberty alone, each having been carried on in its own right! Every individual will be led by honour and advantage, and thence results a great whole, which will never be the consequence of a general direction. If, on the contrary, the government should be too watchful and sollicitous, and laws too much extended or too minute, should happen to disturb particular manufacturers, in terrifying by penalties often injudiciously inflicted, or recompensing by prizes ill adjudged, you substitute intrigue instead of emulation. How many things are now carried on with tolerable success, merely from having hitherto escaped a pretended legislative *Police*, which instead of advancing, retards the progress of industry and improvement. Observe how trade flourished in the republics, until its prosperity was interrupted either by time, or other political causes foreign to commerce, such as wars, national debts, and oppression; the reason was, those republics have a spirit ever healthy, ever active, which is liberty; and this, far from diminishing, actually constitutes the public strength; it represses evil, and maintains distributive justice, and the evil being repressed, the good appears and predominates: yes, the removal of obstacles is all that is necessary to the success of trade. It asks nothing of the public, but good judges, the discouragement of monopoly, an equal protection to all the subjects, an invariable value of coin, roads and canals: besides these articles all other cares are vicious: and this vice is the more pernicious to a state, as it flows from an ill-conducted zeal: this zeal has partizans, officers in employment and authority, and it requires whole ages to undeceive them of their errors.

Trade is the science of individuals; but the general direction of trade cannot be a science; for it is impossible. Oftentimes, when we

dive into ſciences beyond our reach, ſuch as the general ſyſtem of the univerſe, infinitude, the union of ſpirit and matter, &c. we are quit for ſo much loſs of time; but in policy, ſuch falſe preſumptions carry us a great way in the fatal paths of ruin and deſtruction. We ought to be perſuaded that, in order to attain to that knowledge which is requiſite for the direction of commerce, it is not enough to know the different intereſts of different nations, provinces and ſocieties; but we muſt alſo underſtand the intereſts and connexions of individuals, together with the quality and value of each commodity. He therefore, who is miſtaken in the leaſt article, will direct amiſs, and enact prepoſterous laws. Who then ſhall pretend to this integral and univerſal capacity? *Non datur ſcientia.* Nevertheleſs the directors of trade arrogate this to themſelves; and if this arrogance be faulty, and they conſult their caprices more than their underſtanding, the reſult will be, laws that cramp commerce, and favours unjuſtly conferred. Sometimes the council of commerce of a nation or province, ſees the common intereſt only through the eyes of their deputies; theſe ſometimes propoſe private or particular advantages to their own towns or perſons, to the prejudice of other towns and the reſt of their ſubjects; and ſometimes it is to be feared, they lay it down as a maxim to aggrandize what is great, annihilate what is little, and utterly baniſh equality. It is reported of Mr. Colbert, that when he convened ſeveral deputies of commerce at his houſe, and aſked what he could do for the benefit of trade? the moſt ſenſible and plaineſt ſpoken man among them, replied in theſe three words. "Let us alone." Have we ever ſufficiently reflected upon the good ſenſe of that ſhort anſwer? This is no other than a kind of commentary upon it. Apply it to every thing that is done for trade, and to what chiefly deſtroys it in monarchies; and examine its effects: you will ſoon find how little fruit and ſucceſs is reaped from all thoſe cares of reſtraint, inſpection and regulation; the republics have made greater advances in trade, almoſt without laws and conſtraint, than other countries when countenanced by the ableſt miniſters; the inſtinct of the bee does more in this particular, than the genius of the greateſt politician: the capital of a republican ſtate increaſes every day, by œconomy, agriculture, induſtry, brokerage, manufacture, and every thing that is underſtood by the idea of trade. There are degrees by which we aſcend ſucceſſively from what is ſimple to what is improved, and from this laſt to the perfection of art; theſe the multitude will climb of themſelves, by communication, example and emulation: they never fail to follow the different ſteps, and never miſtake when left to their own conduct; but when people pretend to ſhew them the road and direct them, woe be to him who miſtakes! The needful is neglected, in order to proceed to what is ſuperfluous before the time. Without mentioning particular nations, how many errors of this kind have been committed to the deſtruction of mankind! How many colonies have been peopled at the expence of the continent! While ſome places enjoyed abundance, how

many others have been quite deſerted! How many arts have been admired at the expence of neglecting the gifts of nature elſewhere; fine palaces built, and ſtatues erected, but lands without culture, and villages without inhabitants. Theſe are the effects of the grand ſcience of trade.

The marquis Belloni thinks it might be of ſervice to trade, to ſet up cuſtom-houſes, and load one kind of commodity with higher duties than another; to exclude foreign merchandize, and favour our own by encouraging the exportation of them. This practice is but too well known in Europe; but the nation who introduced it firſt, hath neceſſarily preſcribed the example to others; each is willing to do the ſame injury to the right of nations which itſelf ſuffers: foreign manufactures were prohibited that one country might not become tributary to its neighbours; ſo that the Europeans, as they increaſed in the knowledge of trade, took meaſures for breaking all communication among themſelves, and in time of profound peace ſuffer all the effects of an univerſal war. No, it is not the good of trade that adviſes theſe meaſures, but ſome private intereſt which too often gets the better of public advantage. If once the multitude is allowed to take their own way, it will ſoon undeceive the world in this particular, to the great advantage of ſociety, and ſhew that the paſſage of merchandize from one ſtate to another ought to be as free as that of the air and water. All Europe ought to be no other than a general and common fair; the perſon or nation which ſhould make the beſt commodity ſhould find the greateſt advantage. The diſtance and expence of carriage are ſufficient reaſons for any nation to prefer its own goods to thoſe of others; and where theſe obſtacles ceaſe, the ſtranger is preferable to our own countryman, otherwiſe you ruin inſtead of favouring ſubjects in their trade. The cuſtom-houſe duties will always have a bad effect, for the finances of the nation ought to be raiſed from the conſumption only; as all duties levied upon the tranſportation, be they what they will, never fail to diſtreſs trade. But preſumption and ſelf-love are ſo predominant among men, that they prefer a ſmall advantage acquired by ſophiſtry, ſubtility or malice, to all that nature and humanity would afford with much more abundance and integrity; though their underſtanding was undoubtedly given them not to domineer but to regulate liberty. Yes, a regulated and enlighted liberty will always do more for the trade of any people, than the moſt intelligent dominion: a ſingle man ſees more clearly into the intereſts of his own trade, and conducts it better than ten aſſociates, whoſe intereſts are always divided and often oppoſed to each other. If he goes too far, if he uſurps over or injures his neighbours, they can ſtop and reſtrain him with the aſſiſtance of juſtice; and this conſtitutes the equality, policy and ballance that are neceſſary to trade: whereas our legiſlators can only perceive ſo many different intereſts in a confuſed manner. Liberty will enrich the merchants, and theſe becoming more or leſs wealthy, according to their talents, will endeavour to bring their manufacto-

ries to perfection. The regulations made for manufactories ought to be as ſo many inſtructions to thoſe who are in ſearch of this perfection, in the ſame manner as the books that treat of arts and ſciences. There muſt be all ſorts of degrees of goodneſs in the manufactories, according to the taſte and circumſtances of the purchaſers: imperfection and fraud diſcredit manufacturers, while diligence and honeſty enrich and bring them into vogue. For theſe reaſons commerce claims liberty inſtead of thoſe penal laws, duties and interdictions by which it is diſcouraged.

Trade itſelf is no other than an abſtract idea lately known, as well as circulation and credit. We ſeem to make new divinities, like the Greeks, in order to adore them: our fathers, who had leſs idolatry and philoſophy, but more wiſdom, were richer by their œconomy and labour, than we by our ſciences of exchange, brokerage, and ſtock-jobbing. Perhaps our poſterity, undeceived by experience, will laugh at the diſeaſe that now prevails in ſeveral nations, of endeavouring to reduce the principles of trade into a ſyſtem: and will place it in that rank which we now aſſign to the Cruſades, and which we ſhall ſoon give to the folly of the political ballance of power in Europe.

POETRY.

POETRY.

The HORSE *and the* OLIVE, *or* WAR *and* PEACE.

By the late Archdeacon PARNELL.

Not yet printed in his works.

WITH moral tale let ancient wiſdom move,
Which thus I ſing to make the moderns wiſe;
Strong Neptune once with ſage Minerva ſtrove,
And riſing Athens was the victor's prize.

By Neptune, Plutus, (guardian pow'r of gain)
By great Minerva, bright Apollo ſtood:
But Jove ſuperior bade the ſide obtain,
Which beſt contriv'd to do the nation good.

Then Neptune ſtriking, from the parted ground
The warlike horſe came pawing on the plain,
And as it toſs'd its mane, and pranc'd around,
By this, he cries, I'll make the people reign.

The goddeſs, ſmiling, gently bow'd the ſpear,
And rather thus they ſhall be bleſs'd, ſhe ſaid:
Then, upwards ſhooting in the vernal air,
With loaded boughs the fruitful olive ſpread.

Jove ſaw what gift the rival pow'rs deſign'd,
And took th' impartial ſcales, reſolv'd to ſhow,
If greater bliſs in warlike pomp we find,
Or in the calm which peaceful times beſtow.

On Neptune's part he plac'd victorious days,
Gay trophies won, and fame extending wide;
But plenty, ſafety, ſcience, arts, and eaſe,
Minerva's ſcale with greater weight ſupply'd.

Fierce war devours whom gentle peace wou'd ſave;
Sweet peace reſtores what angry war deſtroys;
War made for peace, with that rewards the brave,
While peace its pleaſures from itſelf enjoys.

Hence vanquiſh'd Neptune to the ſea withdrew,
Hence wiſe Minerva rul'd Athenian lands;
Her Athens hence in arts and honours grew,
And ſtill her Olives deck pacific hands.

From fables thus diſclos'd, a monarch's mind
May form juſt rules to chuſe the truly great,
And ſubjects, weary'd with diſtreſſes, find
Whoſe kind endeavours moſt befriend the ſtate.

E'en Britain here may learn to place her love,
If cities won her kingdom's wealth have coſt.
If Anna's thoughts the patriot ſouls approve,
Whoſe cares reſtore that wealth the wars had loſt.

But if we aſk, the moral to diſcloſe,
Whom beſt Europa's patroneſs it calls,
Great Anna's title no exception knows,
And unapply'd in this the fable falls.

With her no Neptune or Minerva vies:
Whene'er ſhe pleas'd, her troops to conqueſt flew:
Whene'er ſhe pleaſes peaceful times ariſe:
She gave the horſe, and gives the olive too.

ODE *ſur la Préſente* GUERRE.

Extracted from a German periodical work of M. Profeſſor Gottſched of Leipſick, of whoſe company the king of Pruſſia was ſo fond, and attributed by that gentleman to one of the moſt eminent writers of French poetry, who, the profeſſor ſays, will be readily gueſſed without his naming him.

J'ENTENS de toutes parts éclater les Orages,
Les champs ſont inondès de cent mille aſſaſſins,
Payés pour le maſſacre, inſtruits pour les ravages.
La foudere eſt dans leurs mains.
Par tout le fer pourſuit, par tout le feu dévore;
Ils laiſſant à leur ſuite en ces champs malheureux,
La faim, le déſeſpoir, plus terribles encore
Que le fer & les feux.
Les Guerriers, dont la courſe imite les tempêtes,
Obéiſſent aux Lois, aux Princes, aux Vertus;
Les lauriers immortels, dont ils parent leurs têtes
Sans doute leur ſons dus.
C'eſt vous que j'interroge, Idoles de la Terre,
Vainqueurs des Nations, ou plutôt leurs bourreaux,
Tyrans ambitieux, qui d'une injuſte Guerre
Allumez les flambeaux.
Neron oſa brûler des maſures antiques,
Rome l'appelle monſtre, en tombant ſous ſes coups,
Et vous du Monde en feu, deſtructeurs frenétiques,
Quel nom méritez vous?

Voyez

Voyez ces habitans dans l'horreur des allarmes,
En cent lieux fugitifs, errans, exterminés,
Quel laurier peut payer la douleur & les larmes
De tant d'infortunés !
Si vous êtés preſſés de ce deſir funeſte,
De depeupler la Terre, en proie á vos tranſports,
Ah ! ſemez les poiſons, faites germer la peſte,
Et règnez ſur des morts
D'une goutte de ſang vous redemandez compte
Vos Loiz aux meutriers prodiguent des tourments
Aſſaſſins de l'Europe, & vous n'avez pas honte
D'en verſer des torrens !
Ah ! qui donc êtes vous ? quelle fut l'origine,
Des droits que vos égaux vous ont abandonnés ?
Nés de la même fange, eſt ce pour leur ruine,
Qu'ils vous out couronnés ?
Ah ! s'ils n'avoient voulu que s'rracher la vie,
Avoient-ils donc beſoin de Sceptres & de Loix ?
Libres, ne pouvoient ils aſſouvir leur envie,
Sans ramper ſous des Rois !
Comptons les Souverains que l'Europe raſſemble ;
Douze Chefs vertueux fixeroient ſon bonheur,
Tour á tonr teints de ſang de leur ruine enſemble,
Ils diſputent l'honneur,
Humanité, Juſtice, eſt-ce pour vous qu'ils règnent ?
Délateurs mutuels, perfides, & jaloux,
J'atteſte leurs Ecrits, ils s'accuſent, ſe craignent,
Et ſe mépriſent tous.
Ceſſent-ils de ſe nuire, ils manquent donc de force,
S'ils ſuſpendent leurs coups, c'eſt pour les préparer,
Leur repos n'eſt jamais qu'une perfide amorce
Pour mieux ſe déchirer.
Qu'eſpèrent-ils enfin ? Maitres d'un vaſte Empire,
Pour un Hameau de plus, combien de ſang verſé ?
Ridicule fureur, mépriſable délire !
Moins cruel qu'inſenſé.
Génie, activité, ſoif de gloire, courage,
Vous me vantez en vain vos illuſtres travaux ;
Ah ! l'auſtère équité diſtingue aux yeux du Sage,
Les monſtres des Héros.
O vous ! qui, profanant les tranſports du Génie,
Oſez diviniſer les fléaux des mortels ;
Que ne puis je étouffer de votre voix impie
Les accens criminels.
Quoi ! le meurtre d'un Peuple honoreroit ſon Maître !
L'Homme n'a que ſon ſang, on le traîne au trépas,
Vils flatteurs arrêtez, la Gloire peut elle être,
Où la vertu n'eſt pas ?

Mais peut-être mon zèle en ſa chaleur amère,
Répand ſur les objets de trop ſombres couleurs,
La Guerre eſt de tout tems, & ce mal neceſſaire,
N'eſt digne que de pleurs.
Non, ce fléau jamais ne fut inévitable,
La ſageſſe toujours peut prévenir ſes coups,
Quand les Rois ſont armés, il en eſt un coupable,
Peut être ils le ſont tous !
Oſe-t-on, ſi les droits ne ſont pas légitimes,
Aux yeux de l'Univers combattre en furieux ?
S'ils ſont douteux, le ſang d'innocentes victimes,
Le prouvera-t-il mieux ?
Ces ſauvages ſanglans que votre orgueil deteſte,
Sont de foibles rivaux de tant d'excès honteux,
Et je ne vois que l'art de faire un manifeſte,
Qui vous diſtingue d'eux.
Ils mangent les vaincus dans leur cruelle joie,
L'honneur de les tuer ſuffit à vos fureurs,
Qu'importe, à qui n'eſt plus, de devenir la proie,
Des vers ou des Vainqueurs ?
Du moins ſi tant de ſang rendoit à la Patrie,
Des jours plus fortunés, un tranquille deſtin ;
Mais quel en eſt le prix ? le Soldat eſt ſans vie,
Et le Peuple ſans pain !
Leurs tréſors prodigués par des mains ſanguinaires,
Les fruits de leurs ſueurs livrés avec effort,
Que ſont ils devenus ? de leurs Fils, de leurs Frères.
Ils achètent la mort.
Politique éclairée, active, impénètrable !
Art ſublime & profond, autant qu' infructueux !
Quel bien avez vous fait ! l'Homme en eſt plus coupable,
Sans être plus heureux.
Comptez ſur les Traités, ſignés par le menſonge !
Ces Actes Solomnels avec art préparés.
Traités rompus, refaits, oubliés comme un ſonge,
Auſſitôt que jurés.
Ah ! comment eſpérer un terme favorable,
Si toujours aux dépens du Monde gémiſſant,
Le plus foible prétend devenir redoutable,
Et le fort tout puiſſant ?
Si la force du moins donnoit quelque aſſurance ;
Mais l'Etat qui s'étend, a des Voiſins nouveaux,
Les irrite ſans doute : & doubler ſa puiſſance,
C'eſt doubler ſes rivaux.
Perſépolis n'eſt plus qu'une cendre ſtérile,
Souvent à ſa grandeur un Etat doit ſa fin,
La foibleſſe le garde, & Lucque eſt plus tranquille,
Que Dreſde & que Berlin.

Rome

Rome ſoumit la Terre & ſe crut éternelle,
Il lui vint des vainqueurs des Bords du Tanais,
Et dix fois ſaccagée, à peine régna-t-elle,
Sur ſes propres débris.
Ainſi le ſort confond le courage & l'adreſſe,
Tour à tour par le fer, tout Empire eſt détruit.
Les Vainqueurs, les vaincus, la force & la foibleſſe ;
Tôt ou tard tout périt.
Trente ſiècles de ſang du meurtre héréditaire,
Qu'ont-ils produit enfin, après mille combats ?
Au bonheur les mortels ont ils dans leur carrière,
Avancé d'un ſeul pas !
L'Humanité tremblante étend ſes bras auguſtes,
Elle remplit les airs de ſes cris douloureux.
N'eſt-il donc plus d'eſpoir ? O vous Rois ! ſoyez juſtes,
Et le Monde eſt heureux.
Voilà votre devoir & voila votre Gloire,
Toute autre n'ſt qu'un crime ; écoutez vos ſujets,
Vous ne leur devez point d'exploits ni de victoire,
Vous leur dèvez la Paix.
Salomon, & Numa dans leurs Cité bornée,
Ont égalé le nom des plus heureux Guerriers,
La Paix a ſes Héros, l'Olive fortunée
A l'éclat des lauriers.
Un jour il s'éteindra ce préjugé feroce,
Qui croit tous les mortels nés pour ſe tourmenter ?
Leur ſang ſera ſacré, malheur à l'ame atroce,
Qui voudroit en douter.
Déjà par les beaux Arts l'Europe eſt adoucie,
Les mœurs pourront un jour ce que n'ont pu les Loix ;
Et les fières lecons de la Philoſophie
Feront rougir les Rois.
Arne, Veniſe & Rome ont frayé cette route,
De leur douce vertu le bonheur eſt le prix.
Un jour le même myrthe embellira ſans doute,
Londres, Vienne & Paris.
Ma redoutable voix a tonné ſur le crime,
Paix ! je n'en ai point pour chanter tes attraits,
ètre les Humains de ton charme ſublime,
Peins toi par tes bienfaits.
O Thérèſe, ô Louis, ô vertus plus qu'humaines ;
Mes voeux ſont entendus, & j'en crois votre cœur,
Eterniſez vos noeuds, l'Europe craint des chaînes,
Donnez lui le bonheur.

ELEGY *on the death of a Lady. By Mr. Maſon.*

THE midnight clock has toll'd; and hark, the bell
Of death beats ſlow! heard ye the note profound?
It pauſes now: and now, with riſing knell,
Flings to the hollow gale its ſullen ſound.

Yes * * * is dead. Attend the ſtrain,
Daughters of Albion! Ye that, light as air,
So oft have tript in her fantaſtic train,
With hearts as gay, and faces half as fair:

For ſhe was fair beyond your brighteſt bloom:
(This envy owns, ſince now her bloom is fled)
Fair as the forms that, wove in fancy's loom,
Float in light viſion round the poet's head.

Whene'er with ſoft ſerenity ſhe ſmil'd,
Or caught the orient bluſh of quick ſurprize,
How ſweetly mutable, how brightly wild,
The liquid luſtre darted from her eyes?

Each look, each motion wak'd a new-born grace,
That o'er her form its tranſient glory caſt:
Some lovelier wonder ſoon uſurp'd the place,
Chas'd by a charm ſtill lovelier than the laſt.

That bell again! It tells us what ſhe is:
On what ſhe was no more the ſtrain prolong:
Luxuriant fancy pauſe: an hour like this
Demands the tribute of a ſerious ſong.

Maria claims it from that ſable bier,
Where cold and wan the ſlumberer reſts her head;
In ſtill ſmall whiſpers to reflection's ear,
She breathes the ſolemn dictates of the dead.

O catch the aweful notes, and lift them loud;
Proclaim the theme, by ſage, by fool rever'd;
Hear it, ye young, ye vain, ye great, ye proud;
'Tis nature ſpeaks, and nature will be heard.

Yes, ye ſhall hear, and tremble as ye hear,
While, high with health, your hearts exulting leap:
Ev'n in the midſt of pleaſure's mad career,
The mental Monitor ſhall wake and weep.

For ſay, than * * *'s propitious ſtar,
What brighter planet on your births aroſe;

Or

Or gave of fortune's gifts an ampler ſhare,
In life to laviſh, or by death to loſe!

Early to loſe; while, borne on buſy wing,
Ye ſip the nectar of each varying bloom:
Nor fear, while baſking in the beams of ſpring,
The wint'ry ſtorm that ſweeps you to the tomb.

Think of her fate! revere the heav'nly hand
That led her hence, though ſoon, by ſteps ſo ſlow;
Long at her couch death took his patient ſtand,
And menac'd oft, and oft withheld the blow:

To give reflection time, with lenient art,
Each fond deluſion from her ſoul to ſteal;
Teach her from folly peaceably to part,
And wean her from a world ſhe lov'd ſo well.

Say, are you ſure his mercy ſhall extend
To you ſo long a ſpan? Alas, ye ſigh:
Make then, while yet ye may, your God your friend,
And learn with equal eaſe to ſleep or die!

Nor think the muſe, whoſe ſober voice ye hear,
Contracts with bigot frown her ſullen brow;
Caſts round religion's orbs the miſts of fear,
Or ſhades with horrors, what with ſmiles ſhould glow.

No; ſhe would warm you with ſeraphic fire,
Heirs as ye are of heav'n's eternal day;
Would bid ye boldly to that heav'n aſpire,
Not ſink and ſlumber in your cells of clay.

Know, ye were form'd to range yon azure field,
In yon æthereal founts of bliſs to lave;
Force then, ſecure in Faith's protecting ſhield,
The ſting from death, the vict'ry from the grave.

Is this the bigot's rant? Away ye vain,
Your hopes, your fears in doubt, in dulneſs ſteep:
Go ſooth your ſouls in ſickneſs, grief, or pain,
With the ſad ſolace of eternal ſleep.

Yet will I praiſe you, triflers as ye are,
More than thoſe † preachers of your fav'rite creed,
Who proudly ſwell the brazen throat of war,
Who form the phalanx, bid the battle bleed;

Nor

† In a book of French verſes, entitled *Oeuvres du Philoſophe de ſans Souci*, and lately reprinted at Berlin by authority, under the title of *Poeſies Diverſes*, may be found an epiſtle to marſhal Keith, written profeſſedly againſt the immortality

Nor wiſh for more: who conquer, but to die.
Hear, folly, hear; and triumph in the tale:
Like you, they reaſon; not, like you, enjoy
The breeze of bliſs that fills your ſilken ſail:

On pleaſure's glitt'ring ſtream ye gayly ſteer
Your little courſe to cold oblivion's ſhore:
They dare the ſtorm, and, thro' th' inclement year,
Stem the rough ſurge, and brave the torrent's roar.

Is it for glory? that juſt fate denies.
Long muſt the warrior moulder in his ſhroud,
E'er from her trump the heav'n-breath'd accents riſe,
That lift the hero from the fighting croud.

Is it his graſp of empire to extend?
To curb the fury of inſulting foes?
Ambition, ceaſe: the idle conteſt end:
'Tis but a kingdom thou canſt win or loſe.

And why muſt murder'd myriads loſe their all,
(If life be all) why deſolation lour,
With famiſh'd frown, on this affrighted ball,
That thou may'ſt flame the meteor of an hour?

Go wiſer ye, that flutter life away,
Crown with the mantling juice the goblet high;
Weave the light dance with feſtive freedom gay,
And live your moment, ſince the next ye die.

Yet know, vain ſceptics, know th'Almighty Mind,
Who breath'd on man a portion of his fire,
Bad his free ſoul, by earth nor time confin'd,
To heav'n, to immortality aſpire.

Nor ſhall the pile of hope, his mercy rear'd,
By vain philoſophy be e'er deſtroy'd:
Eternity, by all or wiſh'd or fear'd,
Shall be by all or ſuffer'd or enjoy'd.

Written in 1760.

mortality of the ſoul. By way of ſpecimen of the whole, take the following lines.

De l'avenir, cher Keith, jugeons par le paſſé;
Comme avant que je fuſſe il n'avoit point penſé,
De meme, apres ma mort, quand toutes mes parties
Par la corruption ſeront aneanties,
Par un meme deſtin il ne penſera plus;
Non, rien n'eſt plus certain; ſoyons-en convincu, &c.

It is to this epiſtle, that the reſt of the elegy alludes.

To

To a young Nobleman leaving the univerſity. By the ſame.

E'ER yet, ingenuous youth, thy ſteps retire
From Cam's ſmooth margin, and the peaceful vale,
Where Science call'd thee to her ſtudious quire,
And met thee muſing in her cloyſters pale:

O! let thy friend (and may he boaſt the name)
Breathe from his artleſs reed one parting lay;
A lay like this thy early virtues claim,
And this let voluntary friendſhip pay.

Yet know, the time arrives, the dangerous time,
When all thoſe virtues, opening now ſo fair,
Tranſplanted to the world's tempeſtuous clime,
Muſt learn each paſſion's boiſt'rous breath to bear.

There, if ambition peſtilent and pale,
Or luxury ſhould taint their vernal glow;
If cold ſelf-intereſt, with her chilling gale,
Should blaſt th'unfolding bloſſoms e'er they blow;

If mimic hues, by art or faſhion ſpread,
Their genuine ſimple colouring ſhould ſupply,
O! with them may theſe laureate honours fade;
And with them (if it can) my friendſhip die.

Then do not blame, if, though thyſelf inſpire,
Cautious I ſtrike the panegyric ſtring;
The muſe full oft purſues a meteor fire,
And, vainly vent'rous, ſoars on waxen wing.

Too actively awake at Friendſhip's voice,
The poet's boſom pours the fervent ſtrain,
Till ſad Reflection blames the haughty choice,
And oft invokes Oblivion's aid in vain.

Call we the ſhade of Pope, from the bleſt bower
Where thron'd he ſits with many a tuneful ſage;
Aſk, if he ne'er bemoans that hapleſs hour
When St. John's name * illumin'd glory's page?

Aſk, if the wretch, who dar'd his mem'ry ſtain,
Aſk, if his country's, his religion's foe
Deſerv'd the meed that Marlborough fail'd to gain,
The deathleſs meed, he only could beſtow?

* Alluding to this couplet of Mr. Pope's.

"To Cato, Virgil paid one honeſt line,
"O let my country's friend, *illumine* mine."

The

The bard will tell thee, the miſguided praiſe
Clouds the celeſtial ſunſhine of his breaſt;
Ev'n now, repentant of his erring lays,
He heaves a ſigh amid the realms of reſt.

If Pope through friendſhip fail'd, indignant view,
Yet pity Dryden; hark, whene'er he ſings,
How adulation drops her courtly dew
On titled rhymers, and inglorious kings.

See, from the depths of his exhauſtleſs mine,
His glittering ſtores the tuneful ſpendthrift throws;
Where fear or intereſt bids, behold they ſhine;
Now grace a Cromwell's, now a Charles's brows.

Born with too generous, or too mean a heart,
Dryden! in vain to thee thoſe ſtores were lent:
Thy ſweeteſt numbers but a trifling art;
Thy ſtrongeſt diction idly eloquent.

The ſimpleſt lyre, if truth directs its lays,
Warbles a melody ne'er heard from thine,
Not to diſguſt with falſe, or venal praiſe,
Was Parnell's modeſt fame, and may be mine.

Go then, my friend, nor let thy candid breaſt
Condemn me, if I check the plauſive ſtring;
Go to the wayward world; compleat the reſt;
Be, what the pureſt muſe would wiſh to ſing.

Be ſtill thyſelf; that open path of truth,
Which led thee here, let manhood firm purſue;
Retain the ſweet ſimplicity of youth,
And all thy virtue dictates, dare to do.

Still ſcorn, with conſcious pride, the maſk of art;
On vice's front let fearful caution lour,
And teach the diffident, diſcreeter part
Of knaves that plot, and fools that fawn for power.

So, round thy brow, when age's honours ſpread,
When Death's cold hand unſtrings thy Maſon's lyre,
When the green turf lies lightly on his head,
Thy worth ſhall ſome ſuperior bard inſpire:

He, to the ampleſt bounds of time's domain,
On rapture's plume ſhall give thy name to fly;
For truſt, with reverence truſt this * *Sabine* ſtrain:
"The muſe forbids the virtuous man to die."

* *Dignum laude virum muſa vetat mori.*

INCON-

INCONSTANCY, *an irregular* ODE.

VARIUM ET MUTABILE.

1.

WHAT form is that, whoſe looſe light Veſt,
Borne on the reſtleſs gale,
Quick-glancing ſeems ſucceſſively poſſeſs'd
Of brighter tints than paint the peacock's tail?
See, as it undulates in air,
And wantons in the ſolar blaze,
Not ſo refulgent do the plumes appear,
Which in his radiant orb that beauteous bird diſplays.
Save me! oh ſave me! from her wiles,
For ſurely 'tis that deity
Born of the ſhifting wind and faithleſs ſea,
Who daily multitudes beguiles,
On earth y'clep'd inconſtancy.

2.

It is, it is; elſe wherefore glows
That changeful creſcent on her brows?
Elſe wherefore ſee we on her hand
That colour-varying creature ſtand
(As 'twere upon his proper throne)
The air-ſuſtain'd cameleon?
Elſe wherefore, ſay, that wayward mien,
Where tranſient gladneſs gleams awhile,
To teach us mourn its vaniſh'd ſmile
When *Sorrow ſaddens-o'er* the ſcene?
Elſe wherefore to an ice-form'd ſphere
Truſt's ſhe, ſo bold, her tickliſh tread?
More ſafely ſtands the mariner
On the tall galley's top-maſt-head
When ruffling tempeſts rouſe old Ocean from his bed.

3

This deity's deluſive art
Oft dips in anguiſh, Cupid's dart;
Then let it ſtrike or nymph or ſwain
In turn you hear them both complain
"Of ſlighted vows and cold diſdain."
Sworn enemy to mutual love,
It teaches youthful hearts to rove,
Warns them fidelity to ſhun,
Derides as taſteleſs, truth to one,

Bids

Bids them take pattern from the roving bee,
And mocks the conſtant turtle's plaintive melody.

4.

Yet deals ſhe not her partial Pains
Alone to the love-ſtricken breaſt,
No——— in the gaudy court ſhe reigns,
And breaks the fav'rite's reſt :
For ere to-morrow Phœbus ſeek the Weſt,
Cold compliments and alter'd looks too late,
Should teach him, how to eſtimate,
The fleeting favours of the envied great.

5.

Here all thy tormen ts ſpend, ſhed all thy ſtore
Of ills on this deteſted ſervile race,
Wretches who wear a project-ſerving face,
They feel their juſt reward and feel no more.
But from each *biting blaſt* that blows,
That *bloſſom guard* which humbly *grows*,
In *Friendſhips foſt'ring* ray.
Oh ! let me ſhield this *beauteous* flower,
From the dread Influence of thy power,
By open-handed Faith, unknowing to betray.

6

Yet what avails, Sincerity !
Thy tongue's ſtrict commerce with thy heart,
Thy carriage, undiſguis'd and free ?
Since Calumny's inſidious art,
Can whiſper in Affection's ear,
Falſehoods injurious and ſevere ;
Can Diſcord ſow in Friendſhip's ſoil,
And ſmile at her ſucceſsful toil !
Can mark with extacy the alter'd Eye,
And ſweet ſpeech chang'd, to taunting, ſharp reply.

7.

But why repine ? ſince nought we ſee
On earth but inſtability :
Health, riches, beauty, power and all,
That ſublunary liſs we call,
Sits wav'ring like the thiſtle's crown,
Of light and vegetable down.
Whoſe plumy globe the gentleſt gales impair,
Unſeat its winged eeds , and ſcatters them in air.——

From

From the ſame

Felices animæ quibus hæc cognoſcere primis
Inque domos ſuperas ſcandere, cura fuit.
Credibile eſt illas, pariter vitiiſque lociſque
Altius humanis, exeruiſſe caput.

OVID. FAST.

WHILE clear the night, and ev'ry thought ſerene,
Let fancy wander o'er the ſolemn ſcene:
And, wing'd by active contemplation riſe
Amidſt the radiant wonders of the ſkies.
Here Caſſiopeia fills a lucid throne,
There blaze the ſplendors of the Northern crown:
While the ſlow car the cold Triones roll
O'er the pale countries of the frozen pole,
With faithful beams conduct the wand'ring ſhip
O'er the wide deſart of the pathleſs deep.
Throughout the Galaxy's extended line,
Unnumber'd orbs in gay confuſion ſhine:
Where ev'ry ſtar that gilds the gloom of night,
With the faint tremblings of a diſtant light,
Perhaps illumes ſome ſyſtem of its own
With the ſtrong influence of a radiant ſun.
Plac'd on the verge, which Titan's realm confines,
The ſlow revolving orb of Saturn ſhines;
Where the bright pow'r whoſe near approaching ray
Gilds our gay climates with the blaze of day,
On thoſe dark regions glimmers from afar,
With the pale luſtre of a twinkling ſtar.
While, glowing with unmitigated day,
The nearer planets roll their rapid way.
Let ſtupid atheiſts boaſt th' atomick dance,
And call theſe beauteous worlds the work of chance:
But nobler minds, from guilt and paſſion free,
Where truth unclouded darts her heav'nly ray,
Or on the earth, or in the ætherial road,
Survey the footſteps of a ruling God;
Sole Lord of nature's univerſal frame:
Thro' endleſs years unchangeably the ſame:
Whoſe preſence, unconfin'd by time or place,
Fills all the vaſt immenſity of ſpace.
He ſaw while matter yet a chaos lay:
The ſhapeleſs chaos own'd his potent ſway.
His ſingle Fiat form'd th' amazing whole,
And taught the new-born planets where to roll:

With wiſe direction curv'd their ſteady courſe,
Impreſt the central and projectile force,
Leſt in one maſs their orbs confus'd ſhould run,
Drawn by th' attractive virtue of the ſun,
Or quit the harmonious round, and wildly ſtray
Beyond the limits of his genial ray.
To thee, Endymion, I devote my ſong;
To minds like thee, theſe ſubjects beſt belong;
Whoſe curious thoughts, with active freedom, ſoar,
And trace the wonders of creating pow'r.
For this, ſome nobler pen ſhall ſpeak thy fame;
But let the muſe indulge a gentler theme,
While pleas'd ſhe tells thy more engaging part,
Thy ſocial temper and diffuſive heart.
Unleſs theſe charms their ſoft'ning aid beſtow,
Science turns pride, and common wit a foe.

On reading Miſs CARTER's *Poems in MS. By Lord* LITTELTON.

SUCH were the notes that ſtruck the wond'ring ear
Of ſilent night, when, on the verdant banks
Of Siloe's hallow'd brook, celeſtial harps,
Accorded to ſeraphic voices, ſung
Glory to God on high, and on the earth
Peace and good-will to men!—Reſume the lyre,
Chauntreſs divine, and ev'ry Briton call
Its melody to hear—ſo ſhall thy ſtrains,
More pow'rful than the ſong of Orpheus, tame
The ſavage heart of brutal vice, and bend
At pure religion's ſhrine the ſtubborn knees
Of bold impiety.——Greece ſhall no more
Of Leſbian Sappho boaſt, whoſe wanton muſe,
Like a falſe ſyren, while ſhe charm'd, ſeduc'd
To guilt and ruin. For the ſacred head
Of Britain's poteſs, the Virtues twine
A nobler wreath, by them from Eden's grove
Unfading gather'd, and direct the hand
Of —— to fix it on her brows.

VERSES *by Sir* WALTER RALEIGH.

GOE, ſoul, the bodyes gueſte,
Upon a thankleſs arrante,
Fear not to touch the beſte,
The truth ſhall be thy warrante.
Goe, ſince I needs muſt die,
And give them all the lye.

Goe,

Goe, tell the court it glowſe,
And ſhines like painted wood;
Goe, tell the church it ſhowes
What's good, does no good.
If court and church replye,
Give court and church the lye.

Tell potentates, they live
Actinge, but oh! their actions
Not lov'd unleſs they give!
Not ſtrong, but by their factions.
If potentates replye,
Give potentates the lye.

Tell me not of high condition,
That rule affairs of ſtate,
There purpoſe is ambition,
There practice only hate.
And if they do replye,
Then give them all the lye.

Tell thoſe that brave it moſte,
They begge more by ſpendinge;
Who in their greateſt coſte,
Seek nothinge but commendinge.
And if they make replye,
Then give them all the lye.

Tell zeal it lacks devotion;
Tell love it is but luſte;
Tell time it is but motion;
Tell fleſh it is but duſte.
And wiſh them not replye,
For thou muſt give the lye.

Tell age it daily waſteth;
Tell honour how it alters;
Tell beawty that it blaſteth;
Tell favour that ſhe falters.
And as they do replye,
Give every one the lye.

Tell wit how much it wrangles
In fickle points of niceneſs;
Tell wiſdom ſhe entangles
Herſelf in over-wiſeneſs.
And if they do replye,
Then give them both the lye.

Tell phiſick of her boldneſs;
Tell ſkill it is pretenſion;
Tell charety of coldneſs;
Tell law it is contention.
And if they yield replye,
Then give them ſtill the lye.

Tell fortune of her blindneſs;
Tell nature of decay;
Tell friendſhip of unkindneſs;
Tell juſtice of delay.
And if they do replye,
Then give them all the lye.

Tell artes they have no foundneſs,
But vary by eſteeming;
Tell ſkollers lack profoundneſs,
And ſtand too much on ſeemine.
If artes and ſkollers replye,
Give artes and ſkollers the lye.

Tell faith it's fled the cittye;
Tell how the country errethe;
Tell manhood ſhakes of pytie;
Tell virtue leaſt preferreth.
And if they do replye,
Spare not to give the lye.

So when thou haſt, as I
Commanded the, done blabbing;
Althoughe to give the lye,
Deſerves no leſs than ſtabbing;
Yet ſtab at the whoſe will,
No ſtabb the ſoul can kill.

An Imitation from the Spectator. *By Mr.* ROBERT LLOYD.

A Month hath roll'd its lazy hours away,
Since Delia's preſence bleſs'd her longing ſwain:
How cou'd he brook the ſluggiſh time's delay,
What charm could ſoften ſuch an age of pain?

One fond reflection ſtill his boſom chear'd,
And ſooth'd the torments of a lover's care,
'Twas that for Delia's ſelf the bow'r he rear'd,
And fancy plac'd the nymph already there.

O come, dear maid, and with a gentle ſmile,
Such as lights up my lovely fair one's face,
Survey the product of thy ſhepherd's toil,
Nor rob the villa of the villa's grace.

Whate'er

Whate'er improvements ſtrike thy curious ſight,
Thy taſte hath form'd—let me not call it mine,
Since when I muſe on thee, and feed delight,
I form no thought that is not wholly thine.

Th' apartments deſtin'd for my charmer's uſe,
(For love in trifles is conſpicuous ſhewn)
Can ſcarce an object to thy view produce,
But bears the dear reſemblance of thine own.

And truſt me, love, I could almoſt believe
This little ſpot the manſion of my fair;
But that, awak'd from fancy's dreams, I grieve
To find its proper owner is not there.

Oh! I could doat upon the rural ſcene,
Its proſpect over hill and champaign wide,
But that it marks the tedious way between,
That parts thy Damon from his promis'd bride.

The gardens now put forth their bloſſoms ſweet,
In Nature's flow'ry mantle gaily dreſt;
The cloſe-trimm'd hedge, and circling border neat,
All aſk my Delia for their deareſt gueſt.

The lilly pale, the purple bluſhing roſe,
In this fair ſpot their mingled beauties join;
The woodbine here its curling tendrils throws,
In wreaths fantaſtic round the mantling vine.

The branching arbour here for lovers made,
For dalliance met, or ſong, or amorous tale,
Shall oft protect us with its cooling ſhade,
When ſultry Phœbus burns the lonely vale.

'Tis all another paradiſe around,
And, truſt me, ſo it would appear to me,
Like the firſt man, were I not lonely found,
And but half bleſt, my Delia, wanting thee.

For two, but two, I've form'd a lovely walk,
And I have call'd it by my fair one's name;
Here bleſt with thee, t' enjoy thy pleaſing talk,
While fools and madmen bow the knee to fame.

The ruſtic path already have I try'd,
Oft at the ſinking of the ſetting day;
And while, my love, I thought thee by my ſide,
With careful ſteps have worn its edge away.

With thee I've held diſcourſe, how paſſing ſweet!
While fancy brought thee to my raptur'd dream,
With thee have prattled in my lone retreat,
And talk'd down ſuns, on love's delicious theme.

Oft as I wander thro' the ruſtic crowd,
Muſing with downcaſt look, and folded arms,
They ſtare with wonder, when I rave aloud,
And dwell with rapture on thy artleſs charms.

They call me mad, and oft with finger rude
Point at me leering, as I heedleſs paſs;
Yet Colin knows the cauſe; for love is ſhrewd,
And the young ſhepherd courts the farmer's laſs.

Among the fruits that grace this little ſeat,
And all around their cluſt'ring foliage ſpread,
Here may'ſt thou cull the peach, or nect'rine ſweet,
And pluck the ſtrawberry from its native bed.

And all along the river's verdant ſide
I've planted elms, which riſe in even row;
And fling their lofty branches far and wide,
Which float reflected in the lake below.

Since I've been abſent from my lovely fair,
Imagination forms a thouſand ſchemes;
For O! my Delia, thou art all my care,
And all with me is love and golden dreams.

O flatt'ring promiſe of ſecure delight!
When will the lazy-pacing hours be o'er?
That I may fly with rapture to thy ſight,
And we ſhall meet again to part no more.

To a Lady before Marriage. By the late ingenious Mr. TICKEL. *Not publiſhed in his Works.*

OH! form'd by nature, and refin'd by art,
With charms to win, and ſenſe to fix the heart!
By thouſands ſought, Clotilda, canſt thou free
Thy crowd of captives, and deſcend to me?
Content in ſhades obſcure to waſte thy life,
A hidden beauty, and a country wife.
O! liſten while thy ſummers are my theme,
Ah! ſooth thy partner in his waking dream!
In ſome ſmall hamlet on the lonely plain,
Where Thames, thro' meadows, rolls his mazy train;
Or where high Windſor, thick with greens array'd,
Waves his old oaks, and ſpreads his ample ſhade,
Fancy has figur'd out our calm retreat;
Already round the viſionary ſeat
Our limes begin to ſhoot, our flow'rs to ſpring,
The brooks to murmur, and the birds to ſing.
Where do'ſt thou lie, thou thinly-peopled green?
Thou nameleſs lawn, and village yet unſeen?

Where

Where ſons, contented with their native ground,
Ne'er travel'd further than ten furlongs round;
And the tann'd peaſant, and his ruddy bride,
Were born together, and together died.
Where early larks beſt tell the morning light,
And only Philomel diſturbs the night;
'Midſt gardens here my humble pile ſhall riſe,
With ſweets ſurrounded of ten thouſand dies;
All ſavage where th' embroider'd gardens end,
The haunt of echoes ſhall my woods aſcend;
And oh! if heav'n th' ambitious thought approve,
A rill ſhall warble croſs the gloomy grove,
A little rill, o'er pebbly beds convey'd,
Guſh down the ſteep, and glitter thro' the glade.
What chearing ſcents thoſe bord'ring banks exhale!
How loud that heifer lowes from yonder vale!
That thruſh, how ſhrill! his note ſo clear, ſo high,
He drowns each feather'd minſtrel of the ſky.
Here let me trace, beneath the purpled morn,
The deep-mouth'd beagle, and the ſprightly horn;
Or lure the trout with well-diſſembled flies,
Or fetch the flutt'ring partridge from the ſkies.
Nor ſhall thy hand diſdain to crop the vine,
The downy peach, or flavour'd nectarine;
Or rob the bee-hive of its golden hoard,
And bear th' unbought luxuriance to thy board.
Sometimes my books by day ſhall kill the hours,
While from thy needle riſe the ſilken flow'rs;
And thou, by turns, to eaſe my feeble ſight,
Reſume the volume, and deceive the night.
Oh! when I mark thy twinkling eyes oppreſt,
Soft whiſp'ring, let me warn my love to reſt;
Then watch thee, charm'd, while ſleep locks every ſenſe,
And to ſweet heav'n commend thy innocence.
Thus reign'd our fathers o'er the rural fold,
Wiſe, hale, and honeſt in the days of old;
Till courts aroſe, where ſubſtance pays for ſhow,
And ſpecious joys are bought with real woe.
See Flavia's pendants, large, well-ſpread, and right,
The ear that wears them hears a fool each night:
Mark how th' embroider'd col'nel ſneaks away,
To ſhun the with'ring dame that made him gay;
That knave, to gain a title, loſt his fame;
That rais'd his credit by a daughter's ſhame;
This coxcomb's ribband coſt him half his land,
And oaks, unnumber'd, bought that fool a wand.
Fond man, as all his ſorrows were too few,
Acquires ſtrange wants that nature never knew.

By midnight lamps he emulates the day,
And ſleeps, perverſe, the chearful ſuns away;
From goblets, high emboſt, his wine muſt glide,
Round his clos'd ſight the gorgeous curtain ſlide;
Fruits, ere their time, to grace his pomp muſt riſe,
And three untaſted courſes glut his eyes.
For this are nature's gentle calls withſtood,
The voice of conſcience, and the bonds of blood;
This wiſdom thy reward for ev'ry pain,
And this gay glory all thy mighty gain.
Fair phantoms woo'd and ſcorn'd from age to age,
Since bards began to laugh, or prieſts to rage.
And yet, juſt curſe on man's aſpiring kind,
Prone to ambition, to example blind,
Our children's children ſhall our ſteps purſue,
And the ſame errors be for ever new.
Mean while, in hope a guiltleſs country ſwain,
My reed with warblings chears th' imagin'd plain,
Hail humble ſhades, where truth and ſilence dwell!
Thou noiſy town, and faithleſs court, farewell!
Farewell, ambition, once my darling flame!
The thirſt of lucre, and the charm of fame!
In life's by-road, that winds thro' paths unknown,
My days, tho' number'd, ſhall be all my own.
Here ſhall they end, (O! might they twice begin)
And all be white the fates intend to ſpin.

A PRAYER *for* INDIFFERENCE. *By Mrs.* G——.

Found in Richmond Gardens.

OFT I've implor'd the gods in vain,
And pray'd till I've been weary!
For once I'll ſtrive my wiſh to gain,
Of Oberon, the fairy.

Sweet airy being, wanton ſprite,
Who liv'ſt in woods unſeen;
And oft, by Cynthia's ſilver light,
Trip'ſt gaily o'er the green;

If e'er thy pitying heart was mov'd,
(As ancient ſtories tell)
And for th' Athenian maid, who lov'd,
Thou ſought'ſt a wond'rous ſpell;

Oh! deign once more t' exert thy pow'r,
Haply ſome herb or tree,
Sov'reign as juice from weſtern flow'r,
Conceals a balm for me.

I aſk

I aſk no kind return in love,
No tempting charm to pleaſe;
Far from that heart ſuch gifts remove,
Which ſighs for peace and eaſe.

Nor eaſe, nor peace, that heart can know,
That like the needle true,
Turns at the touch of joy or woe,
But, turning, trembles too.

For as diſtreſs the ſoul can wound,
'Tis plain in each degree;
Bliſs goes but to a certain bound,
Beyond 'tis agony.

Then take this treacherous ſenſe of mine,
Which dooms me ſtill to *ſmart*;
Which pleaſure can to pain refine,
To pain new pangs impart!

Oh! haſte to ſhed the ſov'reign balm,
My ſhatter'd nerves new ſtring;
And for my gueſt, ſerenely calm,
The nymph, Indifference, bring!

At her approach, ſee hope, ſee fear,
See expectation fly;
With diſappointment, in the rear,
That blaſts the purpos'd joy.

The tears which pity taught to flow,
My eyes ſhall then diſown;
The heart which throbb'd for others woe,
Shall then ſcarce feel its own.

The wounds which now each moment bleed,
Each moment then ſhall cloſe;
And peaceful days ſhall ſtill ſucceed,
To nights of ſweet repoſe.

Oh, fairy elf! but grant me this,
This one kind comfort ſend;
And ſo may never-fading bliſs,
Thy flowery paths attend!

So may the glow-worm's glimmering light
Thy tiny footſteps lead,
To ſome new region of delight,
Unknown to mortal tread!

GENIUS,

GENIUS, ENVY, *and* TIME.

Addreſſed to WILLIAM HOGARTH, *Eſq*; *By Mr.* LLOYD.

IN all profeſſionary ſkill,
There never was, or ever will
Be excellence, or exhibition,
But fools are up in oppoſition;
Each letter'd, grave, pedantic dunce;
Wakes from his lethargy at once,
Shrugs, ſhakes his head, and rubs his eyes,
And, being dull, looks wond'rous wiſe,
With ſolemn phiz, and critic ſchowl,
The wiſdom of his brother owl.
Theſe obſervations, rather ſtale,
May borrow ſpirit from a tale.

GENIUS, a buſtling lad of parts,
Who all things did by fits and ſtarts,
Nothing above him, or below him,
Would make a riot or a poem,
From excentricity of thought
Not always do the thing he ought:
But, was it once his own election,
Woold bring all matters to perfection;
Would act, deſign, engrave, write, paint,
But *neither* from the leaſt conſtraint;
Who hated all pedantic ſchools,
And ſcorn'd the gloſs of knowing fools,
That hold perfection all in all,
Yet treat it as *mechanical*,
And give the ſame ſufficient rule
To make a poem as a ſtool.—
From the firſt ſpring-time of his youth,
Was downright worſhipper of truth;
And with a free and liberal ſpirit,
His courtſhip paid to Lady MERIT.

ENVY, a ſquint-ey'd, mere old maid,
Well known among the ſcribbling trade;
A hag, ſo very, very thin,
Her bones peep'd thro' her bladder-ſkin;
Who could not for her ſoul abide
That folks ſhould praiſe, where ſhe muſt chide,
Follow'd the youth where'er he went,
To marr each good and brave intent;
Would lies, and plots, and miſchief hatch,
To ruin *him*, and ſpoil the match.

Honour ſhe held at bold defiance,
Talk'd much of *faction*, gang, alliance,
As if the real ſons of taſte
Had clubb'd to lay a *deſart* waſte.

In ſhort, wherever GENIUS came
You'd find this antiquated dame;
Whate'er he did, where'er he went,
She follow'd only to torment;
Call'd MERIT by a thouſand names,
Which decency of truth diſclaims;
While all her bus'neſs, toil, and care,
Was to depreciate, lye, compare,
To pull the modiſh maiden down,
And blaſt her fame to all the town.

The youth, enflam'd with conſcious pride,
To prince POSTERITY apply'd,
Who gave his anſwer thus in rhyme,
By his chief miniſter, old TIME.

'Repine not at what pedants ſay,
'We'll bring thee forward on thy way;
'If wither'd ENVY ſtrive to hurt
'With lies, with impudence and dirt,
'You only pay a common tax,
'Which fool, and knave, and dunce exacts.
'Be this thy comfort, this thy joy,
'Thy ſtrength is in its prime, my boy,
'And ev'ry year thy vigour grows,
'Impairs the credit of thy foes.
'ENVY ſhall ſink, and be no more
'Than what her Naiads were before;
'Mere excremental maggots, bred
'In poet's topſy-turvy head,
'Born, like a momentary fly,
'To flutter, buzz about, and die.
'Yet, GENIUS, mark what I preſage,
'Who look thro' ev'ry diſtant age:
'MERIT ſhall bleſs thee with her charms,
'FAME lift thy offspring in her arms,
'And ſtamp eternity of grace
'On all thy numerous, various race.
'Roubilliac, Wilton, names as high
'As Phidias of antiquity,
'Shall ſtrength, expreſſion, manner, give,
'And make e'en marble breathe and live;
'While SIGISMUNDA's deep diſtreſs,
'Which looks the ſoul of wretchedneſs,

'When

'When I with ſlow and ſoft'ning pen
'Have gone o'er all the tints again,
'Shall urge a bold and proper claim
'To level half the ancient fame;
'While future ages, yet unknown,
'With critic air ſhall proudly own
'Thy Hogarth, firſt of ev'ry clime,
'For humour keen or ſtrong ſublime;
'And hail him from his fire and ſpirit,
'The child of GENIUS and of MERIT.'

Lib. IV. Ode 3. HORACE.

(1) *QUEM tu, Melpomene, ſemel*
Naſcentem placido lumine videris,
Illum non labor iſtmius
(3) *Clarabit pugilem, non equus impiger*
Curru ducet Achaico
(2) *Victorem, neque res bellica deliis*
Ornatum foliis ducem
Oſtendet capitolio.
(4) *Sed quæ Tibur aquæ fertile perfluunt,*
Et ſpiſſæ nemorum comæ,
Fingent æolio carmine nobilem.
Romæ principis urbium
Dignatur ſoboles inter amabiles
(5) *Vatum ponere me choros,*
Et jam dente minus mordeor invido.
O! teſtudinis aureæ
(6) *Dulcem quæ ſtrepitum, Pieri, temperas,*
(7) *O! mutis quoque piſcibus*
Donatura cygni, ſi libeat, ſonum!
(7) *Totum hoc muneris tui eſt,*
Quod monſtror digito prætereuntium,
Romanæ fidicen Lyræ:
(7) *Quod ſpiro et placeo, ſi placeo, tuum eſt.*

IMITATED.

(1) THE youth, whoſe birth the ſiſters twain
Who o'er the *ſock* and *buſkin* reign,
View with propitious eye;
Will at their altars always ſerve,
Will never from their dictates ſwerve,
Their ſlave will live and die.

Bleſt

Bleſt in his lot for other things,
The pride of wealth, the pow'r of kings,
He offers up no pray'rs;
(2) Heroes, unenvying can ſee,
Not Pruſſia's king deſires to be,
Or any king—but *theirs*.

(3) The rapid ſteed he'll ne'er beſtride,
With lords for wagers proud to ride,
Newmarket plains adorning;
At Arthur's he takes no delight,
To paſs at dice the ſleepleſs night,
And be undone by morning.

In ſenates he ſeeks not to ſit,
And hear, amaz'd, perſuaſive Pitt
Govern the high debate;
In Weſtminſter's long-ſounding hall
He ne'er expects a *ſerjeant's call*,
Nor hopes to rival Pratt.

Though miniſters can places give
To thoſe who in their creed believe,
No ſuch he puts his truſt in;
Content, in tatters though he goes,
Content to want a pair of ſhoes,
So he but wear the buſkin.

Him, if his ſire to *mercer* binds,
He gives the indentures to the winds,
Diſdaining to ſell *camblet*;
(4) Away he hies to Drury-lane,
Calls his old father *Royal Dane*,
And thinks himſelf prince Hamlet.

(5) Where Garrick with judicious art
Charms ev'ry ear, wins ev'ry heart,
And *acts* like one inſpir'd;
There the fond youth puts in his claim,
Aſpires to reach his mighty fame,
And be, like him, admir'd.

Like him, whoſe ſkill upon the ſtage
(6) Can make the dulleſt ſcenes engage,
And thouſands come to hear 'em;
(6) He e'en to ——— could ſpirit give,
Nine tedious nights could make them live,
Without him who could bear 'em.

Full

Full many a youth and many a maid,
(7) Whoſe names, in play-houſe bills diſplay'd,
Shine proudly through the town;
(7) Their tragic rage, their comic eaſe,
Derive from him; and if they pleaſe,
(7) They pleaſe from him alone. R. B.

BEAUTY *and* FASHION. *A* REPARTEE.

Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet. TIB.

SAYS *Beauty* to *Faſhion*, as they ſet at the toilette,
" If I give a charm, you ſurely will ſpoil it;
When you take it in hand, there's ſuch murth'ring and mangling,
'Tis ſo metamorphos'd by your fiddling and fangling,
That I ſcarce know my own, when I meet it again,
Such changelings you make, both of women and men.
To confirm what I ſay, look at Phryne, or Phillis,
I'm ſure that I gave 'em good roſes and lillies:
Now what have you done?—Let the world be the judge:
Why you daub 'em all over with cold cream and rouge,
That, like Thiſbe in Ovid, one cannot come at 'em,
Unleſs thro' a mud-wall of paint and pomatum.
And as to your dreſs, one would think you quite mad,
From the head to the heel 'tis all maſquerade;
With your flounces and furbelows, ſacks, trolloppees,
Now ſweeping the ground, and now up to your knees,
Your pinking, and crimping, and chevaux de frize,
And all the fantaſtical cuts of the mode,
You look like a bedlamite, ragged and proud!
Then of late you're ſo fickle, that few people mind you;
For my part, I never can tell where to find you:
Now dreſt in a cap, now naked in none,
Now looſe in a mob, now cloſe in a Joan;
Without handkerchief now, and now buried in ruff,
Now plain as a Quaker, now all of a puff;
Now a ſhape in neat ſtays, now a ſlattern in jumps,
Now high in French heels, now low in your pumps;
Now monſt'rous in hoop, now trapiſh, and walking
With your petticoats clung to your heels, like a maulkin;
Like the cock on the Tower, that ſhews you the weather,
You are hardly the ſame for two days together."
Thus *Beauty* begnn, and Miſs *Faſhion* reply'd,
" Who does moſt for the ſex?—Let it fairly be try'd,
And they that look round 'em will preſently ſee,
They're much leſs beholden to you than to me:
I grant it, indeed, mighty favours you boaſt,
But how ſcanty your favours, how ſcarce is a toaſt?

A ſhape,

A ſhape, a complexion, you confer now and then,
But to one that you give, you refuſe it to ten;
In one you ſucceed, in another you fail,
Here your roſe is too red, there your lilly's too pale;
Or ſome feature or other is always amiſs:
And pray, let me know, when you finiſh'd a piece,
But what I was oblig'd to correct, or touch over,
Or you never would have either huſband or lover?
For I hope, my fair lady, you do not forget,
Though you find the thread, that 'tis I make the net;
And ſay what you pleaſe, it muſt be allow'd,
That a woman is nothing. unleſs a-la-mode;
Neglected ſhe lives, and no beauty avails,
For what is a ſhip without rigging or ſails?
Like the diamonds when rough, are the charms you beſtow;
But mine is the ſetting and poliſhing too.
Your nymphs, with their ſhapes, their complexions, and features,
What are they without me, but poor aukward creatures?
The route, the aſſembly, the playhouſe will tell,
'Tis I form the beau, and I finiſh the belle;
'Tis by me that theſe beauties muſt all be ſupply'd,
Which Time has withdrawn, or which you have deny'd:
Impartial to all, did not I lend my aid,
Both Venus and Cupid might throw up their trade,
And even your ladyſhip die an old maid."

The PUPPET-SHOW.

From the poſthumous Volumes of the Writings of the late Dr. SWIFT, *and his Friends, lately publiſhed.*

THE life of man to repreſent,
And turn it all to ridicule,
Wit did a *puppet-ſhow* invent,
Where the chief actor is a fool.

The gods of old were logs of wood,
And worſhip was to *puppets* paid;
In antic dreſs the idol ſtood,
And prieſts and people bow'd the head.

No wonder then, if art began
The ſimple votaries to frame,
To ſhape in *timber* fooliſh man,
And conſecrate the *block* to fame.

From hence poetic fancy learn'd
That trees might riſe from human forms,
The body to a trunk be turn'd,
And branches iſſue from the arms.

Thus

Thus Dædalus, and Ovid too,
That man's a blockhead have confeſt;
Powel and Stretch * the hint purſue,
Life is a farce, the world a jeſt.

The ſame great truth South Sea hath prov'd
On that fam'd theatre, the *alley*,
Where thouſands by directors mov'd
Are now ſad monuments of folly.

What Momus was of old to Jove,
The ſame a *harlequin* is now;
The former was *buffoon* above,
The latter is a *punch* below.

This fleeting ſcene is but a ſtage,
Where various images appear,
In different parts of youth and age,
Alike the prince and peaſant ſhare.

Some draw our eyes by being great,
Falſe pomp conceals mere wood within,
And legiſlators rang'd in ſtate
Are oft but wiſdom in machine.

A ſtock may chance to wear a crown,
And timber as a lord take place;
A ſtatue may put on a frown,
And cheat us with a thinking face.

Others are blindly led away,
And made to act for ends unknown,
By the mere ſpring of wires they play,
And ſpeak in language not their own.

Too oft, alas! a ſcolding wife
Uſurps a jolly fellow's throne;
And many drink the cup of life,
Mix'd and embitter'd by a Joan.

In ſhort, whatever men purſue
Of pleaſure, folly, war, or love;
This mimic race brings all to view,
Alike they dreſs, they talk, they move.

Go on, great Stretch, with artful hand,
Mortals to pleaſe and to deride;
And when death breaks thy vital band,
Thou ſhalt put on a *puppet*'s pride.

Thou ſhalt in puny wood be ſhewn,
Thy image ſhall preſerve thy fame;
Ages to come thy worth ſhall own,
Point at thy limbs, and tell thy name.

* Two puppet-ſhow men.

Tell

Tell Tom he draws a *farce* in vain,
Before he looks in nature's glaſs;
Puns cannot form a witty ſcene,
Nor *pedantry* for humour paſs.

To make men act as ſenſeleſs wood,
And chatter in a myſtic ſtrain,
Is a mere force on fleſh and blood,
And ſhews ſome error in the brain.

He that would thus refine on thee,
And turn thy ſtage into a ſchool,
The jeſt of *Punch* will ever be,
And ſtand confeſt the greater fool.

PROLOGUE *upon* PROLOGUES.

Written by Mr. GARRICK.

AN old trite proverb let me quote!
As is your cloth, ſo cut your coat.—
To ſuit our *author* and his *farce*,
Short let me be! for wit is ſcarce.
Nor would I ſhew it, had I any,
The reaſons why are ſtrong and many.
Should I have wit, the piece have none,
A flaſh in pan with empty gun,
The piece is ſure to be undone.
A tavern with a gaudy ſign,
Whoſe buſh is better than the wine,
May cheat you once.—Will that device,
Neat as Imported, cheat you twice?
'Tis wrong to raiſe your expectations:
Poets be dull in dedications!
Dulneſs in theſe to wit prefer—
But *there* indeed you ſeldom err.
In prologues, prefaces, be flat!
A ſilver button ſpoils your hat.
A thread-bare coat might jokes eſcape,
Did not the blockheads lace the cape.
A caſe in point to this before ye,
Allow me, pray, to tell a ſtory!
To turn the penny, once, a wit
Upon a curious fancy hit;
Hung out a board, on which he boaſted,
Dinner for THREE-PENCE! *Boil'd and Roaſted!*
The hungry read, and in they trip,
With eager eye and ſmacking lip:
"Here, bring this boil'd and roaſted, pray!"
——Enter POTATOES---dreſs'd *each way*.

All ſtar'd and roſe, the houſe forſook
And damn'd the dinner—kick'd the cook,
My landlord found, (poor *Patrick Kelly*)
There was no joking with the belly.
These facts laid down, then thus I reaſon:
—Wit in a prologue's out of ſeaſon---
Yet ſtill will you for jokes ſit watching
Like *Cock-Lane* folks for *Fanny's* ſcratching,
And here my ſimile's ſo fit?
For *Prologues* are but *Ghoſts* of wit;
Which mean to ſhew their art and ſkill,
And ſcratch you to their *Author*'s will.
In ſhort, for reaſons great and ſmall,
'Tis better to have none at all:
Prologues and *Ghoſts*—a paltry trade!
So let them both at once be *laid!*
Say but the word---give your commands---
We'll tie OUR prologue-monger's hands:
Confine theſe culprits *(holding up his hands)* bind 'em tight,
Nor *Girls* can *ſcratch* nor *Fools* can write.

Mr. FOOTE'S *Addreſs to the Public.*

After a Proſecution againſt him for a Libel.

HUSH! let me ſearch before I ſpeak aloud——
Is no informer ſkulking in the croud?
With art laconic noting all that's ſaid,
Malice at heart, indictments in his head,
Prepar'd to levy all the legal war,
And rouſe the clamorous legions of the bar!
Is there none ſuch?—not one?—then *entre nous*
I will a tale unfold, tho' ſtrange, yet true;
The application muſt be made by you.
At *Athens* once, fair queen of arms and arts,
There dwelt a citizen of moderate parts;
Preciſe his manner, and demure his looks,
His mind unletter'd, tho' he dealt in books;
Amorous, tho' old; tho' dull, lov'd rapartee;
And penn'd a paragraph moſt daintily:
He aim'd at purity in all he ſaid,
And never once omitted *eth*, or *ed*;
In *hath*, and *doth*, was rarely known to fail,
Himſelf the hero of each little tale:

With

With wits and lords this man was much delighted,
And once (it has been ſaid) was near being knighted.
One *Ariſtophanes* (a wicked wit
Who never heeded grace in what he writ)
Had mark'd the manner of this *Grecian* ſage,
And thinking him a ſubject for the ſtage,
Had, from the lumber, culi'd with curious care,
His voice, his looks, his geſture, gait, and air,
His affectation, conſequence, and mien,
And boldly launch'd him on the comic ſcene;
Loud peals of plaudits thro' the cirle ran,
All felt the ſatire, for all knew the man.
Then *Peter—Petros* was his claſſic name,
Fearing the loſs of dignity and fame,
To a grave lawyer in a hurry flies,
Opens his purſe and begs his beſt advice.
The fee ſecur'd, the lawyer ſtrokes his band,
" The caſe you put I fully underſtand;
" The thing is plain from *Coco*'s reports,
" For rules of poetry a'n't rules of courts:
" A libel this—I'll make the mummer know it."——
A *Grecian* conſtable took up the poet;
Reſtrain'd the ſallies of his laughing muſe,
Call'd harmleſs humour ſcandalous abuſe:
The bard appeal'd from this ſevere decree,
Th' indulgent public ſet the pris'ner free:
Greece was to him what *Dublin* is to me.

PROLOGUE *to* Florizel *and* Perdita *(a dramatic paſtoral, altered by* Mr. Garrick, *from* Shakeſpear's *Winter Tale) written and ſpoken by* Mr. Garrick.

TO various things the ſtage has been compar'd,
As apt ideas ſtrike each humorous Bard:
This night, for want of better ſimile,
Let this our *Theatre* a *Tavern* be:
The poets Vintners, and the Waiters we.
So (as the cant and cuſtom of the trade is)
You're welcome *Gem'men*, kindly welcome Ladies.
To draw in cuſtomers, our bills are ſpread,
[*Shewing a Play Bill.*
You cannot miſs the ſign, 'tis Shakeſpear's Head.
From this ſame Head, this fountain-head divine,
For different palates ſprings a different wine!
In which no tricks, to ſtrengthen or to thin 'em——
Neat as imported—no French Brandy in 'em——

Hence for the choiceſt ſpirits flows *Champaign*;
Whoſe ſparkling atoms ſhoot thro' every vein,
Then mount in magic vapours, to th' enraptur'd brain!
Hence flow for martial minds potations ſtrong;
And ſweet love potions, for the fair and young.
For you, my hearts of oak, for your regale,
[*To the upper gallery.*
There's good old *Engliſh Stingo*, mild and ſtale.
For high, luxurious ſouls with luſcious ſmack;
There's Sir *John Falſtaffe*, is a butt of ſack:
And if the ſtronger liquors more invite ye;
Bardolph is gin, and *Piſtol* aqua vitæ.
But ſhould you call for *Falſtaffe*, where to find him,
*He's gone—nor left one cup of ſack behind him,
Sunk in his elbow chair, no more to roam;
No more with merry wags, to *Eaſtcheap* come;
He's gone—to jeſt, and laugh, and give his ſack at home.
As for the learned Critics, grave and deep,
Who catch at words, and catching fall aſleep;
Who in the ſtorms of paſſion--hum,--and haw!
For ſuch, our maſter will no liquor draw——
So blindly thoughtful, and ſo darkly read,
They take *Tom Durfey*'s for the *Shakeſpear*'s Head.
A vintner once acquir'd both praiſe and gain,
And ſold much *Perry* for the beſt *Champaign*.
Some rakes, this precious ſtuff did ſo allure;
They drank whole nights, what's that--when wine is pure?
'Come, fill a bumper, *Jack*—I will my Lord——
'Here's cream--Damn'd fine--immenſe--upon my word!
'Sir *William*, what ſay you—The beſt, believe me,
'In this——Eh *Jack*—the Devil can't deceive me.'
Thus the wiſe Critic too, miſtakes his wine,
Cries out, with lifted eyes, 'Tis great!---divine!
Then jogs his neighbour, as the wonders ſtrike him;
This Shakeſpear! Shakeſpear!--Oh, there's nothing like him!
In this night's various, and enchanted cup,
Some little *Perry*'s mixt for filling up.
The five long acts, from which our three are taken,
Stretch'd out to † ſixteen years, lay by, forſaken.
Leſt then this precious liquor run to waſte,
'Tis now confin'd and bottled for your taſte.
'Tis my chief wiſh, my joy, my only plan,
To loſe no *drop* of that immortal man!

* Mr. Quin had then left the ſtage.

† The action of the Winter's Tale, as written by Shakeſpear, comprehends ſixteen years.

ODE

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR 1762.

Written by William Whitehead, *Esq*; *Poet Laureat.*

Strophe.

GOD of ſlaughter, quit the ſcene,
Lay the creſted helmet by;
Love commands, and Beauty's queen
Rules the power who rules the ſky.
Janus, with well-omen'd grace,
Mounts the year's revolving car,
And forward turns his ſmiling face,
And longs to cloſe the gates of war.
Enough of glory Albion knows—
Come, ye powers, of ſweet repoſe,
On downy pinions move!
Let the war-worn legions own
Your gentler ſway, and from the throne
Receive the laws of love!

Antiſtrophe.

Yet, if juſtice ſtill requires
Roman arts, and Roman ſouls,
Britain breathes her wonted fires,
And her wonted thunder rolls.
Added to our fairer iſle
Gallia mourns her bulwark gone,
Conqueſt pays the price of toil;
Either India is our own!
Ye ſons of freedom graſp the ſword,
Pour, ye rich, th' impriſon'd hoard,
And teach it how to ſhine.
Each ſelfiſh, each contracted aim
To glory's more exalted claim
Let luxury reſign.

Epode.

You too, ye Britiſh dames, may ſhare,
If not the toils and dangers of the war,
At leaſt its glory. From the Baltic ſhore,
From Runic virtue's native home,
Fraught with the tales of ancient lore,
Behold a fair inſtructreſs come!

When the fierce * female tyrant of the north
Claim'd every realm her conquering arms could gain,
When Diſcord, red with ſlaughter, iſſuing forth
Saw Albert ſtruggling with the victor's chain.
The ſtorm beat high, and ſhook the coaſt,
Th' exhauſted treaſures of the land
Could ſcarce ſupply th' embattled hoſt,
Or pay the inſulting foe's demand.
What then could beauty do? † She gave
Her treaſur'd tribute to the brave,
To her own ſoftneſs join'd the manly heart,
Suſtain'd the ſoldier's drooping arms,
Confided in her genuine charms,
And yielded every ornament of art.
—We want them not. Yet, O ye fair,
Should Gallia, obſtinately vain,
To her own ruin urge deſpair,
And brave th' acknowledg'd maſter of the main;
Should ſhe through ling'ring years protract her fall,
Through ſeas of blood to her deſtruction wade,
Say, could ye feel the generous call,
And own the fair example here pourtray'd?
Doubtleſs ye could. The royal dame
Would plead her dear adopted country's cauſe,
And each indignant breaſt unite its flame
To ſave the land of liberty and laws.

ODE for His MAJESTY's *Birth-Day*,

June 4*th*, 1762.

By William Whitehead, *Eſq*; *Poet Laureat*.

Strophe.

"GO Flora, (ſaid th 'impatient queen,
Who ſhares great Jove's eternal reign)
Go breathe on yonder thorn;
Wake into bloom th' emerging roſe,
And let the faireſt flower that blows
The faireſt month adorn.

* Margaret de Waldemar, commonly called the Semiramis of the North.

† In the year 1395, the ladies of Mecklenburg, to ſupport their Duke Albert's pretenſions to the crown of Sweden, and to redeem him when he was taken priſoner, gave up all their jewels to the public; for which they afterwards received great emoluments and privileges, particularly the right of ſucceſſion in fiefs, which had before been appropriated to males only.

Sacred to Me that month ſhall riſe,
Whatever * conteſts ſhake the ſkies
To give that month a name:
Her April buds let Venus boaſt,
Let Maia range her painted hoſt;
But June is Juno's claim.

Antiſtrophe.

And, Goddeſs, know, in after times
(I name not days, I name not climes)
From Nature's nobleſt throes
A human flower ſhall glad the earth,
And the ſame month diſcloſe his birth,
Which bears the bluſhing roſe.
Nations ſhall bleſs his mild command.
And fragrance fill th'exulting land
Where'er I fix his throne."——
Britannia liſten'd as ſhe ſpoke,
And from her lips prophetic broke
The flower ſhall be my own!

Epode.

O goddeſs of connubial love,
Thou ſiſter, and thou wife of Jove,
To thee the ſuppliant voice we raiſe!
We name not months, we name not days,
For, where thy ſmiles propitious ſhine,
The whole prolific year is thine.
Accordant to the trembling ſtrings,
Hark, the general chorus ſwells!
From every heart it ſprings,
On every tongue it dwells.
Goddeſs of connubial love,
Siſter Thou, and wife of Jove,
Bid the genial powers that glide
On æther's all pervading tide,
Or from the fount of life that ſtream
Mingling with the ſolar beam,
Bid them here, at Virtue's ſhrine,
In chaſteſt bands of union join,
'Till many a GEORGE, and many a CHARLOTTE prove
How much to Thee we owe, queen of connubial love!

* Alluding to the contention between the goddeſſes in Ovid's Faſti, about naming the month of June.

Extracted from Mr. W. Whitehead's CHARGE TO the POETS.

TIME was when poets play'd the thorough game,
Swore, drank, and bluſter'd, and blaſphem'd for fame.
The firſt in brothels with their punk and Muſe;
Your toaſt, ye bards? 'Parnaſſus and the ſtews!'
Thank heaven, the times are chang'd; no Poet now
Need roar for Bacchus, or to Venus bow,
'Tis our own fault if Fielding's laſh *we* feel,
Or, like French wits, begin with the Baſtile.
Ev'n, in thoſe days, ſome few eſcap'd the fate,
By better judgment, or a longer date,
And rode, like buoys, triumphant o'er the tide.
Poor Otway in an ale-houſe dos'd, and dy'd!
While happier Southern, tho' with ſports of yore,
Like Plato's hovering ſpirits, cruſted o'er,
Liv'd every mortal vapour to remove,
And to our admiration, join'd our love.
Light lie his funeral turf!—For you, who join
His decent manners to his art divine,
Would ye (whilſt, round you, toſs the Proud and Vain
Convuls'd with feeling, or with giving pain)
Indulge the Muſe in innocence and eaſe,
And tread the flowery path of life in peace?
Avoid all authors,—"What! th' illuſtrious Few,
Who ſhunning Fame have taught her to purſue
Fair Virtue's heralds?"—Yes, I ſay again,
Avoid all authors, 'till you've read the men.
Full many a peeviſh, envious, ſlandering elf,
Is, in his works, Benevolence itſelf.
For all mankind, unknown, his boſom heaves,
He only injures thoſe with whom he lives.
Read then the Man: Does truth in actions guide,
Exempt from petulance, exempt from pride?
To ſocial duties does his heart attend,
As ſon, as father, huſband, brother, friend?
Do thoſe who know him love him? if they do,
You've *my* permiſſion, you may love him too.
But chief avoid the boiſt'rous roaring ſparks,
The ſons of fire!—you'll know them by their marks.
Fond to be heard they always court a croud,
And, tho' 'tis borrow'd nonſenſe, talk it loud.
One epithet ſupplies their conſtant chime,
Damn'd bad, *damn'd* good, *damn'd* low, and *damn'd* ſublime!

But

But moſt in quick ſhort rapartee they ſhine
Of local humour; or from plays purloin
Each quaint ſtale ſcrap which every ſubject hits,
'Till fools almoſt imagine, they are wits.
Hear them on Shakeſpear! there they foam, they rage!
Yet taſte not half the beauties of HIS page,
Nor ſee that Art, as well as Nature, ſtrove
To place HIM foremoſt in th' Aonian grove.
For there, there only, where the ſiſters meet,
HIS Genius triumphs, and the work's compleat.
Or would ye ſift more near theſe ſons of fire,
'Tis *Garrick*, and not Shakeſpear, they admire,
Without his breath, inſpiring every thought,
They ne'er perhaps had known what Shakeſpear wrote.
Without his eager, his becoming zeal,
To teach them, tho' they ſcarce know why, to feel,
A crude unmeaning maſs had Johnſon been,
And a dead letter Shakeſpear's nobleſt ſcene.

. . . . . .

I'm no enthuſiaſt, yet with joy can trace
Some gleams of ſun-ſhine for the tuneful race.
If *Monarchs* liſten when the Muſes woo,
Attention wakes, and nations liſten too.
The Bard grows rapturous, who was dumb before,
And every freſh-plum'd eagle learns to ſoar!
Friend of the finer arts, when Egypt ſaw
Her ſecond Ptolemy give ſcience law,
Each genius waken'd from his dead repoſe,
The column ſwell'd, the pile majeſtic roſe,
Exact proportion borrow'd ſtrength from eaſe,
And uſe was taught by elegance to pleaſe,
Along the breathing walls, as fancy flow'd,
The ſculpture ſoften'd, and the picture glow'd,
Heroes reviv'd in animated ſtone,
The groves grew vocal, and the * Pleiads ſhone!
Old Nilus rais'd his head, and, wond'ring, cry'd,
"Long live the king! my patron and my pride!
Secure of endleſs praiſe, behold, I bear
My grateful ſuffrage to my ſovereign's ear.
Tho' war ſhall rage, tho' time ſhall level all,
Yon colours ſicken, and yon columns fall,
Tho' art's dear treaſures feed the waſting flame,
And the proud volume ſinks, an empty name.

* The ſeven poets patroniſed by Ptolemy Philadelphus, are uſually called by the name of that conſtellation.

Tho'

Tho' Plenty may deſert this copious vale,
My ſtreams be ſcatter'd, or my fountains fail,
Yet Ptolemy has liv'd : The world has known
A king of arts, a patron on a throne.
Ev'n utmoſt Britain ſhall his name adore,
" And Nile be ſung, when Nile ſhall flow no more."
One rule remains. Nor ſhun nor court the great;
Your trueſt center is that middle ſtate,
From whence with eaſe th' obſerving eye may go
To all which ſoars above, or ſinks below,
'Tis yours all manners to have try'd, or known,
T'adopt all virtues, yet retain your own :
To ſtem the tide, where thoughtleſs crowds are hurl'd,
The firm ſpectators of a buſtling world !
Thus arm'd, proceed : The breezes court your wing :
Go range all Helicon, taſte every ſpring;
From varying nature cull th' innoxious ſpoil,
And, whilſt amuſement ſooths the generous toil,
Let puzzled critics with ſuſpicious ſpite
Deſcant on what you can, or cannot write;
True to yourſelves, not anxious for renown,
Nor court the world's applauſe, nor dread its frown.
Guard your own breaſts, and be the bulwark there,
To know no envy, and no malice fear.
At laſt you'll find, thus ſtoic-like prepar'd,
That verſe and virtue are their own reward.

The Deſcent to the Vault in Clerkenwell; *from the* GHOST; *a Poem.*
By Mr. Churchill.

DARK was the night; it was that hour,
When *Terror* reigns in fulleſt pow'r,
When, as the learn'd of old have ſaid,
The yawning grave gives up her dead,
When *Murder*, *Rapine* by her ſide,
Stalks o'er the earth with *Giant* ſtride;
Our *Quixotes* (for that *Knight* of old
Was not in truth by half ſo *bold*,
Though *Reaſon* at the ſame time cries
Our Quixotes are not half ſo *wiſe*,
Since they with other follies boaſt
An expedition 'gainſt a *Ghoſt*)
Through the dull deep ſurrounding gloom
In cloſe array tow'rds *Fanny*'s tomb
Adventur'd forth — *Caution* before
With heedful ſtep the *lanthorn* bore,

Pointing

Pointing at graves, and in the rear,
Trembling, and *talking loud*, went *Fear*.
The church-yard teem'd—th' unſettled ground,
As in an ague, ſhook around;
While in ſome *dreary vault* confin'd,
Or riding in the *hollow wind*,
Horror, which turns the heart to ſtone,
In dreadful ſounds was heard to groan.
All ſtaring, wild, and out of breath,
At length they reach the place of death.
A *vault* it was, long time applied
To hold the laſt remains of *pride*:
No *beggar* there, of humble race,
And humble fortunes, finds a place;
To reſt in *pomp* as well as *eaſe*,
The only way's to pay the *fees*.
Fools, *Rogues*, and *Whores*, if *rich* and *great*,
Proud e'en in death, *here rot* in *ſtate*.
No thieves diſrobe the *well-dreſt* dead,
No plumbers ſteal the *ſacred* lead,
Quiet and ſafe the bodies lie,
No *Sextons ſell*, no *Surgeons buy*.
Thrice each the pond'rous key apply'd,
And *thrice* to turn it vainly try'd,
Till taught by *Prudence* to unite,
And ſtraining with collected might,
The ſtubborn wards reſiſt no more,
But open flies the *growling* door.
Three paces back they fell amaz'd,
Like *ſtatues* ſtood, like *madmen* gaz'd.
The frighted blood forſakes the face,
And ſeeks the heart with quicker pace;
The throbbing heart its fears declares,
And upright ſtand the briſtled hairs;
The head in wild diſtraction ſwims;
Cold ſweats bedew the trembling limbs;
Nature, whilſt fears her boſom chill,
Suſpends her pow'rs, and *life* ſtands ſtill.
Thus had they ſtood till *now*, but *Shame*
(An uſeful, though neglected dame,
By heav'n deſign'd the friend of man,
Though we degrade her all we can,
And ſtrive, as our firſt proof of wit,
Her name and nature to forget)
Came to their aid in happy hour,
And with a wand of mighty pow'r
Struck on their hearts; vain *fears* ſubſide,
And baffled leave the field to *Pride*.

Shall

Shall they (forbid it *Fame*) ſhall they
The dictates of vile fear obey?
Shall they, the *idols* of the town,
To *bugbears fancy-form'd* bow down?
Shall they, who greateſt zeal expreſt,
And undertook for all the reſt,
Whoſe matchleſs courage all admire,
Inglorious from the taſk retire?
How would the *wicked ones* rejoice,
And *Infidels* exalt their voice,
" Periſh the thought! though to our eyes
" In all its terrors *Hell* ſhould riſe,
" Though thouſand ghoſts in dread array,
" With glaring eye-balls croſs our way,
" Though *Caution* trembling ſtands aloof,
" Still will we on, and dare the proof."
They ſaid, and without farther halt,
Dauntleſs march'd onward to the *vault*.
What mortal men, who e'er drew breath,
Shall break into the houſe of *Death*
With foot *unhallow'd*, and from thence
The myſt'ries of that ſtate diſpenſe,
Unleſs they with due rites prepare
Their weaker ſenſe, ſuch ſights to bear,
And gain permiſſion from the *ſtate*,
On earth their journal to relate?
Poets themſelves, without a crime,
Cannot attempt it e'en in *rhime*,
But always on ſuch grand occaſion,
Prepare a *ſolemn invocation*,
A *poſy* for grim *Pluto* weave,
And in ſmooth numbers aſk his leave.
But why this caution? why prepare
Rites needleſs now, for *thrice* in air
The *ſpirit* of the *night* hath *ſneez'd*,
And *thrice* hath clapp'd his wings well-pleas'd.
Deſcend then, *Truth*, and guard my ſide,
My *Muſe*, my *Patroneſs*, and *Guide!*
Let others at invention aim,
And ſeek by falſities for fame;
Our ſtory wants not at this time,
Flounces and *furbelows* in rhime:
Relate plain facts; be brief and bold;
And let the *Poets*, fam'd of *old*,
Seek, whilſt our artleſs tale we tell,
In vain to find a PARALLEL:
Silent all three went in, about
All three turn'd ſilent, and came out.

The

The COUNTRY *of* FAMINE. *From the Prophecy of* FAMINE. *A poem. By the ſame.*

FAR as the eye could reach, no tree was ſeen,
Earth, clad in ruſſet, ſcorn'd the lively green.
The plague of locuſts they ſecure defy,
For in three hours a graſhopper muſt die.
No living thing, whate'er its food, feaſts there,
But the cameleon, who can feaſt on air.
No birds, except as birds of paſſage flew,
No bee was known to hum, no dove to coo.
No ſtreams as amber ſmooth, as amber clear,
Were ſeen to glide, or heard to warble here.
Rebellion's ſpring, which through the country ran,
Furniſh'd, with bitter draughts, the ſteady clan.
No flow'rs embalm'd the air, but one white roſe,
Which, on the tenth of June, by inſtinct blows,
By inſtinct blows at morn, and, when the ſhades
Of drizly eve prevail, by inſtinct fades.

The CAVE *of* FAMINE. *From the ſame poem.*

ONE, and but one, poor ſolitary cave,
Too ſparing of her favours, nature gave;
That one alone (hard tax on Scottiſh pride)
Shelter at once for man and beaſt ſupplied.
Their ſnares *without* entangling briars ſpread,
And thiſtles, arm'd againſt th' invader's head,
Stood in cloſe ranks all entrance to oppoſe,
Thiſtles now held more precious than the roſe.
All creatures, which on nature's earlieſt plan,
Were form'd to loath, and to be loath'd by man,
Which ow'd their birth to naſtineſs and ſpite,
Deadly to touch, and hateful to the ſight,
Creatures, which, when admitted in the ark,
Their Saviour ſhunn'd, and rankled in the dark,
Found place *within*; marking her noiſome road
With poiſon's trail, *here* crawl'd the bloated toad;
There webs were ſpread of more than common ſize,
And half-ſtarv'd ſpiders prey'd on half-ſtarv'd flies;
In queſt of food, efts ſtrove in vain to crawl;
Slugs, pinch'd with hunger, ſmear'd the ſlimy wall;
The cave around with hiſſing ſepents rung,
On the damp roof unhealthy vapour hung,
And FAMINE, *by her children always known*
As proud as poor, *here* fix'd her *native* throne.

ODE

ODE *to Duke* HUMPHRY.

Imitated from HORACE, *Lib.* I. *Ode* 25. *Parcius junctas, &c.*

I.

WHERE are the crowds we ſaw before?
No flatt'rers now beſiege your door,
None to your ſmiles aſpire;
Your porter once ſo briſk in place,
So buſy, buſtling like your grace,
May with your grace retire.

II.

The promiſe-fed, deluded throng,
Who bow'd ſo low, who bow'd ſo long,
And at your levees waited—
Commons and peers alike are gone,
Your very biſhops too are flown,
To G——e, to be tranſlated.

III.

When age comes on, and buſineſs fails,
The caſt off harlot weeps and rails,
Yet ſtill would fain be cooing;
To bring new lovers to her arms,
Ogles, coquets, repairs her charms,
Old women will be doing.

IV.

So you ſtill ſmirk and nod the head,
But all in vain,——your charms are fled,
The tongue of Flatt'ry ceaſes;
In vain you ſtrive to raiſe a flame,
Though paſt the pow'r, you love the game——
With age deſire increaſes.——

V.

All to St. Ja---'s now repair,
Where Virtue with her modeſt air
Each raptur'd boſom fires——
She never jilts, ſhe ne'er betrays,
But always means the thing ſhe ſays,
And love and joy inſpires——

VI.

With native charms in blooming youth,
With ſpirit, gentleneſs, and truth,
All ſtrive to woo and win her;
While, to your batter'd perſon cold,
They ſcorn the arts of one ſo old,
So impotent a ſinner.

VII. Yon

VII.

Yon op'ning roſe, ſecure from blight,
Will charm the ſenſe, attract the ſight,
And throw its ſweets about.——
While ſapleſs wood but makes a blaze,
Which boys attend with loud huzzas,
And then in ſmoke goes out.

Portrait of JOHN, *Earl Granville. By the Honourable* H. W.

COmmanding beauty, ſmooth'd by chearful grace,
Sat on the open features of his face:
Bold was his language, rapid, glowing, ſtrong,
And ſcience flow'd ſpontaneous from his tongue.
A genius, ſeizing ſyſtems, ſlighting rules,
And void of gall, with boundleſs ſcorn of fools.
Ambition dealt her flambeau to his hand,
And Bacchus ſprinkled fuel on the brand.
His wiſh—to counſel monarchs, or controul;
His means—th' impetuous ardour of his ſoul:
For, while his views outſtript a mortal ſpan,
Nor prudence drew, nor craft purſu'd the plan.
Swift fell the ſcaffold of his airy pride,
But, ſlightly built, diffus'd no ruin wide.
Unhurt, undaunted, undiſturb'd he fell,
Could laugh the ſame, and the ſame ſtories tell:
And more a ſage than he, who bad await
His revels, till his conqueſts were compleat,
Our jovial ſtateſman either ſail unfurl'd,
And drank his bottle, tho' he miſs'd the world!

STANZAS *to the Right Hon.* C. T——, *Eſq; By a Friend.*

BEHOLD that ſhip in all her pride,
Her boſom ſwelling to the tide,
Each curious eye delighting;
With colours flying, ſails unfurl'd,
From head to ſtern ſhe'll match the world
For ſailing, or for fighting.
Alas, dear Charles, ſhe cheats the ſight:
Though all appears ſo fair and tight,
For ſea ſo trim and ready;
Each breeze will toſs her to and fro,
Nor muſt ſhe dare to face the foe,
Till ballaſt makes her ſteady.

EPITAPH *for Mrs.* Meyrick, *the Wife of Dr.* Richard Meyrick; *Who died in Child-birth*, November, 1741.

Written by Dr. TEMPLEMAN.

BEneath this humble ſtone now reſts inſhrin'd,
Alas, what once inclos'd the pureſt mind!
Yet whilſt ſhe leaves us for her kindred ſkies,
See from th' expiring flame a phenix riſe!
By the ſame hand, ſeverely kind, was giv'n
To us a cherub, and a ſaint to heav'n.

Adieu, bleſt ſhade; alas, too early fled!
Who knew thee living, but laments thee dead?
A ſoul ſo calm, ſo free from ev'ry ſtain,
So try'd by torture, and unmov'd by pain!
Without a groan with agonies ſhe ſtrove,
Heav'n wond'ring ſnatch'd her to the joys above.

An

An Account of Books for 1762.

Emilius and Sophia: or, a new Syſtem of Education. Tranſlated from the French of J. J. Rouſſeau, Citizen of Geneva.

THE fault moſt generally obſerved in diſcourſes upon education, is a tendency to common place. Nothing, in fact, can be more trite, than the greateſt part of the obſervations, which have been retailed upon that ſubject from Quintilian down to Monſieur Rollin. This is however the fault, into which the ingenious author of Emilius is, of all others, in the leaſt danger of falling. To know what the received notions are upon any ſubject, is to know with certainty what thoſe of Rouſſeau are not. In his treatiſe on the inequality amongſt mankind, he has ſhewn his man in a natural ſtate; in his Emilius he undertakes to educate him. In the proſecution of this deſign he begins early, and carefully attends his pupil from his cradle to his marriage bed. He forms him to morals, to ſcience, to knowledge of men, and to manual labour, and at length gives him a wife, whom he has previouſly educated for him according to ideas a little different from that model which he had formed in his Eloiſe.

In this Syſtem of Education there are ſome very conſiderable parts that are impracticable, others that are chimerical; and not a few highly blameable, and dangerous both to piety and morals. It is eaſy to diſcern how it has happened, that this book ſhould be cenſured as well at Geneva as in Paris. However with thoſe faults in the deſign, with the whimſies into which his paradoxical genius continually hurries him, there are a thouſand noble hints relative to his ſubject, grounded on a profound knowledge of the human mind, and the order of its operations. There are many others, which, though they have little relation to the ſubject, are admirable on their own account; and even, in his wildeſt ſallies, we now and then diſcover ſtrokes of the moſt ſolid ſenſe, and inſtructions of the moſt uſeful nature. Indeed he very ſeldom thinks himſelf bound to adhere to any ſettled order or deſign, but is borne away by every object ſtarted by his vivid imagination; and hurries continually from ſyſtem to ſyſtem in the career of an animated, glowing, exuberant ſtile, which paints every thing with great minuteneſs, yet with infinite ſpirit.

There is, it muſt be acknowledged, one conſiderable defect in his judgment, which infects both his matter and his ſtile. He never knows where to ſtop. He ſeldom can diſcover that preciſe point in which excellence conſiſts, where to exceed is almoſt as bad as to fall ſhort, and which every ſtep you go beyond, you grow worſe and worſe. He is therefore frequently tireſome and diſguſting by puſhing his notions to exceſs; and by repeating the ſame thing in a thouſand different ways. Poverty can hardly be more vicious than ſuch an abundance. To give the

reader ſome idea of this moſt extraordinary performance, we ſhall ſelect three paſſages; the firſt relative to the firſt inſtructions in childhood; the ſecond after a greater progreſs has been made; and the laſt containing ſomething concerning the education of women.

"Almoſt every method has been tried but one, and that the only one which can ſucceed, natural liberty duly regulated. No one ought to undertake the education of a child who cannot conduct him at pleaſure, merely by the maxims of poſſibility and impoſſibility. The ſphere of both being equally unknown to infancy, it may be extended or contracted as we pleaſe. A child may be equally excited or reſtrained, by the ſingle plea of neceſſity, without murmuring; he may be rendered pliant and docile by the force of circumſtance only, without ever giving occaſion to ſow the ſeeds of vice in his heart: for the paſſions will never be irritated ſo long as they muſt be exerted without effect. Give your pupil no kind of verbal inſtructions; he ſhould receive none but from experience: inflict on him no kind of puniſhment, for he knows not what it is to be in fault: require him never to aſk pardon, for he cannot offend you. As he is inſenſible of all moral obligation, he cannot do any thing morally evil, or that is deſerving of puniſhment or reprimand.

I foreſee the reader will be already frightened, if he judges of ſuch a child by his own; in this, however, he is miſtaken. The conſtant reſtraint in which you keep your pupils, irritates their vivacity; the more they are reſtrained under your eye, the more turbulent they are when they eſcape from it; they muſt indemnify themſelves, when they can, for that ſevere confinement you impoſe on them. Two ſcholars, broke looſe from a ſchool in town, will do more miſchief in a country village than all the boys in the pariſh. Shut up one of theſe young gentlemen with the ſon of a peaſant of the ſame age; and the firſt will have broke or turned all the moveables in the room topſy turvy, before the latter ſhould have ſtirred from his ſeat. What can be the reaſon of this, if the one be not in a hurry to abuſe his momentary liberty, while the other, accuſtomed to freedom, is not in any haſte to make uſe of it. And yet the children of peaſants, being frequently humoured and thwarted, are very far from being in that order in which I could wiſh to ſee yours.

Let us lay it down as an inconteſtible maxim, that the firſt emotions of nature are always right: there is no original perverſity in the human heart. I will venture to ſay, there is not a ſingle vice to be found there, that one could not ſay how and which way it entered. The only paſſion natural to man is the love of himſelf, or ſelf-love taken in an extenſive ſenſe. This paſſion, conſidered in itſelf, or as relative to us, is good and uſeful, and, as it has no neceſſary relation to any one elſe, it is in that reſpect naturally indifferent: it becomes good or evil, therefore, from our application of it, and the ſeveral relations we give it. Till the guide of ſelf-love, then, which is reaſon, appears, a child ſhould do nothing merely becauſe he is ſeen or heard, nothing from cauſes merely relative to others, but only thoſe things which nature requires and inſtigates; and then he will never do wrong.

I don't mean that he will never do any miſchief, that he will never hurt himſelf,

himſelf, or perhaps break in pieces a valuable utenſil that may happen to be unluckily placed within his reach. He may do a great deal of harm without doing ill; becauſe the evil of the action depends on his intention to do an injury, and he will be always free from ſuch intention. Should he not, and ſhould he once acquire an evil intention, he is already ſpoiled; he is vicious almoſt beyond remedy.

An action may be evil in the eyes of avarice, that is not ſo in thoſe of reaſon. In leaving children at full liberty to play about as they pleaſe, it is proper to remove every thing out of their way that may render their agility or wantonneſs expenſive; thus nothing that is brittle and coſtly ſhould be left within their reach. Let the furniture of their apartment be coarſe and ſolid: let them have no looking-glaſs, no china, nor other objects of luxury. As to my Emilius, whom I educate in the country, his chamber ſhall have nothing in it, whereby it may be diſtinguiſhed from that of the meaneſt peaſant. To what purpoſe ſhould it be carefully ornamented, when he is to ſtay in it ſo ſhort a time? But I forget; he will himſelf decorate it after his own fancy; we ſhall ſee preſently in what manner.

If, notwithſtanding your precaution, your child ſhould commit ſome diſorder, or break ſome piece of furniture, don't go to puniſh or rate him for your own negligence; don't let him hear from you a ſingle word of reproach; let him not even perceive you are diſpleaſed, but act exactly in the ſame manner as if it had been broke by accident: in a word, you may think you have effected a great point, if you can prevail on yourſelf to ſay nothing about the matter.

May I venture here to lay down the greateſt, moſt important, and moſt uſeful rule of education? It is this, not to gain time, but to loſe it. The generality of readers will be ſo good as to excuſe my paradoxes; there is an abſolute neceſſity for them, when we make reflections: and, ſay what you will, I had rather be remarkable for hunting after a paradox, than for being miſled by prejudice. The moſt critical interval of human life is that between the hour of our birth and twelve years of age. This is the time wherein vice and error take root, without our being poſſeſſed of any inſtrument to deſtroy them: and when the implement is found, they are ſo deeply grounded, that they are no longer to be eradicated. If children took a leap from their mother's breaſt, and at once arrived at the age of reaſon, the methods of education now uſually taken with them would be very proper; but, according to the progreſs of nature, they require thoſe which are very different. We ſhould not tamper with the mind, till it has acquired all its faculties: for it is impoſſible it ſhould preceive the light we hold out to it while it is blind; or that it ſhould purſue, over an immenſe plain of ideas, that route which reaſon hath ſo ſlightly traced, as to be perceptible only to the ſharpeſt ſight.

The firſt part of education, therefore, ought to be purely negative. It conſiſts, neither in teaching virtue nor truth; but in guarding the heart from vice and the mind from error. If you could be content to do nothing yourſelf, and could prevent any thing being done by others; if you could bring up your pupil healthy and robuſt to the age

twelve years, without his being able to diſtinguiſh his right hand from his left; the eyes of his underſtanding would be open to reaſon at your firſt leſſon: void both of habit and prejudice, his paſſions would not operate againſt your endeavours; and he would become under proper inſtructions the wiſeſt of men. It is thus, by attempting nothing in the beginning, you might produce a prodigy of education.

Take the road directly oppoſite to that which is in uſe, and you will almoſt always do right. As we think it not enough children ſhould be children, but it is expected they ſhould be maſters of arts; ſo fathers and preceptors think they can never have too many checks, corrections, reprimands, menaces, promiſes, inſtructions, fair ſpeeches, and fine arguments. You will act wiſer than all this, by being reaſonable yourſelf, and never arguing with your child, particularly in ſtriving to reconcile him to what he diſlikes: for to uſe him to reaſon only upon diſagreeable ſubjects, is the way to diſguſt him, and bring argument early into diſcredit with a mind incapable of underſtanding it. Exerciſe his corporeal organs, ſenſes, and faculties, as much as you pleaſe, but keep his intellectual ones inactive as long as poſſible. Be cautious of all the ſentiments he acquires previous to the judgment, which ſhould enable him to ſcrutinize them. Prevent or reſtrain all foreign impreſſions; and, in order to hinder the riſe of evil, be not in too great a hurry to inſtil good: for it is only ſuch when the mind is enlightened by reaſon. Look upon every delay as an advantage; it is gaining a great deal to advance without loſing any thing; let the infancy of children therefore have time to ripen. In ſhort, whatever inſtruction is neceſſary for them, take care not to give it them to-day, if it may be deferred without danger till to-morrow.

Another conſideration which confirms the utility of this method, is the particular genius of the child, which ought to be known before it can be judged what moral regimen is beſt adapted to it. Every mind hath its peculiar turn, according to which it ought to be educated; and it is of very material conſequence to our endeavours, that it be educated according to that turn, and not to any other. The prudent governor will watch a long time the workings of nature, will obſerve his pupil well before he ſpeaks the firſt word to him: leave then his natural character at liberty to unfold itſelf; lay it under no reſtraint whatever, that it may be the better laid open to view. Do you think the time loſt in which a child is thus left at liberty? Quite the contrary: it will be thus beſt employed: for, is it not thus you yourſelf learn to huſband time ſtill more precious? If you ſet about any thing, before you know in what manner to act, you proceed at random: liable to miſtake, you are frequently obliged to undo what is done; and find yourſelves farther from the end deſigned, than if you had been leſs precipitate to begin the work. Act not the miſer, who loſes much becauſe he is unwilling to loſe a little; but ſacrifice in infancy that time which you will regain with uſury in a more advanced age. A prudent phyſician does not go blundering to preſcribe, at firſt ſight of the ſick; he enquires firſt into the temperament and circumſtances of the patient, and then adapts his preſcription to them: he begins late to adminiſter his remedies,

medies, and hence effects a cure; while the precipitate phyſician infallibly kills.

But where, will it be ſaid, muſt we place an infant thus to be educated as an inſenſible being, as a mere automaton? Shall we take him to the world in the moon, or to ſome deſart iſland? Shall we ſeparate him from the reſt of his ſpecies; will he not, if in the world, have before him continually the proſpect and example of the paſſions of others? Will he never meet in company with children of his own age? Will he not ſee his parents, his neighbours, his nurſe, his governeſs, his ſervant, and at laſt his governor himſelf, who after all will be no angel? This objection is reaſonable and ſolid. But have I told you the natural education of a child was an eaſy undertaking? Is it my fault, ye men of ſociety! that you have made every thing which is right ſo difficult to be put in execution? I perceive the difficulties, I acacknowledge them; and perhaps they are inſurmountable. It is, however, certain, that, by endeavouring to obviate them, we may ſucceed to a certain degree. I only take upon me to point out the end we ſhould aim at: I don't affirm it is poſſible to reach it; but I affirm that he, who approaches the neareſt this end, hath ſucceeded the beſt.

One thing, however, is to be remembered; and that is, before any one undertakes to form a man, it is proper he ſhould be formed ſuch himſelf; it is proper he ſhould find in himſelf the model he propoſes to imitate. While a child is as yet without knowledge, there is time to prepare every thing that approaches him, and to introduce to his firſt obſervations thoſe objects which are proper for him to ſee. Render yourſelf reſpectable to all: begin by making yourſelf beloved, ſo ſhall every one be deſirous to pleaſe you. You will never be maſter over your pupil, if you are not maſter of all thoſe about him: nor will your authority be of any ſervice, if it be not founded on virtuous eſteem. It will be to no purpoſe to empty your purſe, or give your money away by handfuls; I never knew money make any one beloved. It is doubtleſs wrong to be covetous and niggardly, and to content ourſelves with lamenting the miſerable objects we might relieve; but you may in vain open your coffers; if you do not alſo open your heart, the hearts of others will remain ſtill ſhut againſt you. It is your time, your care, your affections, it is yourſelf you muſt give; for otherwiſe do what you will, it will always be remarked that your money is not you. There are inſtances of concern and benevolence which have a greater effect, and are really more uſeful than all pecuniary gifts. How many of the unfortunate, and of the ſick, have more need of conſolation than alms! How many are there of the oppreſſed whom protection would ſerve more than money! Reconcile thoſe who are at variance, prevent lawſuits; bring children to a ſenſe of their duty, and parents to that of indulgence; promote happy marriages; oppoſe oppreſſion; ſpare not the credit and intereſt of your pupil's family, in favour of the poor and helpleſs to whom juſtice is refuſed, or whom wealth overpowers. Declare yourſelf boldly the protector of the unhappy. Be juſt, humane, and beneficent. Do not only give alms, but perform the deeds of charity. Acts of mercy and compaſſion relieve more evils

money. Love others, and they will love you; ſerve them, and they will ſerve you; be a father to them, and they will be your children.

Here preſents itſelf, alſo, another reaſon for educating Emilius in the country, at a diſtance from the mob of ſervants, who, excepting their maſters, are the vileſt of mankind; at a diſtance from the deteſtable manners of the town, which are varniſhed over ſo ſpeciouſly as to become ſeductive and contagious to children; whereas the vices of the peaſants, groſs and without diſguiſe, are more apt to diſguſt than ſeduce ſuch as are not intereſted in their imitation.

Beſides this, a tutor would, in ſuch a ſituation, be more compleatly maſter over the objects that might be preſented to his pupil; his reputation, his diſcourſe, his example, would carry with them an authority, that would not accompany them in town. By rendering himſelf generally uſeful in his neighbourhood, every one would be eager to oblige him, to merit in return his eſteem, and to appear before his pupil ſuch as he himſelf in fact would wiſh; and tho' they ſhould not be corrected of their vices, they would abſtain from giving the public ſcandal by them; which is all that is required for our preſent purpoſe.

Forbear to charge your own faults on others: children are leſs corrupted by the ill examples they ſee, than by the wrong precepts you teach them. Always moralizing, ſententious and pedantic, for one idea that you give them, thinking it a good one you inſtill at the ſame time twenty others that are good for nothing: full of what paſſes in your own head, you ſee not the effect it produces in thoſe of your pupils. Amidſt that profuſion of words, with which you confound and weary them out in your ſermons, do you think there are none whoſe meaning they take wrong? Do you think they do not make their own comments on your diffuſe explications, and that they do not find means to patch up a little ſyſtem of their own, to oppoſe to yours as occaſion offers?

Liſten but to one of theſe young gentlemen who have been thus lectured; let him talk, aſk queſtions, and run on at pleaſure; you will be ſurprized to find what a ſtrange turn your fine reaſonings have taken in his mind: he confounds all you have ſaid, perverts every thing; he will tire out your patience, and almoſt diſtract you by unforeſeen and unthought-of objections. Thus will he reduce you to ſilence; or oblige you to impoſe ſilence on him; and what can he think of the ſilence of a man who loves talking ſo much? If once he gains this advantage, and is ſenſible of it, adieu to education; all is at an end at once; he will no longer ſeek opportunities to inſtruct himſelf, but the means of refuting you.

Ye zealous tutors, be plain, therefore, diſcreet and reſerved; be never in haſte to act, unleſs it be to prevent the action of others. Again, I repeat it, defer your good inſtructions, if poſſible, for fear of inculcating bad ones. This earth was conſtituted by nature to be the firſt paradiſe of man: beware of acting the part of the tempter, in corrupting innocence by the knowledge of good and evil. As you cannot prevent children from inſtructing themſelves by external examples, confine your ſolicitude to the imprinting thoſe examples on their

their minds in the form beſt adapted to their circumſtances.

Violent paſſions produce a great effect on a child who is witneſs of them, becauſe their marks are ſtriking, and command attention. Anger, in particular, is ſo boiſterous in its expreſſions, that it is impoſſible not to perceive it when near at hand. You will aſk, perhaps, if this does not afford a fine opportunity for a pedagogue to make an excellent diſcourſe. No. No excellent diſcourſe at all; not a word ſhould be ſaid on the occaſion. Let the child only be a witneſs to the ſcene; he will be too much ſurprized at the ſight not to aſk you the meaning of it. Your anſwer is very ſimple, and naturally ariſes from the very objects that ſtrike his ſenſes. He ſees an inflamed countenance, ſparkling eyes, menacing geſtures; he hears violent exclamations; all ſigns that the body is out of order. Tell him therefore, ſeriouſly, and without appearance of affectation, the poor man is taken ſuddenly ill; that he is ſeized with a fit of an ague. You may hence take occaſion to give him, in few words, a general notion of diſeaſes and their effects: for theſe depend immediately on nature, and form one of thoſe chains, by which he ſhould perceive himſelf bound to the immoveable weight of neceſſity." Vol. i. p. 137.

"To the activity of the body, making conſtant efforts to diſplay its abilities, ſucceeds that of the mind, as conſtantly ſeeking after information. Children, when very young, ſeem endowed only with a capacity and inclination for motion; they afterwards become inquiſitive and curious, and this curioſity, well directed, becomes, at the age they have now attained, their chief ſpring of action. Let us be always careful to diſtinguiſh thoſe propenſities which are implanted by nature, from thoſe which are ingrafted by the dictates of prejudice and opinion. A thirſt after knowledge may proceed merely from the vanity of deſiring, to be thought learned; it may alſo ariſe from that curioſity, which naturally excites us to enquire after every thing, in which we may be either directly or indirectly intereſted. Our innate deſire of happineſs, and the impoſſibility of our fully gratifying that deſire, are the cauſe of our conſtant reſearches after new expedients, to contribute to that end.

This is the firſt principle or motive of curioſity; a principle which is natural to the heart of man, but which diſplays itſelf only in obedience to our paſſions, and in proportion to our acquirements of knowledge. Let us ſuppoſe a philoſopher caſt aſhore on a deſart iſland, together with his books and inſtruments, and that he was under an abſolute certainty of ſpending in that ſolitude the remainder of his days. He would never trouble himſelf farther about the ſyſtem of the univerſe, the laws of attraction, or the fluctionary calculus. It is probable he would never after look in a book, during his whole life: but he certainly would not fail to explore the iſland, however extenſive, even to its remoteſt corners. Let us, therefore, in our early ſtudies, reject thoſe ſciences for which man has not a natural turn, and confine ourſelves to thoſe which inſtinct directs us to purſue.

This earth is the iſland on which mankind are caſt, and the moſt ſtriking object of their obſervation

is

is the ſun. As ſoon as our ideas begin to extend beyond ourſelves, our attention will therefore naturally be engroſſed between two ſuch intereſting ſubjects. Hence the philoſophy of almoſt every ſavage nation is confined ſolely to the imaginary diviſions of the earth, and the divinity of the ſun. "What an excurſion! cries the reader. We were but juſt now employed about objects that immediately ſurround us, and we are now traverſing the globe, and ſoaring to the diſtant extremities of the univerſe." This excurſion, however, is the ſimple effect of the progreſs of our faculties, and of the bent of our underſtanding. During our infant ſtate of weakneſs and incapacity, all our thoughts, influenced by ſelf-preſervation, are confined within ourſelves. On the contrary, in a more advanced age, as our abilities increaſe, the deſire of improving our exiſtence carries us out of ourſelves, and our ideas extend to their utmoſt limits. As the intellectual world, however, is as yet unknown to us, our thoughts cannot extend farther than we can ſee; but our comprehenſion dilates itſelf with the bounds of ſpace.

Let us convert our ſenſations into ideas; but let us not fly at once from ſenſible to intellectual objects. It is only by a due and rational attention to the former we can attain the latter. In the firſt operations of the underſtanding, let our ſenſes then always be our guide, the world our only book, and facts our ſole precepts. Children, when taught to read, learn that only; they never think; they gain no information; all their learning conſiſts in words.

Direct the attention of your pupil to the phenomena of nature, and you will ſoon awaken his curioſity; but to keep that curioſity alive, you muſt be in no haſte to ſatisfy it. Put queſtions to him adapted to his capacity, and leave him to reſolve them. Let him take nothing on truſt from his preceptor, but on his own comprehenſion and conviction: he ſhould not learn, but invent, the ſciences. If ever you ſubſtitute authority in the place of argument, he will reaſon no longer; he will be ever afterwards bandied like a ſhuttlecock between the opinions of others.

You intend, we'll ſuppoſe, to teach your child geography, and for that purpoſe provide for him maps, ſpheres, and globes. What an apparatus! wherefore all theſe mere repreſentations of things? why do you not rather begin by ſhewing him the object itſelf, that he may, at leaſt, know what it is you are talking about?

Walk out with him, ſome fine evening, to a convenient ſpot, from whence an extenſive horizon may give you a full view of the ſetting ſun; and then take particular notice of ſuch objects as mark the place of its going down. Return the next morning, with a profeſſed deſign only of taking the freſh air, to the ſame place, before the ſun riſes. There you will find the fiery rays, it ſcatters among the clouds, as harbingers of its approach. The illumination increaſes, the eaſt ſeems all in flames, and you expect the glorious orb long before it diſcovers itſelf above the horizon; you think you ſee it every moment; it at length appears. Its rays dart like lightning o'er the face of nature

ture, and darkneſs vaniſhes at the ſight. Man glories in his habitation, and ſees it embelliſhed with new beauty. The lawn is refreſhed by the coolneſs of the night, and the light of the morn diſplays its increaſing verdure: the dew-beſpangled flowers that enamel its ſurface glitter in the ſun-beams, and, like rubies and emeralds, dart their colours on the eye. The chearful birds unite in choirs, and hail in concert the parent of life: not one is ſilent, at this inchanting moment none are mute; though in feeble notes, more ſlow and ſoft than thoſe they chaunt all day, as if from peaceful ſlumbers ſcarce awoke, they join in languid harmony. The aſſemblage of ſo many pleaſing objects imprints a glowing ſenſation that ſeems to penetrate the ſoul. Who can withſtand the rapture of this ſhort interval of enchantment? it is impoſſible ſo grand, ſo beautiful, ſo delightful a ſcene can be ever beheld with indifference. Full of that enthuſiaſtic raptnre, with which a preceptor is inſpired on ſuch an occaſion, he endeavours perhaps to communicate it to his pupil; he expects to excite the ſame emotions in the child, by attracting its attention to thoſe ſenſations which he experiences within himſelf. Ridiculous expectation! it is the heart only that contemplates the beauties of nature: to be ſeen, they ſhould be always felt: a child indeed may perceive the ſeveral objects, but their connection is to him inviſible; he is inſenſible to the harmony of the ſpheres. He requires an experience, which he hath not yet attained, and ſentiments to which he is as yet a ſtranger, to be ſuſceptible of that complex impreſſion which is the general reſult of all theſe ſenſations. If he has not travelled over deſarts; if his feet have never been parched by burning ſands; if he never hath felt the ſcorching ſun-beams reflected from the ſurrounding rocks, how can he taſte the freſh air of a fine morning? How ſhould he be enraptured with the fragrance of the flowers, the refreſhing verdure of the graſs, the dew-drops ſparkling in the ſun, or the ſoft carpet of the downy moſs? How ſhould the warbling of birds inſpire him with glowing raptures, who is a ſtranger to the ſoft accents of love and delight? How can he behold with tranſport the dawn of ſo lovely a day, whoſe imagination cannot paint to itſelf the joys it is capable of beſtowing? In a word, what tender ſenſations can be excited by the charms of nature, in him, who is ignorant by whoſe hand ſhe is ſo beautifully adorned? Talk not to children in a language they do not comprehend; make uſe of no pompous deſcriptions, no flowers of ſpeech, no tropes and figures, no poetry; taſte and ſentiment are at preſent quite out of the queſtion: ſimplicity, gravity and preciſion are all that are yet required: the time will come, but too ſoon, when we muſt aſſume a different ſtyle.

A pupil educated agreeable to theſe maxims, and accuſtomed to receive no aſſiſtance till he has diſcovered his own inabilities, will examine every new object with a long and ſilent attention. He will be thoughtful without aſking queſtions. Content yourſelf, therefore, with preſenting proper objects opportunely to his notice; and when you ſee they have ſufficiently excited his curioſity, drop ſome leading

leading laconic queſtions, which may put him in the way of diſcovering the truth.

On the preſent occaſion; having for ſome time contemplated the riſing ſun, and made your pupil obſerve the hills and other neighbouring objects on that ſide, permitting him the while to talk about them without interruption, ſtand ſilent a few moments and affect a profound meditation. You may then addreſs him thus: "I am "thinking that, when the ſun ſet "laſt night, it went down yonder "behind us: whereas, this morn-"ing, you ſee, he is riſen on the "oppoſite ſide of the plain, here, "before us. What can be the "meaning of this?" Say nothing more; and, if he asks you any thing about it, divert his attention, for the preſent, by talking of ſomething elſe. Leave him to reflect on it himſelf, and be aſſured he will think of your obſervation.

To accuſtom a child to give attention to objects, and to make ſenſible truths appear ſtriking to his imagination, it is neceſſary to keep him ſome time in ſuſpenſe before they are explained or diſcovered to him. If he ſhould not ſufficiently comprehend the nature of the preſent queſtion by the means propoſed, it may be rendered ſtill more obvious, by diverſifying the terms of it. If he cannot comprehend in what manner the ſun proceeds from its ſetting to its riſing, he knows at leaſt how it proceeds from its riſing to its ſetting; he hath ocular information of this. Explain the firſt queſtion, then, by the ſecond, and if your pupil be not extremely dull indeed, the analogy is too obvious to eſcape him.

Such is our firſt lecture in coſmography." Vol. ii. p. 8.

"I have already obſerved, that the duties of their ſex are more eaſily known than practiſed. The firſt thing they ſhould learn, is to be in love with their duty from a principle of intereſt; which is the only means to render it eaſy. Every ſtation and every age has its peculiar duties. We are eaſily acquainted with them, provided we do but love them. Reſpect your condition as a woman, and whatever ſtation providence thinks fit to allot you, you will always be a woman of virtue. The eſſential point is to be what nature formed us; we are always too propenſe to be what the world would wiſh us.

Reſearches into abſtract and ſpeculative truths, the principles and axioms of ſciences, in ſhort, whatever tends to generalize our ideas, is not the proper province of women; their ſtudies ſhould be relative to points of practice; it belongs to them to apply thoſe principles which men have diſcovered; and it is their part to make obſervations, which direct men to the eſtabliſhment of general principles. All the ideas of women, which have not an immediate tendency to points of duty, ſhould be directed to the ſtudy of men, and to the attainment of thoſe agreeable accompliſhments which have taſte for their object; for as to works of genius, they are beyond their capacity: neither have they ſufficient preciſion or power of attention to ſucceed in ſciences which require accuracy: and as to phyſical knowledge, it belongs to thoſe only who are moſt active, moſt inquiſitive; who comprehend the greateſt variety of objects; in ſhort, it belongs to thoſe who have the ſtrongeſt powers, and who exerciſe them moſt, to judge of the relations between

tween ſenſible beings and the laws of nature. A woman who is naturally weak, and does not carry her ideas to any great extent, knows how to judge and make a proper eſtimate of thoſe movements which ſhe ſets to work, in order to aid her weakneſs; and theſe movements are the paſſions of men. The mechaniſm ſhe employs is much more powerful than ours; for all her levers move the human heart. She muſt have the ſkill to incline us to do every thing which her ſex will not enable her to do of herſelf, and which is neceſſary or agreeable to her; therefore ſhe ought to ſtudy the mind of man thoroughly, not the mind of man in general, abſtractedly, but the diſpoſition of the men about her, the diſpoſition of thoſe men to whom ſhe is ſubject, either by the laws of her country, or by the force of opinion. She ſhould learn to penetrate into their real ſentiments from their converſations, their actions, their looks and geſtures. She ſhould alſo have the art, by her own converſation, actions, looks and geſtures, to communicate thoſe ſentiments which are agreeable to them, without ſeeming to intend it. Men will argue more philoſophically about the human heart; but women will read the heart of man better than they. It belongs to women, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, to form an experimental morality, and to reduce the ſtudy of man to a ſyſtem. Women have moſt wit, men have moſt genius; women obſerve, men reaſon; from the concurrence of both we derive the cleareſt light and the moſt perfect knowledge, which the human mind is, of itſelf, capable of attaining: in one word, from hence we acquire the moſt intimate acquaintance both with ourſelves and others, of which our nature is capable; and it is thus that art has a conſtant tendency to perfect thoſe endowments which nature has beſtowed.

The world is the book of women; if they do not read well it is their own fault, or ſome paſſion blinds them. Nevertheleſs, a true miſtreſs of a family is not leſs a recluſe in her own houſe, than a nun in her convent. Therefore, before a young virgin is married, we ought to act with regard to her, as they do, or at leaſt ought to do, towards thoſe who are to be confined in nunneries; that is, we ſhould ſhew them the pleaſures they are to quit, before we ſuffer them to renounce them, leſt the falſe idea of pleaſures to which they are ſtrangers, ſhould miſlead their minds, and interrupt the felicity of their retirement. In France, young ladies live in nunneries, and wives go abroad in the world. Among the antients it was juſt the reverſe; the maidens, as I have obſerved, were indulged with entertainments and public feſtivals; but wives lived retired. This cuſtom was more rational, and had a better tendency to preſerve morals. A kind of coquetry is allowed to young girls who are unmarried; their grand concern is to amuſe themſelves. But wives have other employment at home, and they are no longer in purſuit of huſbands; but ſuch a reformation would not be for their intereſt, and unhappily they lead the faſhion. Mothers, however, make companions of your daughters! cultivate in them a juſt underſtanding and an honeſt heart, and then hide nothing from them which a chaſte eye may view without

out offence. Balls, entertainments, public ſights, even theatres; every thing which, ſeen improperly, delights indiſcreet youth, may without danger be preſented to the eye of prudence. The more they are converſant with theſe tumultuous pleaſures, the ſooner they will be diſguſted with them.

But I hear the clamour ariſing againſt me! What girl is capable of reſiſting ſuch dangerous examples? They have no ſooner ſeen the world, than their heads are turned with every object; not one of them will reſolve to quit it. Perhaps this may be the caſe; but before you have ſhewn them this deceitful picture, have you prepared them to view it without emotion? Have you acquainted them beforehand with the objects it repreſents? Have you deſcribed them ſuch as they really are? Have you armed them againſt the illuſions of vanity? Have you inculcated into their tender minds a reliſh for true pleaſures, which are not to be found in theſe tumultuous ſcenes? What meaſures, what precautions have you uſed to preſerve them from that falſe taſte which miſleads them? So far from having oppoſed any principles againſt the prevalence of public prejudices, you have rather nouriſhed them. You have previouſly made them enamoured with thoſe frivolous amuſements they meet with. You make them more in love with them, by affording them an opportunity of devoting themſelves to them. Young girls, at their firſt entrance into the world, have ſeldom any other governeſs than their mother, who is often more filly than they, and who cannot ſhew them objects in any other light, than ſuch in which they behold them themſelves. Her example, more efficacious than reaſon itſelf, juſtifies them in their own eyes; and the authority of a mother is an unanſwerable plea for a daughter. When I propoſe that a mother ſhould introduce her daughter to the world, it is upon the ſuppoſition that ſhe will repreſent it to her ſuch as it is.

The evil begins ſtill earlier. Convents are, in fact, ſchools of coquetry; not of that honeſt coquetry of which I have juſt ſpoken, but of that which produces all the extravagancies in women, and makes them the moſt ridiculous of all coquettes. When they quit the convents, to enter all at once into mixed aſſemblies, young girls find themſelves where they could wiſh. They have been educated for ſuch ſociety, and is it to be wondered that they are fond of it? I am cautious of advancing what I am going to ſay, for fear I ſhould miſtake a prejudice for an obſervation; but it ſeems to me that, generally ſpeaking, in proteſtant countries, women have ſtronger attachments to their families, make more amiable wives and more tender mothers than in catholic countries; and if this be the caſe, there is no doubt but that the difference in part ariſes from the education at convents.

To love a tranquil and domeſtic life, we ought to be well acquainted with it; we ſhould have experienced the ſweets of it from our infancy. It is in the houſe of our parents that we muſt contract a reliſh for our own family, and every woman, who has not been educated by her mother, will not chooſe to bring up her own children. Unhappily private education is baniſhed from great cities. Society is become

become ſo general and ſo intermixed, that there is no aſylum left for retirement, and we even live in public at our own houſes. In conſequence of aſſociating with all the world, we have no longer any family, and we ſcarce know our relations; we ſee them as ſtrangers; and the ſimplicity of domeſtic manners is loſt, together with that agreeable familiarity which conſtitutes its principal charm. Thus we imbibe with our very milk a reliſh for the pleaſures of the age, and of the maxims which prevail in the world,

Parents impoſe an outward reſtraint on their daughters, in hopes to meet with dupes who will marry them from their appearance. But examine theſe young girls attentively for a moment. Under an affected air of conſtraint, they do but ill diſguiſe the eager deſires which prey upon them; and you may already read in their eyes their violent inclination to imitate their mothers. But they do not covet a huſband; they only long for the licence of matrimony. What occaſion can they have for a huſband, when they may have ſo many lovers? But they ſtand in need of a huſband as a cover to their intrigues *. Modeſty is in their looks, but licentiouſneſs in their hearts: That affected modeſty is a ſymptom of it. They affect it only to get rid of it the ſooner. Ladies of Paris and London, pardon me, I entreat you. Miracles are not excepted in any place, but for my own part I am not acquainted with any; and if there be a ſingle individual among you who has a mind thoroughly virtuous, then I am a ſtranger to the manners of the times." Vol. iv. p. 73.

The doctrine of grace: or the office and operations of the Holy Spirit vindicated from the inſults of infidelity and the abuſes of fanaticiſm: With ſome thoughts (humbly offered to the conſideration of the eſtabliſhed clergy) regarding the right method of defending religion againſt the attacks of either party. In three books. By William biſhop of Glouceſter.

WEAK friendſhip, in almoſt every circumſtance, proves as noxious as falſe friendſhip; and falſe friendſhip is without doubt the moſt dangerous kind of enmity. This obſervation has never been more fully verified, than in the weak and the pretended friends of religion, fanatics and hypocrites. Their reaſoning expoſes it to the ſcorn of infidels, as abſurd; their conduct raiſes a prejudice againſt it, either as a falſe pretence, or an inſufficient director of life. It is impoſſible for a man of real, that is, rational religion, to employ his time and abilities better than in diſcrediting jointly, as well thoſe who openly attack that ſacred bulwark, as thoſe whoſe conduct and opinions expoſe it to ſuch attacks. This is the profeſſed intention of the work before us, on one of the moſt fundamental, the moſt valuable, and the moſt abuſed points in the Chriſtian ſyſtem. The learn-

* The way of a man in his youth was one of the four things which the wiſe Solomon could not comprehend: the fifth was the impudence of an adultreſs, Quæ comedit, & tergens os ſuum, dicit; non ſum operata malum. PROV. xxx. 20.

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ed and right reverend author first labours to set in a just light the true office and operations of the Holy Spirit, and the true scripture-idea of inspiration. This point established, he sets up to scorn and ridicule the false and pretended schemes of methodists and other fanatics.

This work, like all others of the same author, is full of uncommon researches, conducted by a remarkable spirit of sagacity and penetration; an extreme subtility and refinement appears in all his reasonings, which are sometimes very satisfactory, as being drawn from a profound erudition, and a perfect knowledge of the ideas of the times and countries, where the sacred books were written, of the occasion of writing them, and of the connection between the old and the new testament. Where his reasonings carry less conviction, they are, nevertheless, and, from the same cause, always agreeable and entertaining. This order is not so exact as to prevent his discussing several points, which are but slightly connected with his principal subject. His stile is original and animated, but abrupt and unequal. Few books abound with more lively sallies of wit and humour, for which the author has uncommon abilities, and which he sometimes finds it difficult to restrain, suffering them now and then to degenerate into too great a degree of carelessness and freedom. We subjoin as a specimen of his manner in the serious and the ludicrous, the fifth chapter of his first book.

"We may observe that the Ministry of the first preachers of the Gospel consisted of these two parts; 1. The temporary and occasional instructions of those Christians whom they had brought to the knowlege of, and faith in, Jesus, the Messiah; 2. and the care of composing a WRITTEN RULE for the direction of the Church throughout all ages. Now it being granted, because, by the history of *the Acts of the Apostles*, it may be proved, that they were divinely inspired in the discharge of the temporary part; it must be very strong evidence indeed which can induce an unprejudiced man to suspect, that they were left to themselves in the execution of the other. Their preaching could only profit their contemporaries: For instructions conveyed to future ages by Tradition are soon lost and forgotten; or, what is worse, polluted and corrupted with fables. It is reasonable therefore to think, that the Church was provided with a WRITTEN RULE. The good providence of God hath indeed made this provision. And the Scriptures of the New Testament have been received by all the Faithful, as divine Oracles, as the inspired dictates of the Holy Spirit, till Superstition extending the notion of inspiration to an extravagant height, over-cautious Believers joined with Libertines, (who had taken advantage of that folly) to deny or bring in question all inspiration whatsoever. For extremes beget each other; and when thus begotten, they are suffered, in order to preserve the ballance of the *moral System*, as frequently to support as to destroy one another; that, while they subsist, each may defeat the mischiefs which the other threatens; and when they fall, both of them may fall together.

I shall therefore take upon me to expose the extravagance of either folly; and then endeavour to settle the

the TRUE NOTION OF SCRIPTURE INSPIRATION.

1. We have seen how fully gifted the Apostles were for the business of their Mission. They worked Miracles, they spake with Tongues, they explained Mysteries, they interpreted Prophecies, they discerned the true from the false pretences to the Spirit: And all this for the temporary and occasional discharge of their Ministry. Is it possible, then, to suppose them to be deserted by this divine Inlightener when they sat down to the other part of their work; to frame a rule for the lasting service of the Church? Can we believe that that Spirit, which so bountifully assisted them in their Assemblies, had withdrawn himself when they retired to their private Oratories: or that when their *speech* was *with all power*, their *writings* should convey no more than the fallible dictates of human knowledge? To suppose the endowments of the Spirit to be so capriciously bestowed, would make it look more like a mockery than a gift. And to believe all this would be a harder task than what (the Deist tells us) our credulity imposes on us. No candid man therefore will be backward to conclude, that what the Apostles had for the temporary use of their Ministry, they had, at least in as large a measure, for the perpetual service of the Church.

2. St. Paul, where he recommends the study of the Scriptures of the Old Testament to Timothy, expressly declares them to be inspired, in that general proposition, *All Scripture is given by inspiration of God* *. Now if in the Mosaic Dispensation, the written Rule was *given by inspiration of God*, where the Church was conducted in every step, at first by Oracular responses, and afterwards by a long series and continued succession of Prophets; and all this under an *extraordinary* administration of Providence, such as might well seem to supersede the necessity of a scriptural inspiration; how confidently may we conclude, that the same divine Goodness would give the INFALLIBLE GUIDE of an inspired Scripture to the Christian Church, where the miraculous influence of the Holy Spirit is supposed to have ceased with the Apostolic ages, and where the administration of Providence is only *ordinary?* Nor can it be said, that what St. Paul predicates of *Scripture* must be confined to the LAW, (whose very name indeed implies inspiration) and what is prefatory to it; since the largeness of his terms *all Scripture*, extends to the whole Canon of the Old Testament, as then received by the two Churches. And this general expression was the more expedient, as the *historic* writings did not either by their nature, like the *prophetic*, or by their name, like the *legal*, necessarily imply their coming immediately from God. The Canonical books of the OLD Testament, therefore, being inspired, Reason directs us to expect the same quality in the NEW. And, as in the *Old*, amongst several occasional writings, there was the fundamental record, or the GREAT CHARTER of the Pentateuch; and in the Volumes of the Prophets, the Oracular predictions of the future fortunes of the Church, to the FIRST coming of the Messiah; so, in the *New*, there is, besides the occasional Epistles, the authentic Record or GREAT CHARTER of the Gospel-Covenant; and in the Revelations of St. John, the same di-

* Tim. iii. 16.

vine predictions continued to the SECOND coming of the Saviour of the World.

3. The reason of the thing likewise supports us in concluding for this inspiration. An universal Rule of human conduct implies as unlimited an obedience: the nature of such a Rule requiring it to be received entire; and to be observed in every article. But when once it is supposed to come to us, tho' from Heaven, yet not immediately, but thro' the canal of an uninspired instrument, liable to error both in the receiving and in the dispensing of it, men would be perpetually tempted to own just as much as, and no more than they liked to believe, or were disposed to practise; and to reject the rest as a mere human imposition. Nay the very reasons which the writers against this inspiration give us, why it is not afforded, seem to shew the necessity why it should: such as the imperfect knowledge that the Apostles had of the genius of Christianity; their disputes and differences with one another; their mistakes in matters of easy prevention, tho' of little consequence, *&c.* for if the Composers of a *Rule of Faith* for the universal Church were thus naturally defective in historic and religious knowledge, what security could we have for their not misleading us in things of moment, unless prevented by the guard and guidance of the Holy Spirit, while they engaged themselves in this important task?

I am enough sensible of the weakness and folly of that kind of reasoning which concludes from *right* to *fact*; and assumes, that because a thing is imagined to be expedient, useful, or necessary, in God's moral Government, that therefore he hath indeed made provision for it. Thus the Papal Doctors, in their arguments for the *standing power of Miracles* and the appointment of an *infallible Guide*, having endeavoured to shew that the first is necessary for those *without*, and the second for those *within*, would draw us to conclude with them, that the *true Church* hath, in fact, the exercise and use of MIRACLES and INFALLIBILITY.

But the cases are widely different. It is by no means agreed, that the Church, after the Apostolic ages, was in the possession of so large a portion of the Holy Spirit as to enable either this pretended HEAD, or its MEMBERS, to exert the powers in question: Whereas it is confessed by all, that at the time these Scriptures were written, the Composers of them were divinely inspired for the occasional work of the Ministry: And the only question in dispute is, Whether that Spirit which aided them in defending the Gospel before the tribunals of Kings and Magistrates † ---in working miracles before the multitude of Unbelievers---and in prophecying and explaining Mysteries to the assemblies of the faithful, whether this Spirit, I say, did accompany, or desert them, when they retired within themselves, to compose a RULE OF FAITH for the perpetual service of the Church?

4. But lastly, we have the clear

† *And when they bring you unto the Synagogues, and unto the Magistrates and Powers, take ye no thought how or what thing ye shall answer, or what ye shall say: for the Holy Ghost shall teach you in the same hour what ye ought to say.* Luke. xii. 11. 12.

testimony

teſtimony of Scripture for this inſpiration. And tho' the *bearing witneſs to it ſelf* * might be reaſonably objected in an argument addreſſed to Unbelievers, yet being here inforced againſt ſuch of the Faithful who doubt or heſitate concerning the inſpiration of the New Teſtament, it hath all the propriety we can deſire.

I venture therefore to ſay, that St. Paul, in the general propoſition quoted above, which affirms that *all Scripture is given by inſpiration of God*, † neceſſarily includes the Scriptures in queſtion; what it predicates of *all Scripture* taking in the *new* as well as the *old*; as well that which was to be written, as that which was already collected into a Canon. For the term, *Scripture*, as the context leads us to underſtand it, is general, and means, a religious Rule, perfect in its direction, for the conduct of human life, in belief and practice: it being under this idea that he recommends the *Scriptures* to Timothy. The aſſertion therefore is univerſal, and amounts to this, "That *divine Inſpiration* is an eſſential quality of every *Scripture*, which conſtitutes the LAW or RULE of a Religion coming from God."

On the whole then, we conclude, that *all the Scriptures of the New Teſtament were given by inſpiration of God.* And thus the prophetic promiſe of our bleſſed Maſter, that the *Comforter ſhould abide with us for ever*, was eminently fulfilled. For tho', according to the promiſe, his ordinary influence occaſionally aſſiſts the Faithful of all ages, yet his conſtant abode and ſupreme illumination is in the ſacred Scriptures of the New Teſtament."

After ſhewing the rules for the trial of ſpirits, he applies them to a famous modern pretender to extraordinary gifts of the ſpirit.

"This the Reader ſhould have in mind, when we bring him to apply theſe marks to the features of modern Fanaticiſm; eſpecially as they are ſeen in the famed Leader of the METHODISTS, Mr. JOHN WESLEY; and not *ſeen* neither, as Sancho Pancho *ſaw* his miſtreſs, *by hearſay*, (which indeed has been too much the cuſtom, in the repreſentations of this tranſcendant man) but as he appears in perſon in his own JOURNALS: For by thoſe indelible marks alone, there traced out, and by his own pen, I purpoſe to TRY, in him, chiefly, THE SPIRITS of all modern Pretenders to ſupernatural Powers.

CHAP. IV. Book II.

AND that I may not be ſuſpected of combating a Fantom, it will be proper firſt of all to ſhew that this extraordinary man hath, in fact, laid claim to almoſt every Apoſtolic gift and grace; and in as full and ample a meaſure as they were poſſeſſed of old.

But as a good Actor will firſt prepare his Scene, he hath carried us back, by the magic of his dramatic powers, into all the wonders of the primitive Times; where we meet the Devil unchained and let looſe, to exert his laſt efforts againſt the *new* Religion: As, on the other hand, to oppoſe to his infernal rage, we ſee, with the ſame evidence, an abundant effuſion of the Holy Spirit

* *If I bear witneſs of myſelf, my witneſs is not true.* John v. 31.

† Πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος, &c.

poured out upon this *rising* Church: And now, every thing being well prepared, Both these Powers stand ready to act their parts, by the time our Apostle thinks fit to appear upon the Stage.

His JOURNALS are full of the Alarms which he gave the Devil, and of the mortifications which the Devil gave him.---"The Devil, "he says, knew his kingdom shook, "and therefore stirred up his ser- "vants to ring bells, and make all "all the noise they could *." "The "*Devil's Children* fought valiantly "for their Master, that his king- "dom should not be destroyed: And "many stones fell on my right hand "and on my left †." "Some "or other of the *Children of Belial* "laboured to disturb us several "nights before ‡." Nay, so ac- customed was he to these conflicts with the *Evil One*, that it was even matter of surprise to him, to find the Enemy, once upon a time, re- served and *still*; till he reflected, that it was because *his Goods were in peace*. "I preached---as yet I "have found only one person a- "mongst them, who knew the love "of God, before my brother came. "No wonder the Devil was so "still: for *his Goods were in peace* "§." Another instance which he gives us, of this peaceable con- vention between his Congregation and the Devil, is in one of his north- ern excursions. "Wed. 29, I preach- "ed at Durham to a QUIET, STUPID "Congregation ||." But this ne- ver lasted long wherever he came; for he had always the skill of cur- ing this spiritual lethargy by a frenzy.

When the Devil had set the mob on work, he then, like other Politi- cians, retired to better Company; such as the two Mr. Wesleys and the Saints. But, as this sad and solemn meeting was not to his taste, he tried to *buffet* them into a better humour. "I was a little surprised "at some who were *buffeted* of "Satan in an unusual manner by "such a *spirit of laughter*---I knew "the same thing ten or eleven "years ago. Part of Sunday my "Brother and I then used to spend "in walking in the meadows and "singing Psalms. But one day, "just as we were beginning to sing, "he burst out into a *loud laughter*. "I began to be very angry, and "presently after to laugh as loud as "he.---We were ready to tear our- "selves in pieces, but we were forced "to go home without singing an- "other line ⁂." From the Head these *buffetings* (which, not to over- load the Devil, I will, for once, venture to call *hysterical*) descended, and were plentifully bestowed, up- on the Members. "One evening (says "he) such a *Spirit of laughter* was "amongst us, that many were "much offended. But the at- "tention of all was soon fixed "upon poor L——a S——; one "so violently and variously torn of "the EVIL ONE did I never see "before. Sometimes she *laughed*, "then broke out into cursing and "blaspheming, &c. ×. On this

* Journ. from Nov. 1, 1739. to Sept. 3, 1741. p. 37. † Do. p. 82.
‡ Do. 31. § Journ. from Nov. 25, 1746. to July 20, 1750. p. 29.
|| Journ. from July 20. 1750. to Oct. 28, 1754. p. 16. ⁂ Journ. from Nov. 1. 1739. to Sept. 3, 1741. p. 37. × Ibid. p. 38.

occasion,

occaſion, he relates a fact, which, tho' He ſeems not to have turned to a proper uſe, the ſober and attentive Reader may.--" Our Outward trials indeed were now removed, and peace was in all our borders. But ſo much the more did inward trials bound, *and if one member ſuffered, all the members ſuffered with it*, So ſtrange a *ſympathy* did I never obſerve before: Whatever conſiderable temptation fell on any one, unaccountably ſpreading itſelf to the reſt. So that exceeding few were able to eſcape it *." In theſe various ſtruggles, the Devil was at length tired out; and Mr. Weſley forces him into cloſe quarters; to betake himſelf to the bodies of friend or foe indifferently, juſt as he could find opportunity or entertainment. And now comes on the ſhining part of our Apoſtle's exploits, the driving him out, in the face of the whole Congregation, by EXORCISMS and ſpiritual Ejectments,

But if Evil thus abounded, Grace did much more abound in this memorable Æra, when Mr. John Weſley firſt went out upon his Miſſion. The Spirit overcame all reſiſtance, broke down all the ſtrongholds of *Sin*, and, what Mr. Weſley was much more ſet againſt, of INSENSIBILITY.--"So many living Witneſſes (ſays he) hath God given, that *his hand is* STILL *ſtretched out to heal*, and that *ſigns and wonders are even* NOW *wrought by his holy Child, Jeſus* †." For, *out of the mouths of babes and ſucklings*, is once again, as of old, *perfected praiſe*; the *young men ſaw viſions, and the old men dreamed dreams*."

"All theſe wonders were not worked for nothing. The Spirit of the Lord was gone out, and it did not ſtop till it had manifeſted itſelf, in the laſt effort of its power, THE NEW BIRTH: But it went not out, as of old, in the *ſtill, ſmall voice*, but in ſtorms and tempeſts, in cries and extacies, in tumults and confuſion; and when nature was exhauſted, then grace had done its work. But he tells us, his correſpondents hearing of *this ſtrange* affair, enquired of him *how can theſe things be?* They cautioned him *not to regard viſions or dreams, or to fancy people had remiſſion of ſins becauſe of their cries or tears*, &c. To this, he tells us, he anſwered, "You deny that "God does now work theſe effects: "at leaſt that he works them in "this manner. I affirm both. I "have ſeen very many perſons "changed in a moment from the "ſpirit of fear, horror, deſpair, "to the ſpirit of love, joy, and "peace.--What I have to ſay touching *viſions* or *dreams* is this: I "knew ſeveral perſons in whom "this great change was wrought "in a dream, or during a ſtrong "repreſentation to the eye of "their mind, of Chriſt either on "the Croſs or in glory ‡."

But here unhappily, as is uſual in theſe matters, the ſymptoms of *Grace* and of *Perdition* were ſo interwoven

* Journ. from Nov. 1, 1739. to Sept. 3, 1741. p 37. Aug. 12. 1738. to Nov. 1, 1739.

† Journ. from

‡ Ibid. p. 48, 49.

and confounded with one another, that our Apoſtle himſelf is ſometimes at a loſs to diſtinguiſh the hand; and to determine, with certainty, who had the largeſt ſhare in the WORK, GOD or the DEVIL; inſomuch that a Manichean might have greatly availed himſelf of this untoward circumſtance. Mr. J. Weſley had been grieved, and the Spirit of God had been grieved likewiſe, at the ſcandal given by ſome of his own flock who "blaſphemed the "work, and imputed it either to "Nature or the force of Imagination and Animal ſpirits, or even "to the deluſion of the Devil *." ——"Many (ſays he) were "deeply convinced; but none "were delivered from that painful "conviction. *The Children came "to the* BIRTH, *but there was not "ſtrength to* BRING FORTH, I fear "we have grieved the Spirit of the "jealous God by queſtioning his "work †." Yet theſe pangs of the NEW BIRTH becoming, on certain occaſions, more violent, and more general than ordinary, and even found to be taking and infectious,---the Apoſtle himſelf was ſtaggered, and ſeemed ready to recant. "Theſe ſymptoms I can no more "impute to any natural cauſe than "to the Spirit of God. I make "no doubt it was SATAN tearing "them as they were coming to "Chriſt. And hence proceeded "thoſe grievous cries, whereby he "might deſign both to diſcredit the "work of God, and to affright "fearful people from hearing that "word whereby their Souls might "be ſaved ‡." But ſince theſe Symptoms were univerſal and inſeparable from the *new birth*, I rather think, and I will venture to ſay, as it is only raiſing the Catachreſis one ſtep higher, that the Devil was here only in the office of *Man-Midwife* to the *new birth*. And Mr. Weſley himſelf, on ſecond thoughts, ſeems not much averſe to this conceit, as appears from the following relation.---"I viſited (ſays he) a "poor old woman a mile or two "from the Town. Her trials had "been uncommon; inexpreſſible "agonies of mind joined with all "ſorts of bodily pain, not (it ſeemed) from any natural cauſe, but "the *direct operation of Satan:* "Her joys were now as uncommon; ſhe had little time to ſleep, "having for ſeveral months laſt "paſt ſeen, as it were, the *unclouded "face of God*, and praiſed him day "and night §."

"The *exterior* aſſiſtances in his Miniſtry were no leſs ſignal than the *interior*. (P. 103.)—Many were "ſeated "on a large Wall adjoining, which "being built of looſe ſtones, in the "middle of the Sermon all fell down "at once. I never ſaw, heard, nor "read of ſuch a thing before. The "whole wall and the perſons ſitting "upon it ſunk down together, none "of them ſcreaming out, and very "few altering their poſture. And "not one was hurt at all; but they "appeared ſitting at the bottom, "juſt as they ſat at the top. Nor "was there any interruption either "of my ſpeaking, or of the attention of the hearers ‖." The next riſes in due gradation. An unruly *mob* became of a ſudden as harmleſs as the *ſtones*. Tho', had they met, and oppoſed the miniſtry,

* Ibid. p. 59. † Ibid. p. 68. ‡ Journ. from September 3, 1741. to October 27, 1743. § Journ. from July 20, 1749. to October 30, 1751. p. 60. ‖ Journ. from Nov. 25, 1746. to July 20, 1750 p. 23.

together,

together, one does not know what might have happened.——" The " mob had just broke open the door, " when we came into the lower " room; and exactly while they " burst in at one door, we walked " out at the other. *Nor did one man* " *take any notice of us*, tho' we " were within five yards of each " other *." Without doubt they were struck *blind*; tho', in imitation of the modest silence of the Evangelist, who relates the like adventure of the blessed Jesus, he forbears the express mention of that miracle.——The next and more powerful operation was on his female friends; and these he as fairly struck *dumb*.——" The whole " multitude were silent, while I " was speaking. Not a whisper " was heard. But the moment I " had done, the *Chain fell off their* " *tongues*. I was really surprised. " Surely never was such a cackling " made on the banks of Cayster, " or the common of Sedgmoor †." And *to chain up the tongues* of five hundred cackling gossips he held, and with great reason, an exploit worth recording. Indeed he appears to have taken the most effectual method with them, that is, to *out-clamour* them: For thus he measures out his own Stentoronic voice.---" Observing that several " sat on the side of the opposite " hill, I afterwards desired one to " measure the ground; and we " found it was sevenscore yards " from the place where I had stood. " Yet the people there heard per- " fectly well. I did not think any " human voice could have reached " so far ‡." And as, on proper occasions, every courteous Knight-Errant has condescended to let his *horse* into a share of the adventure, so our Spiritual Martialist, unwilling to break so good a custom, has divided (as St. Martin did his cloak with the Beggar) the next exploit of price with his Beast. " My horse " was exceeding lame---we could " not discern what it was that was " amiss, and yet he could scarce " set his foot on the ground.---My " head ached more than it had " done for some months (what I here " aver is the naked fact; let every " man *account for it* as he sees " good). I then thought, " Can- " not God heal either man or " beast, by any means, or *without* " *any!* Immediately my weariness " and head ache ceased, and my " Horse's lameness *in the same in-* " *stant*. Nor did he halt any more " either that day or the next, *A* " *very odd accident this also* §."

Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry. By Daniel Webb, *Esq.* Dodsley.

THE title of this ingenious piece promises rather too much. Every one will, from the title, be tempted to expect a system of observations on the various sources of pleasure, which combine to form this delightful art. But the author's plan is of a more contracted nature. In his first dialogue he confines himself wholly to the verification. In his second his design is a

* Ibid. p. 57. † Ibid. p. 96. ‡ Journ. from July 20, 1753. to Oct. 28, 1754. p. 10. § Journ. from Oct. 27, 1743. to Nov. 17, 1746.

little more extended, but is ſtill far ſhort of the compaſs of the ſubject; and contains only diſcuſſions on ſome of the beauties of diction and ſentiment. So far as the author goes, his work has great merit, and is by no means inferior to *the beauties of painting*, which has been ſo well received by the public. In this work we ſee the ſame critical diſcernment and elegance of taſte; the ſame ſmooth, ornamented, pleaſing ſtile. The author has the ſame fault alſo in this as in his former work; that of writing dialogue without even an attempt at diverſity of character, and with very little of the dramatic ſpirit. For a ſpecimen of his firſt dialogue take the following:

"The ſole aim of verſification is harmony. To underſtand this properly, we muſt divide it into two kinds. The firſt conſiſts in a general flow of verſe, moſt pleaſing to the ear, but independent on the ſenſe: the ſecond, in bringing the ſound or meaſure of the verſe to correſpond with, and accompany the idea. The former may be called a verbal harmony: the latter a ſentimental. If we conſider the flow of verſe merely as muſic, it will then be allowed, * that variety is no leſs neceſſary than ſweetneſs; and that a continued repetition of the ſame movements, muſt be as tireſome in poetry, as it would be in muſic. On examining Mr. Pope's verſes, we ſhall find, that in eighteen out of twenty, the pauſes reſt on the fourth and laſt, or the fifth and laſt ſyllables: and that, almoſt without exception, the period is divided into two equal lines, and, as it were, link'd by the rhyme into a couplet.

For example——

All are but parts of one ſtupendous whole,
Whoſe body nature is, || and God the ſoul;
That chang'd thro' all, || and yet in all the ſame,
Great in the Earth, || as in the Æ-therial frame;
Warms in the ſun, || refreſhes in the breeze,
Glows in the ſtars, || and bloſſoms in the trees;
Lives thro' all life, || extends thro' all extent,
Spread undivided, || operates unſpent.

Eſſay on Man.

Every ear muſt feel the ill effect of the † monotony in theſe lines; the cauſe of it is obvious; this verſe conſiſts of ten ſyllables, or five feet: when the pauſe falls on the fourth ſyllable, we ſhall find, that we pronounce the ſix laſt in the ſame time that we do the four firſt; ſo that the couplet is not only divided into two equal lines, but each line, with reſpect to time, is divided into two equal parts——

* Και εσι λεξις κρατιστη πασων, η τις αν εχοι πλειστας αναπαυλας τε και μεταβολας αρμονιας —— ρυθμοι τε αλλοι αλλοι, και τασεις φωνης αι καλουμεναι προσωδιαι διαφοροι, κλεπτουσαι την ποικιλιαν του κωλου. Dion. Hal. de Struct. Orat.

† Διαναπαυειν τε και ταυτοπα φημι δειν, μεταβολας ευχαριτους εισφερουσα. Και γαρ η μεταβολη παντος εργου χρημα ηδυ. Dion. Hal. de Struct. Orat. Sect. 12.

As,

As,

Warms in the ſun, || refreſhes in the breeze,
Glows in the ſtars, || and bloſſoms in the trees.

Or elſe the pauſe falls on the fifth ſyllable, and then the line is divided with a mechanic exactneſs.

As,

Spreads undivided, || operates unſpent.

Hor. Mr. Pope, in a letter to Mr. Walſh, ſpeaking of the Engliſh verſe, ſays, 'there is naturally a pauſe at the fourth, fifth, or 'ſixth ſyllable. It is upon theſe 'the ear reſts, and upon the judicious change and management of 'which depends the variety of verſification.' Of this he gives the following examples:

At the fifth.

Where e'er thy navy || ſpreads her canvaſs wings,

At the fourth.

Homage to thee, || and peace to all ſhe brings.

At the ſixth.

Like tracts of leverets, || in the morning ſnow.

Eug. In this place, Mr. Pope takes no notice of the ſecond pauſe, which always reſts on the laſt word of each line, and is ſtrongly marked by the rhyme. But, it is on the balance between the two pauſes, that the monotony of the verſe depends. Now, this balance is governed by the equal diviſion of the line in point of time. Thus, if you repeat the two firſt examples given, you will find no difference, as to the time, whether the pauſe falls on the fourth or fifth ſyllable; and this, I think, will extend even to the laſt example: or, if there ſhould be any difference, it is ſo trifling, that it will generally eſcape the ear. But this is not ſo in blank verſe; for, the lines being made often to run one into the other, the ſecond pauſe is ſunk; the balance, from the equal diviſion of each line, is removed; and by changing the pauſes at pleaſure, an open is given to an unlimited variety.

Obſerve the effects in the firſt lines of Paradiſe Loſt.

Of man's firſt diſobedience, || and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, || whoſe mortal taſte
Brought death into the world, || and all our woe,
With loſs of Eden, || till one greater Man
Reſtore us, || and regain the bliſsful ſeat,
Sing, heavenly Muſe.

In theſe, and the lines which immediately follow, the pauſes are ſhifted thro' all the ten ſyllables.

Hor. But this variety is not inſeparable from the nature of blank verſe. In Addiſon's Cato, there is, I think, the very ſame monotony which you have condemned in Mr. Pope: Thus,

The dawn is overcaſt, || the morning low'rs,
And heavily in clouds || brings on the day;
The great, th' important day ||
Big with the fate || of Cato and of Rome.

Again,

Who knows not this? || but what can Cato do
Againſt a world, || a baſe degenerate world,
That courts the yoke, || and bows the neck to Cæſar?
Pent up in Utica, || he vainly forms
A poor epitome || of Roman greatneſs.

Aſp.

Aſp. This is the very echo of the couplet meaſure.

Eug. Nothing could be more to my purpoſe; it confirms all that I have advanced; and proves further, that the monotony of the couplet does not proceed, as has been imagined, from the repetition of the rhymes, but from a ſameneſs in the movement of the verſe. No doubt, the uſe of rhymes was the firſt cauſe of confining poetic harmony to ſuch narrow limits *. Mr. Addiſon, accuſtomed to the ſecure monotony of the couplet, had neither the genius to bear him thro', nor courage to attempt the unbounded variety of the Miltonic meaſures. Birds of a weak flight move always in a line; but, the Eagle, wonderful in his ſoarings, ſhews in his very ſtoops the power of his wing. A poet, of a ſuperior ſpirit, muſt have reſources in the variety of his numbers. The flight of Satan, in Paradiſe Loſt, is not to be pent up in a couplet.

Then from pole to pole
He views in breadth; and without longer pauſe,
Down right into the world's firſt region throws
His flight precipitant; and winds with eaſe
Through the pure marble air his oblique way,
Amongſt innumerable ſtars.

Hor. In comparing, as you have done, the gradations in poetic harmony to the flight of birds, by the ſoarings and ſtoops of the Eagle, I preſume, you mean ſomething equivalent to thoſe enforcements and lowering of ſounds, which give ſuch a pleaſant variety, and have ſo powerful an effect in muſic.

Eug. Of this we have a fine example in the following paſſage: in which you'll obſerve, that the Poet ſets out with almoſt a proſaic weakneſs of verſe; thence riſing gradually, like the ſwell of an organ, he ſoars into the higheſt dignity of ſound.

Th' infernal Serpent; he it was, whoſe guile,
Stir'd up with envy and revenge, deceiv'd
The mother of mankind, what time his pride
Had caſt him out from heav'n, with all his hoſt
Of rebel Angels, by whoſe aid aſpiring
To ſet himſelf in glory above his peers,
He truſted to have equall'd the Moſt High,
If he oppos'd; and with ambitious aim
Againſt the throne and monarchy of God
Rais'd impious war in heav'n and battel proud
With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal ſky,
With hideous ruin and combuſtion, down
To bottomleſs Perdition, there to dwell
In adamantine chains, and penal fire,
Who durſt defy th' Omnipotent to arms. *Par. Loſt.*

* Αλλα καιπερ ηδεως ϗ μεγαλοπρεπως πολλα συνθεντες οι ανδρες ειτοι, περι τας μεταβολας ϗ την ποικιλιαν ϗ παυ ευτυχησαν.
Dion. Hal. de Struct. Orat.

It

It is obvious from what I have ſaid of it, that the Couplet is not formed for ſuch gradations as theſe. On the contrary, from the ſameneſs in its flow, every ſentiment, of what nature ſoever, comes equally recommended to the ear, and of courſe to our attention." (P. 5---16.)

His remarks in the ſecond dialogue are more general and miſcellaneous.

" *Eug.* The diſtinctive property of Genius is to ſurpriſe, either by original Beauty, or Greatneſs in the idea. Theſe are the maſter ſprings; but there are others which are ſubordinate: for a ſuperior genius will ſo dreſs the moſt common thought, or familiar image, as to give it ſome unexpected advantage; by which it becomes apparently, if not really, original: the reſult is the ſame; we are ſurprized; every ſuch effect implies a degree of novelty, and, conſequently, of invention.

Hor. Is not ſurpriſe rather the effect of wit than of genius?

Eug. To determine this, we muſt ſtate the difference between them. This ſeems to me to depend on the degrees of our penetration, and the nature of our feelings. The man of wit has a limited view into the relations of ideas; and from thoſe which he does ſee, his feelings direct him to chooſe the moſt ſingular, not the moſt beautiful. He works upon us by ſurpriſe merely; but the man of genius ſurpriſes by an exceſs of beauty.

Hor. It ſhould ſeem to follow from hence, that the genius may be a wit when he pleaſes; yet we have ſeen ſuch, who have made the attempt without ſucceſs.

Eug. Very rarely, when they give into the practice of being playful: thus, who has more wit than Shakeſpear? If others have failed, it muſt have been from the influence of a better habit: accuſtomed to unite ideas by their beauties, they overlook the little points of ſimilitude in thoſe which are the moſt oppoſed; or, of difference, in thoſe which are the moſt united: hence, as Cunning is but a ſhort-ſighted Wiſdom, Wit may be called the ſhort-ſight of Genius.

Hor. You make a greater difference between them than will be allowed by many.

Eug. I uſe them in that ſenſe, in which they are underſtood, when we ſay, that Ovid had wit, and Virgil genius: that this is the moſt exact and received ſenſe of theſe words, will appear from hence, that, were I to aſſert, that Virgil had more wit than Ovid, I ſhould be laughed at: yet this would be the conſequence of underſtanding Wit in too * inlarged a ſenſe, or of making it equivalent to Genius.

Aſp. I have been often ill ſatisfied with myſelf, for not readily entering into ſuch thoughts, as I have known were generally eſteemed witty. You have, I thank you, Eugenio, leſſened the number of my mortifications. I muſt own, I have

* In the Eſſay on Criticiſm, it is ſaid—

True Wit is Nature to advantage dreſs'd.

But immediately after this, the Poet adds—

For works may have more wit than does 'em good.

Now, let us ſubſtitute the definition in the place of the thing, and it will ſtand thus. A work may have more of *Nature dreſs'd to advantage* than will do it good. This is impoſſible; and it is evident, that the confuſion ariſes from the Poet's having annexed two different ideas to the ſame word——

always

always preferred Humour to Wit, perhaps it was, that I more eaſily underſtood it. I ſhould call upon you for a better explanation of this matter, were I not more intent on another. You remember, that, diſcourſing the other day, on a paſſage in the *Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting*, in which, the ſuperiority of Poetry is rather hinted at than explained, you promiſed me that you would enlarge this part of the ſubject, and---

Eug. I underſtand you, Aſpaſia; and ſhould be glad, in this, as in every thing elſe, to prevent your wiſhes.

I obſerved juſt now, that the diſtinctive property of Genius is to ſurpriſe, either by original Beauty, or Greatneſs, in the idea.

The principal beauties in Poetry, ſpring from the ſource or elegance of its images: of theſe, we will firſt examine ſuch as are peculiar to Poetry; after which, we will paſs to thoſe which are in common to Poetry and Painting. Of the former claſs, are all images founded on compariſons, either direct, or implied. The merit of theſe conſiſts in a ſtriking ſimilitude between two objects, which, to common obſervation, have no apparent or neceſſary connexion: hence we may judge of the merit of a compariſon, by the degree of our ſurpriſe, which ariſes from a combined admiration of its juſtneſs, its novelty, and beauty. A compariſon is direct in the following inſtance---

——— On her left breaſt
A mole cinque-ſpotted, like the crimſon drops
I' th' bottom of a cowſlip——
Cymbeline.

An implied compariſon, or, in the language of the Critics, a metaphor, conſiſts in conveying an idea intirely by the ſubſtitution of an image: this will be beſt underſtood by an example.——

Angelo, in Meaſure for Meaſure, obſerving, that his guilty paſſion for Iſabella, was inflamed by his knowledge of her innocence, is ſhocked at the wickedneſs of his nature; which he aggravates by the force of a metaphor.

——— — Can it be,
That modeſty may more betray our ſenſe
Than woman's lightneſs! "having waſte ground enough,
"Shall we deſire to raſe the Sanctuary,
"And pitch our evils there? Oh fie, fie, fie."

Sometimes a Poet has the happineſs to blend theſe two kinds of beauty in the ſame image: he ſets out with illuſtrating his object by a direct compariſon; and continues to ſupport it by a metaphor. This is a high degree of beauty; for, it can only happen, when the compariſon is ſo exquiſitely juſt, that the qualities eſſential to the borrowed object, are, with the utmoſt propriety, transferred to the original one. Thus Bellarius, deſcribing to his pupils the ruins of his fortunes at court.

——— Cymbeline lov'd me,
And when a ſoldier was the theme, my name
Was not ſar off: then was I as a tree,
Whoſe boughs did bend with fruit. But in one night,
A ſtorm, or robbery, call it what you will,
Shook

Shook down my mellow hangings, nay, my leaves;
And left me bare to weather.
Cymbeline.

Of this ſpecies of beauty, the following is, perhaps, a ſtill more elegant example---

——— She never told her love,
But let concealment, like a worm i' th' bud,
Feed on her *damaſk* cheek.
Twelfth Night.

Shakeſpear's images are not mere addreſſes to the fancy; they do not play about the ſurface of an object; they carry us into its eſſence.---As, where the mother of Hamlet endeavours to excuſe his extravagance.——

——— This is mere madneſs;
And thus a while the fit will work on him:
Anon, as patient as the female dove,
Ere that her golden couplets are diſclos'd,
His ſilence will *ſit drooping*.

Had the Poet commanded at one view the whole circle of Nature, he could not have ſelected ſuch another contraſt to madneſs. It is the moſt perfect image of a patient, innocent, and modeſt ſilence, that ever ſprung from human invention. It is by the frequency and degree of theſe beauties, principally, that an original Genius is diſtinguiſhed. Metaphors are to him, what the Eagle was to Jupiter, or the Doves to Venus, ſymbols of Divinity; the ſure indications of Majeſty and Beauty.

Hor. It has been a matter of wonder to many, that an imagination, at times, ſo wild and ungovernable as that of Shakeſpear, ſhould, in the finer imitations of nature, be diſtinguiſhed by an unequalled elegance and propriety.

Eug. If we conſider the nature and progreſs of the imagination, we need not wonder, that ſuperior ſpirits ſhould be the moſt ſubject to theſe exceſſes. The extremities of poetic boldneſs, like thoſe of perſonal courage, will often have a tincture of extravagance. But, this will not be the caſe in men of ſubordinate talents; truſting more to imitation than their own feelings, they move in one even tenor; with them, judgment is but an obſervance of rules; a ſecurity to their weakneſs.

And often, to their comfort ſhall they find
The ſharded Beetle in a ſafer hold
Than is the full-wing'd Eagle.---
Cymb.

The laſt ſpecies of beauty in comparative imagery, which I ſhall ſpeak of here, conſiſts in reducing a metaphor to a point. When a picture is given us in a ſingle word, to make out which, in our own imagination, we muſt go through a ſucceſſion of ideas, then are we ſurpriſed in the moſt agreeable manner, and the beauty, of courſe, is conſummate. You ſhall have, Aſpaſia, an example of this from your favourite author, Fletcher. Amintor, in order to conceal the cauſe of his grief, had put on a ſhow of mirth; Melantius, his friend, who wanted to extort the ſecret from him, was not to be ſo impoſed on.

———You may ſhape, Amintor,
Cauſes to cozen the whole world withall,
And yourſelf too; but 'tis not like a friend,
To hide your ſoul from me; 'tis not your nature
To be thus idle; I have ſeen you ſtand

As

As you were *blasted*, midst of all your mirth. *Maid's Tragedy.*

It is by the force or elegance of its allusions and images, that a poetic diction is distinguished from simple versification. The Muses, according to Johnson, have their anvil, and a verse may be laboured into precision and harmony: but, the sallies of the imagination are prompt and decisive; they spring at once into being, and are beauties at their first conception. Thus, in the language of a Poet, the sun is the *eye* of heaven: the heaven itself—a starry *pavement*; a canopy *fretted* with *golden fire*.

Does the mind exult in its fullest freedom?

It is---as *broad*, as *general* as the *casing* air.

What are the repeated calamities of life?

The *slings* and *arrows* of outrageous fortune?

The properties of sleep?

The *birth* of each day's *life*; sore labours *bath*;

Balm of *hurt* minds.

Are our tender years exposed to the infection of vice?---the canker *galls* the *infants of the spring*. Is the night invoked to countenance deeds of horror and cruelty?

Come, thick night!

And *pall* thee in the dunnest smoak of hell.

Hor. How miserably naked of these beauties are the works of our ordinary songsters? Their metaphors are like scatter'd trees in a desert, starved and solitary: in Shakespear, they are vigorous, luxuriant, thickly spread over every part of his poetry.

Eug. This comparison will hold, with respect to images in general: as to these, which we have been just describing, they seem to me, to bear some resemblance to those drawings of the capital Painters, in which, though the parts are rather *hinted* than made out, yet the ideas are compleat; they both give a delightful exercise to our minds, in continuing and enlarging the design. (p. 65.---p. 79.)

Anecdotes of Painting in England; with some account of the principal Artists; and incidental Notes on other Arts; collected by the late Mr. George Vertue; and now digested and published from his original MSS. by Mr. Horace Walpole. In two Vol. Quarto.

ANECDOTES of Painting in England, is a title, which perhaps, of all others, is the most apt to excite ones curiousity, not that there is any thing very promising in the subject. The reverse is rather true; but we are impatient to find out, what it is that can occupy two quarto volumes upon an art, which has hitherto made so little progress in England. The reader will be surprised to find so very entertaining a work arise from such unpromising materials. The first of the authors, Mr. Vertue, has been deficient in no pains to collect, and the other, Mr. Walpole, is deficient in no talent to enliven every thing, which could possibly tend to the illustration of this agreeable art, so far as it was cultivated, either by natives or foreigners in this kingdom. This knowledge is not contemptible. Whatever concerns the arts, is of value to those who love them; that is, to every liberal and ingenuous mind. This subject takes up the work from the earliest times, to

which it can be traced in our records, that is, from the reign of Henry III. and carries it down to the end of the reign of Charles I. and throughout abounds with curious ſtories not only of the painters, but of ſeveral of the eminent perſons, who have been the ſubject of their pencil. It contains alſo ſeveral ſtrokes of criticiſm, which ſhew how far this author is capable of having gone, had he choſen a ſubject which would have given a greater ſcope to his critical abilities. His ſtile is lively, peculiar, and marked; very ſententious and pointed; more correct, and rather leſs charged with witticiſms than that of *the Royal and Noble Authors*. With regard to Mr. Vertue, his merits in his profeſſion are already ſufficiently known to all connoiſſeurs. His merits, as a compiler, are as great as could be diſplayed in that ſort of employment. Even in that employment virtues may be diſplayed and talents exerciſed. What Mr. Walpole ſays of him in that reſpect, forms a very beautiful eulogy.

"One ſatisfaction the reader will have, in the integrity of Mr. Vertue; it exceeded his induſtry, which is ſaying much. No man living, ſo bigoted to a vocation, was ever ſo incapable of falſhood. He did not deal even in hypotheſis, ſcarce in conjecture. He viſited, and reviſited every picture, every monument, that was an object of his reſearches; and being ſo little a ſlave to his own imagination, he was cautious of truſting to that of others. In his memorandums he always put a quere againſt whatever was told him of ſuſpicious aſpect; and never gave credit to it 'till he received the fulleſt ſatisfaction. Thus whatever trifles the reader finds, he will have the comfort of knowing that the greateſt part at leaſt are of moſt genuine authority." Preface, p. 8.

Any analyſis of a work of this kind would be impracticable. What follows in the preface is a ſpecimen of the manner of this ſpirited writer.

"If the obſervation of a dearth of great names in this liſt ſhould excite emulation, and tend to produce abler maſters, Mr. Vertue, I believe, and I ſhould be glad to have the continuation of the work do greater honour to our country. It would be difficult perhaps to aſſign a phyſical reaſon, why a nation that produced Shakeſpear, ſhould owe its glory in another walk of genius to Holbein and Vandyck. It cannot be imputed to want of protection: Who countenanced the arts more than Charles the Firſt? That Prince, who is cenſured for his want of taſte in penſioning Quarles, is celebrated by the ſame pen for employing Bernini---but want of protection is the apology for want of genius: Milton and Fontaine did not write in the baſk of court-favour. A poet or a painter may want an equipage or a villa, by wanting protection: They can always afford to buy ink and paper, colours and pencils. Mr. Hogarth has received no honours, but univerſal admiration.

But whatever has been the complaint formerly, we have ground to hope that a new æra is receiving its date. Genius is countenanced, and emulation will follow: Nor is it a bad indication of the flouriſhing ſtate of a country, that it daily makes improvements in arts and ſciences. They may be attended by luxury, but they certainly are produced by wealth and happineſs.

The

The conveniences, the decorations of life are not ſtudied in Siberia, or under a Nero. If ſevere morality would at any time expect to eſtabliſh a thorough reformation, I fear it muſt chuſe inhoſpitable climates, and aboliſh all latitude from the laws. A corporation of merchants would never have kept their oaths to Lycurgus of obſerving his ſtatutes 'till he returned. A good government, that indulges its ſubjects in the exerciſe of their own thoughts, will ſee a thouſand inventions ſpringing up, refinements will follow, and much pleaſure and ſatisfaction will be produced at leaſt before that exceſs arrives, which is ſo juſtly ſaid to be the forerunner of ruin. But all this is in the common courſe of things, which tend to perfection, and then degenerate. He would be a very abſurd legiſlator, who ſhould pretend to ſet bounds to his country's welfare, leſt it ſhould periſh by knowing no bounds. Poverty will ſtint itſelf; riches will be left to their own diſcretion; they depend upon trade, and to circumſcribe trade is to annihilate it. It is not rigid nor Roman to ſay it, but a people had better be unhappy by their own fault, than by that of their government. A *Cenſor morum* is not a much greater bleſſing than an *Arbiter elegantiarum*. The world, I believe, is not at all agreed that the auſterities of the Preſbyterians were preferable to the licentiouſneſs under Charles II. I pretend to defend the one no more than the other; but I am ſure that in the body politic, ſymptoms that prognoſticate ill, may indicate well. All I meaned to ſay was, that the diſpoſition to improvements in this country is the conſequence of its vigour. The eſtabliſhment of a ſociety for the encouragement of arts will produce great benefits before they are perverted to miſchiefs. The bounties beſtowed by that ſociety, for facilitating the neceſſaries of life to the poor, for encouraging the uſe of our own drugs and materials, or for naturalizing thoſe of other countries, are beſtowed on noble principles and with patriot views. That ſociety does not neglect even the elegancies of life: Arts that are innocent in themſelves, and beneficial to the country, either by adding value to our productions, or by drawing riches as they invite ſtrangers to viſit us, are worthy the attention of good citizens; and in all thoſe lights that ſociety acts upon a national and extenſive plan.

The art, that is chiefly the ſubject of theſe pages, is one of the leaſt likely to be perverted: Painting has ſeldom been employed to any bad purpoſe. Pictures are but the ſcenery of devotion. I queſtion if Raphael himſelf could ever have made one convert, though he had exhauſted all the expreſſion of his eloquent pencil on a ſeries of popiſh doctrines and miracles. Pictures cannot adapt themſelves to the meaneſt capacities, as unhappily the tongue can. Nonſenſe may make an apprentice a catholic or a methodiſt; but the apprentice would ſee that a very bad picture of St. Francis was not like truth; and a very good picture would be above his feeling. Pictures may ſerve as helps to religion; but are only an appendix to idolatry; for the people muſt be taught to believe in falſe gods and in the power of ſaints, before they will learn to worſhip their images. I do not doubt but if ſome of the firſt reformers had been at

at liberty to say exactly what they thought, and no more than they thought, they would have permitted one of the most ingenious arts implanted in the heart of man by the Supreme Being to be employed towards his praise. But Calvin by his tenure, as head of a sect, was obliged to go all lengths. The vulgar will not list but for total contradictions: They are not struck by seeing religion shaded only a little darker or a little lighter. It was at Constantinople alone where the very shopkeepers had subtlety enough to fight for a letter more or less in a Greek adjective * that expressed an abstract idea. Happily at this time there is so total an extinction of all party-animosity both in religion and politics, that men are at liberty to propose whatever may be useful to their country, without its being imputed to them as a crime, and to invent what they mean should give pleasure without danger of displeasing by the very attempt."

His reflections on the history of Architecture in England are extremely curious.

"Vertue and several other curious persons have taken great pains to enlighten the obscure ages of that science; they find no names of architects, nay little more, than what they might have known without inquiring; that our ancestors had buildings. Indeed Tom Hearne, Brown Willis, and such illustrators did sometimes go upon more positive ground: They did now and then stumble upon an arch, a tower, nay a whole church, so dark, so ugly, so uncouth, that they were sure it could not have been built since any idea of grace had been transported into the island. Yet with this incontestible security on their side, they still had room for doubting; Danes, Saxons, Normans, were all ignorant enough to have claims to peculiar ugliness in their fashions. It was difficult to ascertain the periods when one ungracious form jostled out another: and this perplexity at last led them into such refinement, that the term *Gothic Architecture*, inflicted as a reproach on our ancient buildings in general by our ancestors who revived the Grecian taste, is now considered but as a species of modern elegance, by those who wish to distinguish the Saxon style from it. This Saxon style begins to be defined by flat and round arches, by some undulating zigzags on certain old fabrics, and by a very few other characteristics, all evidences of barbarous and ignorant times. I do not mean to say simply that the round arch is a proof of ignorance; but being so natural, it is simply, when unaccompanied by any graceful ornaments, a mark of a rude age---if attended by misshapen and heavy decorations, a certain mark of it. The pointed arch, that peculiar of Gothic architecture, was certainly intended as an improvement on the circular, and the men who had not the happiness of lighting on the simplicity and proportion of the Greek orders, were however so lucky as to strike out a thousand graces and effects, which rendered their buildings magnificent,

* In the decline of the empire there were two sects who proceeded to the greatest violences against each other in the dispute whether the nature of the second person was Ὁμούσιος, co-essentialis; or ὁμοιούσιος, similis essentiæ.

yet genteel, vaſt, yet light, * venerable and picturesque. It is difficult for the nobleſt Grecian temple to convey half ſo many impreſſions to the mind, as a cathedral does of the beſt Gothic taſte---a proof of ſkill in the architects and of addreſs in the prieſts who erected them. The latter exhauſted their knowledge of the paſſions in compoſing edifices whoſe pomp, mechaniſm, vaults, tombs, painted windows, gloom and perſpectives infuſed ſuch ſenſations of romantic devotion; and they were happy in finding artiſts capable of executing ſuch machinery. One muſt have taſte to be ſenſible of the beauties of Grecian architecture; one only wants paſſions to feel Gothic. In St. Peter's one is convinced that it was built by great princes——In Weſtminſter-abbey, one thinks not of the builder; the religion of the place makes the firſt impreſſion---and though ſtripped of its altars and ſhrines, it is nearer converting one to popery than all the regular pageantry of Roman domes. Gothic churches infuſe ſuperſtition; Grecian, admiration. The papal ſee amaſſed its wealth by Gothic cathedrals, and diſplays it in Grecian temples.

I certainly do not mean by this little contraſt to make any compariſon between the rational beauties of regular architecture, and the unreſtrained licentiouſneſs of that which is called Gothic. Yet I am clear that the perſons who executed the latter, had much more knowledge of their art, more taſte, more genius, and more propriety than we chuſe to imagine. There is a magic hardineſs in the execution of ſome of their works which would not have ſuſtained themſelves if dictated by mere caprice. There is a tradition that Sir Chriſtopher Wren went once a year to ſurvey the roof of the chapel of King's college, and ſaid that if any man would ſhew him where to place the firſt ſtone, he would engage to build ſuch another. That there is great grace in ſeveral places even in their cluſters of ſlender pillars, and in the application of their ornaments, though the principles of the latter are ſo confined that they may almoſt all be reduced to the trefoil, extended and varied, I ſhall not appeal to the edifices themſelves--- It is ſufficient to obſerve, that Inigo Jones, Sir Chriſtopher Wren and Kent, who certainly underſtood beauty, blundered † into the heavieſt and clumſieſt compoſitions whenever they aimed at imitations of the Gothic----Is an art deſpicable in which a great maſter cannot ſhine?

Conſidering how ſcrupulouſly our architects confine themſelves to antique precedent, perhaps ſome deviations into Gothic may a little relieve them from that ſervile imitation. I mean that they ſhould ſtudy both taſtes, not blend them; that they ſhould dare to invent in the one, ſince they will hazard nothing in the other. When they have built a pediment and portico, the Sibyl's circular temple, and tacked the wings to a houſe by a colonade, they ſeem *au bout de leur Latin*. If half a dozen manſions were all that remained of old Rome, inſtead of half a dozen temples, I

* For inſtance, the facade of the cathedral of Rheims.

† In Lincoln's-Inn chapel, the ſteeple of the church at Warwick, the King's-bench in Weſtminſter-hall, &c.

do

do not doubt but our churches would reſemble the private houſes of Roman citizens. Our buildings muſt be as Vitruvian, as writings in the days of Eraſmus were obliged to be Ciceronian. Yet confined as our architects are to few models, they are far from having made all the uſe they might of thoſe they poſſeſs. There are variations enough to be ſtruck out to furniſh new ſcenes of ſingular beauty. The application of loggias, arcades, terraſſes and flights of ſteps, at different ſtages of a building, particularly in ſuch ſituations as Whitehall to the river, would have a magnificent effect. It is true, our climate and the expence of building in England are great reſtrictions on imagination; but when one talks of the extent of which architecture is capable, one muſt ſuppoſe that pomp and beauty are the principal objects; one ſpeaks of palaces and public buildings; not of ſhops and ſmall houſes---but I muſt reſtrain this diſſertation, and come to the hiſtoric part, which will lie in a ſmall compaſs.

Felibien took great pains to aſcertain the revival of architecture, after the deſtruction of the true taſte by the inundation of the northern nations; but his diſcoveries were by no means anſwerable to his labour. Of French builders he did find a few names, and here and there an Italian or German. Of Engliſh he owns he did not meet with the leaſt trace; while at the ſame time the founders of ancient buildings were every where recorded: ſo careful have the monks (the only hiſtorians of thoſe times) been to celebrate bigotry and paſs over the arts. But I own I take it for granted that theſe ſeeming omiſſions are to be attributed to their want of perſpicuity rather than to neglect. As all the other arts * were confined to cloyſters, ſo undoubtedly was architecture too; and when we read that ſuch a biſhop or ſuch an abbot built ſuch and ſuch an edifice, I am perſuaded that they often gave the plans as well as furniſhed the neceſſary funds; but as thoſe chroniclers ſcarce ever ſpecify when this was or was not the caſe, we muſt not at this diſtance of time pretend to conjecture what prelates were or were not capable of directing their own foundations."

* The arts flouriſhed ſo much in convents to the laſt, that one Gyfford, a viſitor employed by Thomas Cromwell to make a report of the ſtate of thoſe ſocieties previous to their ſuppreſſion, pleads in behalf of the houſe of Wolſtrop, "That there was not one religious perſon there, but that he could and did uſe, either embrotheryng, writing books with very fair hand, making their own garments, *carving*, *painting*, or *graffing*." Strype's memor. vol. i. p. 255.

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